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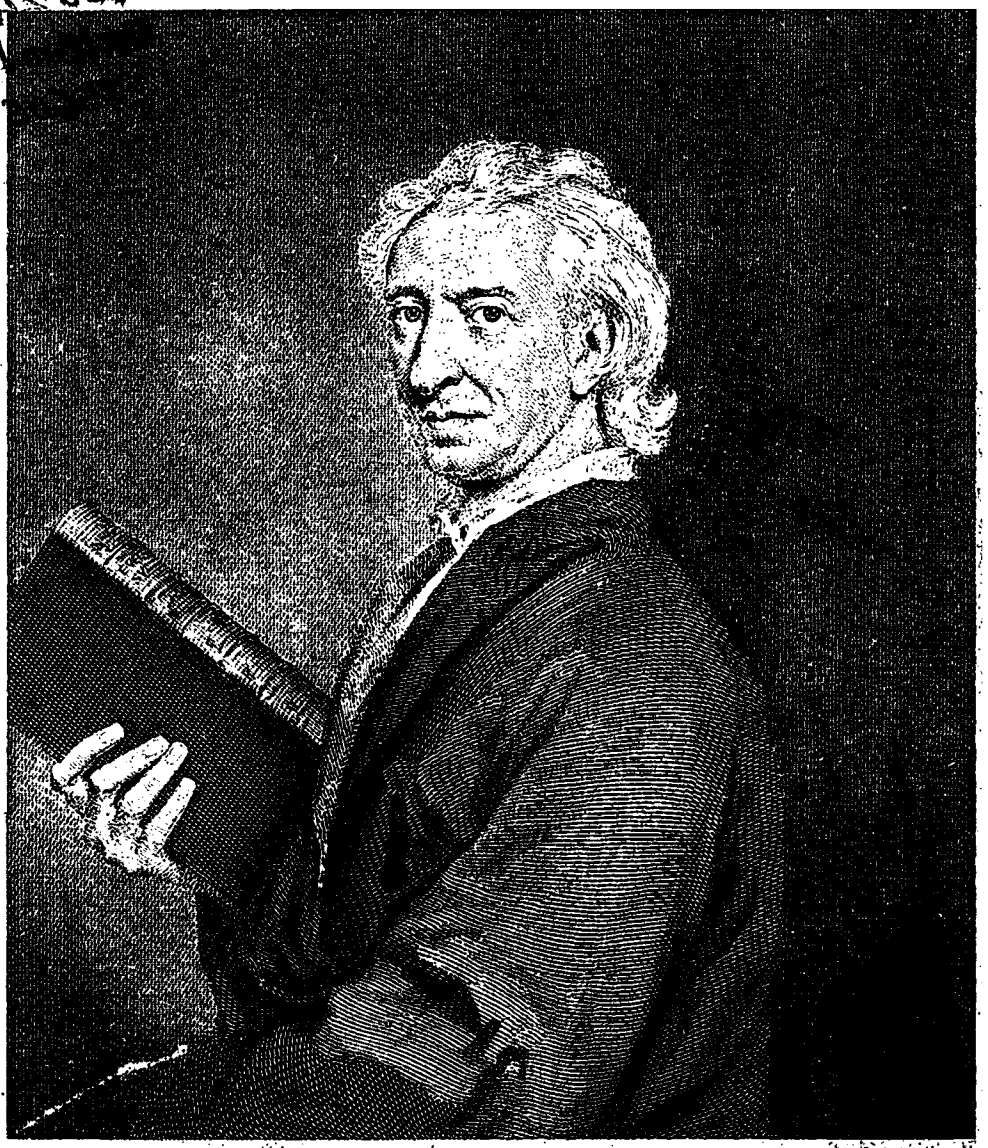

Engraved by T. Brayy: from an original Picture by Sir G. Kneller.

JOHN EVELYN, ESQR.

Author of Sylva, &c.

My Ld,

Your Lps most humble,
most Obedient & most
Obliged Servant

Wotton 14 July 1704

J. Evelyn.

MEMOIRS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JOHN EVELYN, ESQ. F.R.S.

AUTHOR OF THE "SYLVA," &c. &c.

COMPRISING HIS DIARY, FROM THE YEAR 1641 TO 1705-6,

AND A SELECTION OF HIS FAMILIAR LETTERS.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,

The Private Correspondence

BETWEEN

KING CHARLES I. AND HIS SECRETARY OF STATE,
SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS,

WHILST HIS MAJESTY WAS IN SCOTLAND, 1641, AND AT OTHER TIMES DURING THE CIVIL WAR;

ALSO BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE, AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON,
AND SIR RICHARD BROWNE,

AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF FRANCE, IN THE TIME OF KING CHARLES I. AND THE USURPATION.

THE WHOLE NOW FIRST PUBLISHED, FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

EDITED BY WILLIAM BRAY, Esq.

FELLOW AND TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

SECOND EDITION.—VOL. I.

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1819.

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TO

JOHN EVELYN OF WOTTON IN SURREY, ESQ.

SIR,

THE last sheets of this Work, with a Dedication to the late LADY EVELYN, under whose permission it was to be given to the Public, were in the hands of the Printer, when it pleased God to release her from a long and painful illness, which she had borne with the greatest fortitude and resignation to the Divine Will.

These papers descended, with the estate, from the celebrated JOHN EVELYN, Esq. (a relative of your immediate ancestor), to his great-great-grandson, the late Sir Frederick Evelyn, Bart. This gentleman dying without issue, intrusted the whole to his Lady, whose loss we have now to lament; of whose worth, and of the value of whose friendship, I have happily had long knowledge and experience. Alive to the honour of the family, of which she was thus made the representative, she maintained it in every point, and with the most active benevolence; and her care extended to every part of the property attached to the domain. Mr. Evelyn had formed in his own mind a plan of what he called an "Elysium Britannicum," in which the Library and Garden were intended to be the principal objects: could he return and visit this his beloved seat, he would find his idea realized, by the arrangement and addition which her Ladyship had made to his library, and by the disposition of the flower-garden and green-house, which she had

embellished with the most beautiful and curious flowers and plants, both native and exotic.

In completion and full justification of the confidence thus reposed in her, her Ladyship has returned the estate, with its valuable appendages, to the family, in your person.

I have, therefore, now to offer these Volumes to you, Sir, with a wish, that you and your posterity may long enjoy the possessions, and continue the line of a Family so much distinguished in many of its branches, for superior worth and eminence.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

Shere, 2 Jan. 1818. WILLIAM BRAY.

PREFACE.

THE following pages are taken from the Journal of JOHN EVELYN, Esq. author (amongst many other works) of the celebrated *Sylva*, a Treatise on Forest Trees, and from which he has often been known by the name of The Sylva Evelyn. The Journal is written by him in a very small, close hand, in a quarto volume containing 700 pages, which commences in 1641 and is continued to the end of 1697, and from thence is carried on in a smaller book till within about three weeks of his death, which happened 27 Feb. 1705-6, in the 86th year of his age.

These books, with numberless other papers in his hand-writing, are in the valuable Library at Wotton, which was chiefly collected by him. Lady Evelyn, the late possessor of that very respectable old Mansion, after much solicitation from many persons, consented to favour the Public with this communication. The last sheets were in the hands of the Printer, when the death of that Lady happened.

The Editor who has been intrusted with the preparation of the work for the press, is fully diffident of his competence to make a proper selection, and is even aware that many things will be found in its pages which, in the opinion of some, and not injudicious, Critics,

may appear too unimportant to meet the public eye: but it has been thought that some information, at least some amusement, would be furnished by the publication; it has been supposed that some curious particulars of persons and transactions would be found in the accompanying notes; and that, though these papers may not be of importance enough to appear in the pages of an Historian of the Kingdom, they may in some particulars set even such an one right; and, though the notices are short, they may, as to persons, give some hints to Biographers, or at least may gratify the curiosity of those who are inquisitive after the mode in which their ancestors conducted business, or passed their time. It is hoped that such will not be altogether disappointed.

Thus, when mention is made of great men going *after dinner* to attend a Council of State, or the business of their particular Offices, or the Bowling Green, or even the Church; of an Hour's Sermon being of a moderate length; of Ladies painting their faces being a novelty; or of their receiving visits of Gentlemen whilst dressing, after having just risen out of bed; of the female attendant of a lady of fashion travelling on a pillion behind one of the footmen, and the footmen riding with swords; such things, in the view above-mentioned, may not be altogether incurious.

For many Corrections, and many of the Notes, the Editor acknowledges, with great pleasure and regard, that he is indebted to James Bindley, Esq.* of Somerset House, a Gentleman who possesses an invaluable Collection of the most rare Books and Pamphlets, and

* Since the first Edition of this Work, the Editor has to lament the loss of this valuable Friend; who died, in the 81st year of his age, Sept. 11, 1818, just as the printing of this second edition was begun.

whose liberality in communications is equal to the ability afforded by such a collection.

He has also most cheerfully to acknowledge how much he is obliged for many historical notes and elucidations to a literary Gentleman very conversant with English History, whose name he would gladly give, were it not withheld by particular request, and whose research, through upwards of seven hundred contemporary volumes of Manuscripts and Tracts, has doubtless given additional interest to many of the Letters.

The Editor, finally, returns his best thanks to Mr. Upcott, of the London Institution, for the great and material assistance received from him in this Publication, besides his attention to the superintendance of the Press.

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PEDIGREE OF THE EVELYN FAMILY

IN THE DIFFERENT BRANCHES.

ARMS. Azure, a Griffin passant Or, a chief of the last.

CREST. On a wreath a Griffin passant Or, ducally gorged, beak, and legs, Azure.

LONG DITTON, SURREY.

HUNTERCOMB, BUCKS.

The family name to Harrow, from Evelyn, near Tower Castle, in the hundred of South Bradford, in Shropshire, 1410.

EVELYN, or EVELYN, 1440.

WILLIAM EVELYN, or EVELYN, of Harrow on the Hill, ... Middlesex, died 17 Edw. IV. 1470.

ROGER, 1490. ALICE, daughter and heir of ..... Aylward.

John, of Kingston, 1520. ..... dau. of David Vincent, esq.

1. ROBT., daughter and heirs of Thomas Williams, brother and heir of Sir John Williams, Kt.

GEORGE, of Long Ditton, and Wotton, died 1585, aged 73, only son.

JOAN, daughter of ..... Stint, died 1613.

GODSTONE, SURREY.

WEST DEAN, WILTS.

NUTHELD, SURREY.

ST. CLERE, KENT.

WOTTON, SURREY.

WOODCOTE, IN EPSOM, SURREY.

1. ..... daughter of ..... of Long Ditton, Moore, kt. ao. 20 Eliz.

THOMAS, of Long Ditton.

FRANCES, daughter of ..... Harvey, of Chesington, sister of lord Harvey.

MARY.

RICHARD HATTON, esq. of Long Ditton, 3d son of Richard Hatton, esq. of Shrewsbury.

2. SUSANNA, m. 1.

JOHN EVELYN, of Godstone, esq. died in 1625.

ELIZABETH, daughter and heiress of William Streeton of Kingston.

ROBERT, 3d son, of Godstone, co. Surrey, Esq.

SUSAN, daughter of Gregory Younge, of co. York.

RICHARD.

ARTHUR.

CATHERINE, died 1610.

THOMAS of Stoughton, near Guildford, Esq.

RICHARD, 4th son, of Wotton, died 1640.

ELEANOR, daughter and heiress of John Evelyn of Field, Esq. of Lewes, co. Sussex, died 1635.

Others died.

Sir THOMAS, of Long Ditton, 1603, Married Anne, daughter and heiress of Hugh Scott, of Long-don, mercer, chirurgeon, died 1603, aged 77.

1. JANE, wife of Sir John Bodley, of Streatham, Kt.

2. MARY, wife of Oswald Wensley.

GEORGE, of Hunterscombe, near Burnham, Bucks, died 1657, married Dudley Bayley, of Suffolk, died 1651.

WILLIAM, a clergyman. ELIZABETH, wife of Hen. Constantine, of Merley, co. Dorset. DOROTHY, wife of James Duewray, of co. Cambridge. FRANCES, wife of Edward Ventris, of Cambridge. REBA, wife of Thomas Keightley, of Staffordshire. CATHERINE, wife, 1st, of ..... Kenrick, 2nd, Dudley, of Bryan-don, of London. SUSANNA, wife of William Christmas, of London.

Sir JOHN, of Lee Place, in Godstone, Kt. married Thomasine, daughter and coheiress of William Heron, Esq. of Chessington, died 1643.

GEORGE, of Eversley and West Dean, Wilts, 8 married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of sir John Rivers, son of John, mayor of London.

1. ELIZABETH, wife of Edward Engham, of Godmerton, co. Kent.
2. FRANCES, wife of Sir Francis Clerk, of Moreton Abbey, Kt.
3. MARGARET, wife of John Saunders, of Redreck, co. Berks, Esq.
4. JANE, wife of Sir Anthony Benn, Kt. Recorder of London, and afterwards of Sir Emerian Hart, Kt.
5. ANN, wife of John Hartopp, Esq.
6. SUSAN, } died infants.
7. SARAH, }
8. ELIZABETH, unmarried 1623.

1. GEORGE, son and heir, married Jane, daughter of Richard Crane, of Dorchester, Dorsetshire.

2. ROBERT, died in the West Indies.
3. JAMES.
4. SUSAN.
5. ELIZABETH, wife of Astley, ap Gamegge, of co. York.
6. ANNE, wife of Henry Sergeant, of London.
7. FRANCES, wife of Henry Kelsey, of co. Hants.
8. RUTH, a nun.
9. MARIA, a nun.
10. MARGARET, wife of John Knatchbull.

1. MARY, dau. and coheiress of Daniel Caldwell, of Mortalon, co. Essex, Esq. died 1644.

MARY, widow of Sir John Cotton, of co. Kent, daughter of sir Robert Offley, of Dalby, co. Leicester, died 1664.

JOHN EVELYN, of SAYES COURT, died 1703, aged 85.

MARY, dau. and heiress of Sir Richard Browne, by a dau. of Sir John Perryman, died 1709, aged 74.

RICHARD, of Woodcote in Epsom, married by a dau. and coheir of George Mynne, Esq. of Woodcote, co. Surrey.

ELIZABETH, wife of Edward Darnley, Esq. of Dartford, co. Kent.

JANE, wife of William Glanville, Esq. of co. Devon.

CHARLES, Francis, and Vincent. ARTHUR. THOMAS, died Jan. 1649-50. 1. ANNE. 2. MERIL, marr. ..... Ironside. 3. JANE.

EDWARD, created a Bart. 1685, died 1697, marr. Mary, died 1696, aged 61.

1. THOMAS, Gardner, born living in 1661. 2. WILLIAM. 3. FRANCES.

Sir JOHN, of the same, created Bart. 1699, died 1671, m.1. married, 1st, Mary, daughter of George Farmer, Esq. Prothonotary of the Common Pleas, died 1665, m. 2. Dudly, Ann, daughter of Serjeant Glynne, of Henley Park, Surrey, m. 3. GEORGE, died an infant, 1637. RICHARD, died an infant, 1638. THOMAS, died an infant, 1633. JANE, wife of Sir William Leeds, of Westerham, Kent. ELIZABETH, wife of Edw. Hales, of Boughton Malherbe, Kent.

1. MARY, died 1663.

GEORGE, of Nutfield, died 1751, aet. 77, married Jane, natural daughter of the Duke of Ormond.

Sir JOHN, of the same, married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Corbet, of London.

2. GEORGE, s. p. Sir ARTHUR, living 1636, married Anne Harrington. ELIZABETH, only daughter, married Sir John Tyrell, of Springfield, co. Essex.

GEORGE, died an infant.

MOUNTFORT. CHARLES. JOHN. Ann, married ..... to Fellman of Gloucester. REBECCA, died daughter.

GEORGE, died 1676. JOHN, died infant. RICHARD, died 1636. Another died 1657. ELIZABETH, married Sir Cyril Wych. JANE, died 1722. 3 sons died infants.

MARY, ELIZABETH, married Rev. Dr. Fulham.

JOHN, died before his father, 1692.

MARTHA, died 1682, married Richard Spencer, Esq. died 1726.

Four sons died infants. MARY, died unmarried. ELIZABETH, married ..... son of Sir John Stonehouse, Bart. SUSANNA, married William Draper, Esq. of Ashcomb in Croydon.

ANN, daughter and heiress, married William Mountagu, Esq. son of the Lord Chief Baron, K. L.

WILLIAM GLANVILLE, married .....

GEORGE, died 1685, aged 26. PENELOPE, wife of Sir Joseph Alston, Bart. MARY, wife of William Glynn, Esq. SOPHIA, wife of Sir Stephen Glynn, Bart. ..... daughters and coheirs. Other children died young.

JOHN, died of the small pox, Oct. 1709, unmarried. Two daughters.

GEORGE, of Nutfield, commander in the army in Holland; married, 1st, ... by whom no issue.

MARY, daughter of Thomas Garth, Esq. re-married to Charles Bonner, Esq.

EDWARD, of Fellbridge, died 1734, aged 77, married Julia, natural daughter of the Duke of Ormond. KT.

RICHARD, died unmarried.

1. FRANCES, daughter and heiress of Sir William Glanville, Esq. took the name of GLANVILLE. ux.

WILLIAM EVELYN, of Grayswood, co. Surrey, Esq. died 1734, aged 77. ux. ELIZABETH.

GEORGE, s. p. Sir ARTHUR, living 1636, married Anne Harrington. ELIZABETH, only daughter, married Sir John Tyrell, of Springfield, co. Essex.

GEORGE, died an infant.

MOUNTFORT. CHARLES. JOHN. Ann, married ..... to Fellman of Gloucester. REBECCA, died daughter.

Three daughters.

ELIZABETH, daughter and heiress, married ..... Pierrepoint.

ELIZABETH, married Sir John Evelyn, son of Viscount Harcourt, died 1760. ux.

John, created Baronet 1713, died 1763, aged 69. 2dly, Ann, daughter of Edward Bonnell, Esq. died 1741. ux.

FRANCES, died 1710, Mar. 29, married William Evelyn, Esq. of St. Clere.

ANN, wife of Daniel Boone, esq. MARY. ELIZABETH, wife of Peter Bathurst, of Clarendon Park, Wilts, Esq.

JULIA MARGARET, married ..... Sayer, Esq.

1. ANNABELLA, sister of Geo. Medley, Esq. of Bentley, Sussex.

JAMES, of the same, died 1733, æt. 72.

JANE, daughter of Sir Richard Cust, of Belton, co. Lincoln.

FRANCES, heiress to her cousin, marr. to Hon. Admiral Edward Russell, who died 1761.

WILLIAM EVELYN, of St. Clere, marr. SUSANNA, daughter and coheiress of Thomas Bennett, Esq. of Sherebam in Kent. ux.

GEORGE RAYMOND EVELYN, died Dec. 25, 1770, buried at Godstone.

Lady JANE ELIZABETH LESLIE, became countess of Rothes in 1775, and died June 2, 1816, having re-married Sir Lucas Pepys, Bart.

A daughter married ..... Another daughter married Chase Price, Esq. ux.

SIMON, Earl Harcourt.

MARTHA, died 1734, married George Venables Lord Vernon.

Sir JOHN, died 1762, aged 61, married Mary, daughter of Hugh Lord Viscount Falmouth, died 1749.

CHARLES, married ..... daughter and heiress of Peter Prideaux, Esq. ux.

General WILLIAM, Col. 39th regt. foot. died unmarried 1782. SYDNEY, died unmarried. ANN, died 1771. MARY, died 1779, both unmarried.

JULIA ANNABELLA, heiress to her father, and to her uncle Medley.

Sir GEORGE SHUCKBURGH, Bart. took the name of Evelyn, died 1804.

ANNE, died unmarried 1791.

WILLIAM, an officer, died 1776, killed in America, unmarr.

GEORGE, died unmarried about 1726.

JOHN, of Wotton, married Ann Slee.

WILLIAM, Elizabeth, married Henry Duke of Beaufort, K. G.

GEORGE EVELYN, third Viscount Falmouth. FRANCES, married Admiral John Lewson Gower.

A son died before 21.

FRANCES, married colonel Alexander Hume, took the name and arms of Evelyn only, July 22, 1797.

1. HENRIETTA ANN, daughter and heiress of Lord Peliam, obit 1797.

GEORGE WILLIAM, Earl of Rothes in right of his mother 1810, died 1817.

CHARLOTTE JULIA, daughter and heiress of Lord Jo. Campbell, of Dunoon.

A daughter married ..... Gascoigne, Esq.

EDWARD, archbishop of York, (1807.)

LUCY, died 1704, unmarried. MARY, died unmarried 1692, m. 1. marr. the Rev. Dr. Hen. Jenkin, Rector of Wotton and Abinger, died Dec. 31, 1817.

Sir FREDERICK, died 1812, 6. 1. marr. Mary, dau. of Will. Turton, Esq. died Nov. 12, 1817.

CHARLES, married Philippa, dau of Capt. Fortescutus Wright.

JULIA EVELYN MEDLEY, died April 8, 1804, married the Honorable Chas. Cecil Cope Jenkinson, brother of Robert Banks, Earl of Liverpool.

Two daughters.

WILLIAM, an officer, lost in a transport in the gulf of St. Lawrence 1805 or 1806.

GEORGE, in the Guards.

FRANCES.

HENRIETTA ANNE, now Countess of Rothes, marr. GEORGE GOWTHER, who has taken the name of LESLIE, 1817.

ANGELA, died unmarried.

MARY.

CHARLOTTE JULIA, died an infant 1802.

ELIZABETH JANE GEORGIANA, died unmarr. 1814.

SUSANNA PRIDEAUX EVELYN, marr. John Ellsworthy Fortescutus Wright, Lieut. in the R. N.

Two sons and four daughters.

JOHN, succeeded to the title on the death of Sir Frederick Evelyn.

CHARLES, died in India unmarr.

Two sons and one daughter.

1. MARY, m. Philippa Hodges, Esq. now ..... 2. WILLIAM LEGARD, Esq.

One son and two daughters.

MARTHA ROSCAWEN, died in America, married Nicholas Vincent.

Two sons.

EDWARD, died an infant.

HUGH, died in France unmarried.

FRANCES LOUISA, married the Rev. John Griffith.

Two daughters.

MR. EVELYN lived in the busy and important times of King Charles I. Oliver Cromwell, King Charles II. King James II. and King William, and he early accustomed himself to note such things as occurred which he thought worthy of remembrance. He was known to, and had much personal intercourse with, the Kings Charles II. and James II.; and was in habits of great intimacy with many of the Ministers of those two Monarchs, and with many of the eminent men of those days, as well amongst the Clergy as the Laity. Foreigners distinguished for learning or arts, who came to England, did not leave it without visiting him.

In the first edition of the *Biographia Britannica* in folio, Dr. Campbell has a long article relating to this gentleman. Dr. Hunter, in his edition of the *Sylva* in 1776, has copied great part of what Dr. Campbell had written. Dr. Kippis added several particulars in the second edition of the *Biographia* in 1793. Mr. Chalmers has added some information in his Biographical Dictionary, in 8vo. (1816); but the following pages will produce farther particulars of this eminent man. They will shew that he did not travel merely to count steeples, as he expresses himself in one of his letters: they will develope his private character as being of the most amiable kind. With a strong predilection for monarchy, with a personal attachment to Kings Charles II. and James II., formed when they resided at Paris, he was yet utterly averse to the arbitrary measures of those Monarchs.

Strongly and steadily attached to the doctrine and practice of the Church of England, he felt the most liberal sentiments for those who differed from him in opinion. He lived in intimacy with men of all persuasions, nor did he think it necessary to break connexions with any one who had even been induced to desert the Church of England,

and embrace the doctrines of that of Rome. In writing to the brother of a gentleman thus circumstanced, in 1659, he expresses himself in this admirable manner: "For the rest, we must comitt to Providence the successe of times and mitigation of proselytical fervours; having for my owne p^rticular a very great charity for all who sincerely adore the blessed Jesus, our common & deare Saviour, as being full of hope that God (however the p^esent zeale of some, & the scandals taken by others at the instant [present] affliction of the Church of England may transport them) will at last compassionate our infirmities, clarifie our judgments, & make abatement for our ignorances, superstructures, passions, & errours of corrupt tymes & interests, of which the Romish persuasion can no way acquit herself, whatever the present prosperity & secular polity may pretend. But God will make all things manifest in his own tyme, onely let us possess ourselves in patience & charity. This will cover a multitude of imperfections."

He speaks with great moderation of the Roman Catholics in general, admitting that some of the Laws enacted against them might be mitigated; but of the Jesuits he had the very worst opinion, considering them as a most dangerous Society, and the principal authors of the misfortunes which befell King James II., and the horrible persecutions of the Protestants in France and Savoy.

He must have conducted himself with uncommon prudence and discretion, for he had personal friends in the Court of Cromwell, at the same time that he was corresponding with his father-in-law Sir Richard Browne, the Ambassador of King Charles II. at Paris; and at the same period that he paid his Court to the King, he maintained his intimacy with a disgraced Minister.

In his travels he made acquaintance not only with men eminent for learning, but with men ingenious in every art and profession.

His manners we may presume to have been of the most agreeable kind, for his company was sought by the greatest men, not merely by inviting him to their own tables, but by their repeated visits to him at his own house; and this was equally the case with regard to the ladies, of many of whom he speaks in the highest style of admiration, affection, and respect. He was master of the French, Italian, and Spanish

languages. That he had read a great deal is manifest, but at what time he found opportunities for study, it does not seem easy to say; he acknowledges himself to have been idle while at Oxford; and when on his travels he had little time for reading, except when he stayed about nineteen weeks in France, and at Padua, where he was likewise stationary for some time. At Rome he remained a considerable time; but whilst there he was so continually engaged in viewing the great abundance of interesting objects to be seen in that City, that he could have found little leisure for reading. When resident in England, he was so much occupied in the business of his numerous offices, in paying visits, in receiving company at home, and in examining whatever was deemed worthy of curiosity or of scientific observation, that it is astonishing to think how he found the opportunity to compose the numerous books which he published, and the much greater number of papers, on almost every subject, which still remain in manuscript*; to say nothing of the very extensive and voluminous Correspondence which he appears to have carried on during the period of his long life, with men of the greatest eminence in Church and State, and the most distinguished for learning, both Englishmen and Foreigners. In this correspondence he does not seem to have made use of an amanuensis, and he has left transcripts in his own hand of great numbers of Letters both received and sent. He observes, indeed, in one of these, that he seldom went to bed before 12, or closed his eyes before 1 o'clock.

He was happy in a wife of congenial dispositions with his own, of an enlightened mind, who had read much, was skilled in etching and painting, yet attentive to the domestic concerns of her household, and a most affectionate mother. Of her personal beauty an idea may be formed from the print accompanying this Work, engraved from a most exquisite drawing in pencil by that celebrated French artist Nanteuil, in 1650. In the Appendix is given a character of her by the Rev. Dr. Bohun, who had the best opportunity of being acquainted with it, from having resided in Mr. Evelyn's house for a considerable time as tutor to their son. A few of her letters are also given, to prove the truth of what the Doctor says of them.

* Amongst these is a Bible bound in 3 volumes, the pages filled with notes.

So many particulars of Mr. Evelyn have been given in the *Biographia Britannica**, and in Mr. Chalmers's valuable memoir in the *Biographical Dictionary*, that it is unnecessary to repeat them here; but some circumstances have been there omitted, and others, which are there mentioned, admit of elucidation or addition, and such it is proposed to notice here, in addition to the foregoing personal sketch.

His grandfather, George, was not the first of the family who settled in Surrey; John, father of this George, was of Kingston in 1520, and married a daughter of David Vincent, Esq. Lord of the Manor of Long Ditton, near Kingston, which afterwards came into the hands of George, who there carried on the manufacture of gunpowder. He purchased very considerable estates in Surrey, and three of his sons became heads of three families, *viz.* Thomas, his eldest son, at Long Ditton; John at Godstone, and Richard at Wotton. Each of these three families had the title of Baronet conferred on them at different times, *viz.* at Godstone in 1660, Long Ditton in 1683, and Wotton in 1713.

The manufacture of gunpowder was carried on at Godstone as well as at Long Ditton, but it does not appear that there ever was any mill at Wotton, or that the purchase of that place was made with such a view. Nor does it appear from the words quoted in the "*Biographia*" that Mr. Evelyn's grandfather *planted* the timber, with which Wotton was, and always has been, so well stored. The soil produces it naturally, and it has at all times been carefully preserved, besides what has been planted, furnishing abundance for cutting at proper seasons.

It may be not altogether incurious to observe, that though Mr. Evelyn's father was a man of very considerable fortune, the first rudiments of this son's learning were acquired from the village schoolmaster over the porch of Wotton Church. Of his progress at another school, and at college, he himself speaks with great humility; nor did he add much to his stock of knowledge whilst he resided in the Middle Temple, to which his father sent him, with intention that he should apply to what he calls "an impolished study," which he says he never liked. More will be said of this in a subsequent page.

* Second edition, 1793, vol. V.

WOTTON CHURCH, SURRY.

Published December 20th 1818.

BOMBAY BRANCH OFFICE

A. Carey del.

W. Woolnoth Sc.

INTERIOR OF WOTTON CHURCH, SURRY.

Published December 20th 1818.

The "*Biographia*" does not notice his tour in France, Flanders, and Holland, in 1641, when he made a short campaign as a Volunteer in an English Regiment then in service in Flanders.

Nor does it notice his going with intent to have joined King Charles I. at Brentford; but after the battle there he desisted, considering that his brother's, as well as his own estates, were so near London as to be fully in the power of the Parliament. In this dangerous conjuncture he asked and obtained the King's leave to travel. Of these Travels, and the observations he made therein, an account is given in the Diary.

The public troubles coming on before he had engaged in any settled plan for his future life, it appears that he had thoughts of living in the most private manner, and that, with his brother's permission, he had even begun to prepare a place for retirement at Wotton. Nor did he afterwards wholly abandon this intention, if the plan of a College which he sent to Mr. Boyle in 1659, was really formed on a serious idea. The scheme of this is given at length in the "*Biographia,*" and in Dr. Hunter's Edition of the "*Sylva*" in 1776; but it may be observed that he proposes it should not be more than 25 miles from London.

His answer to Sir George Mackenzie's panegyric on Solitude, in which Mr. Evelyn takes the opposite part, and urges the preference to which public employment and an active life is entitled, might be supposed a playful essay of one who, for the sake of argument, would controvert another's position, though in reality agreeing with his own opinion, if we think him serious in two letters to Mr. Abr. Cowley, dated 12 March and 24 Aug. 1666, in the former of which he writes: "You had reason to be astonished at the presumption, not to name it affront, that I, who have so highly celebrated Recesse, and envied it in others, should become an advocate for the Enemie, which of all others it abhors and flies from. I conjure you to believe that I am still of the same mind, and that there is no person alive who dos more honor and breathe after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and advance by your example; but, as those who prays'd Dirt, a Flea, and the Gowte, so have I Public Employment in that trifling essay, and that in so weake a style compared with my Antagonist's, as by that

alone it will appeare I neither was nor could be serious, and I hope you believe I speake my very soule to you,

" Sunt enim Musis sua ludicra, mista Camœnis
Otia sunt ——"

In the other he says, " I pronounce it to you from my heart as oft as I consider it, that I look on your fruitions with unexpressible emulation, and should think myself more happy than Crowned heads, were I, as you, the arbiter of mine own life, and could break from those gilded toys to taste your well-described joys with such a Wife and such a Friend, whose conversation exceed all that the mistaken world calls happiness." But, in truth, his mind was too active to admit of solitude, however desirable it might at some times appear to him in Theory.

After he had settled at Deptford, which was in the time of Cromwell, he kept up a constant correspondence with Sir Richard Browne (his father-in-law) the King's Ambassador at Paris; and though his connection must have been known, it does not appear that he met with any interruption from the Government here. Indeed, though he remained a decided Royalist, he managed so well as to have intimate friends amongst those nearly connected with Cromwell; and to this we may attribute his being able to avoid taking the Covenant, which he says he never did take. In 1659 he published " An Apology for the Royal Party," and soon after he printed a paper which was of great service to the King, entitled " The late News or Message from Brussells unmasked," which was a pamphlet designed to represent the King in the worst light.

On the Restoration we find him very frequently at Court, and he became engaged in many public employments, still attending to his studies and literary pursuits. Amongst these is particularly to be mentioned the Royal Society, in the establishment and conduct of which he took a very active part. He procured Mr. Howard's library to be given to them; and in 1667 the Arundelian Marbles to the University of Oxford.

His first appointment to a public office was in 1662, as a Commissioner for reforming the buildings, ways, streets and incumbrances, and regulating Hackney coaches in London. In the same year he sat as a

Commissioner on an enquiry into the conduct of the Lord Mayor, &c. concerning Sir Thomas Gresham's charities. In 1664 he was in a Commission for regulating the Mint; and in the same year he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the care of the Sick and Wounded in the Dutch War; and was continued in the same employment in the second War with that Country.

He was one of the Commissioners for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral shortly before it was burnt in 1666.

In that year he was in a Commission for regulating the farming and making Saltpetre.

In 1671 he was made a Commissioner of Plantations on the establishment of the Board, to which the Council of Trade was added in 1672.

In 1685 he was one of the Commissioners of the Privy Seal during the absence of the Earl of Clarendon (who held that office), on his going Lord Lieutenant to Ireland.

On the foundation of Greenwich Hospital in 1695, he was one of the Commissioners; and on 30 June 1696, he laid the first stone of that building. He was appointed Treasurer with a salary of 200*l.* a year, but he says it was a long time before he received any part of it.

When the Czar of Muscovy came to England in 1698, he was desirous of having the use of Sayes Court, as being near the King's Dock-yard at Deptford, where that Monarch proposed instructing himself in the art of Ship-building. During his stay he did so much damage, that Mr. Evelyn had an allowance of £.150 for it. He particularly regrets the mischief done to his famous holly hedge, which might have been thought beyond the reach of damage*.

Oct. 1699, his elder brother George Evelyn dying without male issue, aged eighty-three, he succeeded to the paternal estate; and in May following he quitted Sayes Court and went to Wotton, where he passed the remainder of his life, except going occasionally to London, where he had a house.

In the great storm in 1703 he mentions, in his last edition of the *Sylva*, that above 1000 trees were blown down in sight of his house.

* It is said that one of Czar Peter's favourite recreations was to demolish the hedges by riding through them in a wheelbarrow.

He died at his house in London, 27 Feb. 1705-6, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and was buried at Wotton. His Lady survived him nearly three years, dying 9 Feb. 1708-9, in her seventy-fourth year, and was buried near him at Wotton. The Inscriptions on their Tombs, and on those of his father and mother, are subjoined. His personal character was truly amiable. In the relative duties of father, husband, and friend, few could exceed him.

Of Mr. Evelyn's children, one son, who died at the age of five, and one daughter, who died at the age of nineteen, were almost prodigies. The particulars of their extraordinary endowments, and the deep manner in which he was affected by their deaths, may be seen in pp. 309, 588, and cannot be read without exciting the most tender emotions. Their epitaphs are also subjoined.

One daughter was well and happily settled; another less happily, but she did not survive her marriage more than a few months.

The only son who lived to the age of manhood inherited his father's love of learning, and distinguished himself by several publications.

Mr. Evelyn's employment as a Commissioner of the Sick and Wounded was a very laborious one, and from the nature of it must have been extremely unpleasant. Almost the whole labour was in his department, which included all the Ports between the River Thames and Portsmouth; he had to travel in all seasons and weathers, by land and by water, in the execution of his office, to which he gave the strictest attention. It was rendered still more unpleasant by the great difficulty which he found in procuring money for support of the Prisoners. In the Library at Wotton are copies of numerous letters to the Lord Treasurer and Officers of State, representing, in the strongest terms, the great distress of the poor men, and of those who had furnished lodging and necessaries for them. At one time there were such arrears of payment to the victuallers, that on landing additional sick and wounded, they lay some time in the streets, the publicans refusing to receive them, and shutting up their houses. After all this trouble and fatigue he found as great difficulty in getting his accounts settled *. In Jan. 1665-6 he

* 2 Oct. 1665, he writes to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Arlington, Sir William Coventry, and Sir Philip Warwick, complaining of want of money for the Prisoners, and praying that whilst he

formed a plan for an Infirmary at Chatham, which he sent to Mr. Pepys, to be laid before the Admiralty, with his reasons for recommending it; but it does not appear that it was carried into execution.

His business relating to the repair of St. Paul's (which, however, was very short), that of a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, and for building Greenwich Hospital, were much better adapted to his inclination and pursuits.

As a Commissioner of the Privy Seal in the reign of K. James II. he had a difficult task to perform. He was most steadily attached to the Church of England, and the King required the Seal to be put to many things incompatible with the welfare of that Church. This on some occasions he refused to do, particularly to a Licence to Dr. Obadiah Walker to print Popish books *; and on others absented himself, leaving it to his brother Commissioners to act as they thought fit. Such, however, was the King's opinion of him, that he shewed no displeasure on this account.

With respect to Mr. Evelyn's attempt to bring Col. Morley (who was Cromwell's Lieutenant of the Tower, and who held it at the time immediately preceding the Restoration) over to the King's interest, an imperfect account of it is given in the *Biographia*, partly taken from the additions to *Baker's Chronicle*, published with a continuation in 1696.

The fact is, that there was great friendship between these gentlemen, and Mr. Evelyn did endeavour to engage the Colonel in the King's interest; he saw him several times, and put his life into his hands by writing to him on 12 Jan. 1659-60†; he did not succeed, and Col.

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and his brother Commissioners adventure their persons, and all that is dear to them, in this uncomfortable service, they may not be exposed to ruin, and to a necessity of abandoning their care; they have lost their officers and servants by the pestilence, and are hourly environed with the saddest objects of perishing people.—" I have," says he, " 15 places full of sick men, where they put me to unspeakable trouble; the Magistrates and Justices, who should further us in our exigencies, hindering the people from giving us quarters, jealous of the contagion, and causing them to shut their doors at our approach."

* Dr. Walker had been a member of the Church of England (see vol. I. p. 627), but had renounced it, and turned Papist.

† A copy of this letter, with a note of Mr. Evelyn's subjoined, is given among the Illustrations at the end of this Volume, p. 665.

Morley was too much his friend to betray him: but so far from the Colonel having settled matters privately with Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, or General Monk *, as there stated, when the Restoration took place, Col. Morley actually applied to Mr. Evelyn to obtain his pardon, and Mr. Evelyn obtained it accordingly, though, as the latter states, the Colonel was obliged to pay a sum of money. This could not have happened if he had previously joined with General Monk.

There are some mistakes in the *Biographia* as to Mr. Evelyn's Works. Dr. Campbell, who wrote the article in the original edition, took some pains to vindicate Mr. Evelyn's book intitled "Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress," from the charge of being an imperfect work, unequal to the expectation excited by the title. But the Doctor, who had not the information which this Journal so amply affords on this subject, was not aware that what was so printed was nothing more than an Introduction to the History of the Dutch War; a work undertaken by Mr. Evelyn at the express command of King Charles II., and the materials for which were furnished by the Officers of State. The completion of this work, after a considerable progress had been made in it, was put a stop to by the King himself; for what reason does not appear; but perhaps it was found that Mr. Evelyn was inclined to tell too much of the truth concerning a transaction which it will be seen by his Journal he utterly reprobated. His copy of the History, as far as he had proceeded, he put into the hands of his friend Mr. Pepys of the Admiralty, who did not return it, and giving his books and manuscripts to Magdalen College, Cambridge, it was hoped it was there preserved. The Editor went to Cambridge for the purpose of seeing it; was favoured with access to the Library, and with the most obliging personal attendance of the Hon. Mr. Fortescue, one of the Fellows of the College; but, after a diligent search for several hours, it could not be found.

Dr. Campbell understood "The Mystery of Jesuitism" to be a single volume, but there were three published in different years. The trans-

* Colonel Morley's name is scarcely mentioned in the account of General Monk's conduct on this occasion written by John Price, D. D. (who was sent to him on the King's behalf, and had continual intercourse with him) published in 1680, and reprinted by Baron Maseres in 1815.

lation of the second was undertaken by Mr. Evelyn at the express desire of Lord Clarendon, and his son, as appears by a letter of Mr. E. to Lord Cornbury, dated 9 February 1664. The third was translated by Dr. Tonge for Mr. Evelyn; but a fuller statement of this will be found in vol. I. p. 371.

In giving a list of Mr. Evelyn's Publications, the Authors of the *Biographia* say, "As several of these treatises were printed before the Author's return to England, and others without his name, we must depend on the general opinion of the world, and the authority of Mr. Wood, for their being his; yet there is no great reason to suspect a mistake." * They say, "We know nothing of the 'Mundus Muliebris; or, the Ladies' Dressing Room unlocked,' except that it has had a place in the Catalogue of our Author's Works, from which therefore we have no right to remove it." †

There is no doubt of his being the author: under 1685 Mr. Evelyn, in his account of his daughter Mary, says she "put in many pretty symbols in the 'Mundus Muliebris,' wherein is an enumeration of the immense variety of the modes and ornaments belonging to the sex."

In a letter to Lord Cornbury, dated 9 February 1664, he speaks of having written a Play.

The Authors of the *Biographia* say, "The account which Mr. Boyle received from Mr. Evelyn ‡ of the method used by the Italians for preserving snow in pits, is an admirable specimen of that care with which he registered his discoveries, as well as the curiosity which prompted him to enquire into every thing worthy of notice, either natural or artificial, in the countries through which he passed. It is much to be regretted that a work so entertaining and instructive as the History of his Travels would have been, appeared, even to so indefatigable a person as he was, a task too laborious for him to undertake; for we should then have seen clearly, and in a true light, many things in reference to Italy which are now very indistinctly and partially represented; and we should also have met with much new matter never touched before, and of which we shall now probably never hear at all." §

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* Biog. Brit. vol. V. 2d edit. p. 611. note E.

† Id. p. 624. note S.

‡ Boyle's Works, vol. II. p. 306.

§ Biog. Brit. vol. V. p. 610, note D

What is thus said of Mr. Evelyn's travels is partly supplied in the following volume, but not so fully as could be wished. That he made many observations which will not be found here, appears by the above quotation from Mr. Boyle, and by an account of the manner of making bread in France, which he communicated to Mr. Houghton, a Fellow of the Royal Society, who published it in some papers which he printed weekly in 1681 and following years. It must be presumed that Mr. Evelyn had made many other observations not found in this Journal, and the notes of which have not been discovered amongst his papers.

From the numerous Authors who have spoken in high terms of this Gentleman, we will insert the two following characters of him:

In the *Biographia* Dr. Campbell says, "It is certain that very few Authors who have written in our language deserve the character of able and agreeable writers so well as Mr. Evelyn, who, though he was acquainted with most sciences, and wrote upon many different subjects, yet was very far, indeed the farthest of most men of his time, from being a superficial writer. He had genius, he had taste, he had learning; and he knew how to give all these a proper place in his works, so as never to pass for a Pedant, even with such as were least in love with literature, and to be justly esteemed a polite Author by those who knew it best." *

Mr. Horace Walpole (afterwards Earl of Orford), in his Catalogue of Engravers, also gives the following admirably-drawn character of him, p. 85, 86: "If Mr. Evelyn had not been an Artist himself, as I think I can prove he was, I should yet have found it difficult to deny myself the pleasure of allotting him a place among the Arts he loved, promoted, patronized; and it would be but justice to inscribe his name with due panegyric in these records, as I have once or twice taken the liberty to criticise him: but they are trifling blemishes compared with his amiable virtues and beneficence; and it may be remarked, that the worst I have said of him is, that he knew more than he always communicated. It is no unwelcome satire to say, that a man's intelligence and philosophy is inexhaustible. I mean not to write his Life, which may

* Biog. Brit. vol. V. p. 614, note I.

be found detailed in the new edition of his 'Sculptura,' in Collins's 'Baronetage,' in the 'General Dictionary,' and in the new 'Biographical Dictionary;' but I must observe, that his life, which was extended to 86 years, was a course of enquiry, study, curiosity, instruction, and benevolence. The works of the Creator, and the minute labours of the creature, were all objects of his pursuit. He unfolded the perfection of the one, and assisted the imperfection of the other. He adored from examination; was a courtier that flattered only by informing his prince, and by pointing out what was worthy for him to countenance; and really was the Neighbour of the Gospel, for there was no man that might not have been the better for him. Whoever peruses a list of his works will subscribe to my assertion. He was one of the first promoters of the Royal Society; a patron of the ingenious and the indigent; and peculiarly serviceable to the lettered world; for besides his writings and discoveries, he obtained the Arundelian Marbles for the University of Oxford, and the Arundelian Library for the Royal Society. — Nor is it the least part of his praise, that he, who proposed to Mr. Boyle the erection of a Philosophical College for retired and speculative persons, had the honesty to write in defence of active life against Sir George Mackenzie's Essay on Solitude. He knew that retirement, in his own hands, was industry, and benefit to mankind; but in those of others, laziness and inutility."

His son, Mr. John Evelyn, was of Trinity College, Oxford, and when about 15 years old he wrote that elegant Greek Poem which is prefixed to the second edition of the "Sylva." He translated Rapin on Gardens, in four books, written in Latin verse. His Father annexed the second book of this to the second edition of his "Sylva." He also translated from the Greek of Plutarch the life of Alexander the Great, printed in the fourth volume of "Plutarch's Lives, by several Hands;" and from the French, the History of the Grand Viziers Mahomet and Achmet Coprogli. There are several Poems of his, of which some are printed in Dryden's Miscellanies, and more in Nichols's Collection of Poems.

In December 1688 he was presented to the Prince of Orange at Abington by Col. Sidney and Col. Berkley, and was one of the volunteers

in Lord Lovelace's troop, when his Lordship secured Oxford for the Prince. In 1690 he purchased the place of Chief Clerk of the Treasury; but in the next year he was by some means removed from it by Mr. Guy, who succeeded in that office. In August 1692 he was made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, from whence he returned to England in 1696 in very ill health, and died 24th March, 1698, in his father's life-time.

He married Martha, daughter and coheir of Richard Spenser, Esq. a Turkey merchant, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. The eldest son, and the eldest daughter, Martha-Mary, and youngest daughter, Jane, died infants. The surviving daughter, Elizabeth, married Simon Harcourt, Esq. son of the Lord Chancellor Harcourt. September 18, 1705, the son John, who had succeeded his grandfather at Wotton, married Anne, daughter of Edward Boscawen, Esq. of the county of Cornwall; and by letters patent, dated 30 July 1713, was created a Baronet. He inherited the virtue and the taste for learning, as well as the patrimony, of his ancestors, and lived at Wotton universally loved and respected. He built a Library there, 45 feet long, 14 wide, and as many high, for the reception of the large and curious collection of books made by his grandfather, father, and himself, and where they now remain. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, was long the First Commissioner of the Customs, and died July 15, 1763, in the eighty-second year of his age.

By his lady, who died before him, he had several children, and was succeeded by John the eldest, who married Mary daughter of Hugh Boscawen, Viscount Falmouth, and died 11 June, 1767, in the sixty-first year of his age. He was Clerk of the Green Cloth to Frederick Prince of Wales, father of the present King, to this King when Prince of Wales, and after he came to the Crown. He represented the Borough of Helston in several Parliaments, and to the time of his death. He had only one son, Frederick, who succeeded to the title and estate, and three daughters. Of the daughters, two died unmarried; the third, Augusta, married the Rev. Dr. Henry Jenkin, Rector of Wotton and Abinger; but she died without issue. Sir Frederick was in the army in the early part of his life, and was in *Elliot's Light-Horse* when

that Regiment so highly distinguished themselves in the famous Battle of Minden in Germany in 1759. He married Mary, daughter of William Turton, Esq. of Staffordshire, and, dying without issue in 1812, he left his estates to his Lady. She lived at Wotton, where she fully maintained the honour and great respect which had so long attended the family there. Her taste for botany was displayed in her garden and green-house, where she had a curious collection of exotic, as well as native, shrubs and flowers. The Library shared her attention; besides making additions to it, she had a complete Catalogue arranged by Mr. Upcott of the London Institution.

This lady by her will returned the estate to the family, devising it to John Evelyn, Esq. who descended from George Evelyn, the purchaser of this estate in 1579.

The following are Epitaphs to the memory of the writer of this Diary, and part of his family, interred in the Dormitory adjoining Wotton Church, of which an engraving is annexed.

For his Grandfather, who settled at Wotton, on an alabaster monument, written by Dr. Comber, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards Dean of Durham.

D. O. M. S.
Georgio Evelino, Arm. non minùs
Vitæ et Morum exemplo, quàm dignitate
conspicuo, quem plenum annis (inoffensæ
vitæ decurso itinere, quale sibi optarunt magni illi, qui inane strepitum
tranquillitati posthabendum putarunt)
Mors immatura abstulit, namq;
rebus omnibus, Deo omnia benè vertente,
affluens, quibus vita beata efficitur,
repetito non infelici delectu matrimonio, Liberos ad filios 16, octoque
filias, penè octogenarius decessit senex;
Parenti charissimo, et benè merenti
Richardus Evelinus, filiorum natu minimus,
Monumentum cum carmine mœrens
posuit, quod non tam Patris vivo hominum
ore victuri, quàm propriæ Pietatis
testimonium esset.
Obiit 30 die Maii, An. Dom. 1603.
Ætatis suæ 73.

On another alabaster monument are the figures of a man and his wife kneeling, and five children; below is this inscription:

Epitaphium
verè generosi, et prænobilis Viri, D. Richardi
Evelini, armigeri, in agro Surriensi, hîc
subter in terrâ conditi.

Quem Pietas, Probitas, claris natalibus ortum,
Prolis amor dulcis, Vitaq. labe carens,
Religionis opus, quem Vota Precesq; suorum,
Et morum niveus candor, aperta manus,
Reddebant olim charum patriæq; suisq;
Vertitur in cineres hâc Evelinus humo.
Lector, ne doleas, cum sis mortalis, abito
Et sortis non sis immemor ipse tuæ.

I. Coney Del.t 1818. W.m Angus. Sculp.t

A View of the Burial Place of the Evelyn Family

In Wotton Church; shewing the Tombs of John Evelyn Esq.r and Mary his Wife.

Obiit Quinquagenarius
corporis statu vegeto, vicesimo die Decembris anno
Salutis humanæ
1640, Liberorum quinq. Pater,
relictis quatuor superstitibus, tribus
scil. filiis cum
unica tantum filiâ.
Festinantes sequimur.

On another monument, fixed to the same wall:

To
the precious memory of
ELLEN EVELYN,
the dearly beloved wife of Richard Evelyn, Esq.
a rare example of Piety, Loyalty, Prudence, and Charity,
a happy Mother of five Children,
George, John, Richard, Elizabeth, and Jane;
who in the 37th year of her age,
the 22d of her marriage,
and the 1635th of Man's Redemption,
put on Immortality,
leaving her name as a monument of her perfections,
and her Perfections as a precedent for imitation.

Of her great worth to know, who seeketh more,
Must mount to Heaven, where she is gone before.

On a white marble, covering a Tomb shaped like a coffin raised about three feet above the floor, is inscribed:

Here lies the Body
of JOHN EVELYN Esq,
of this place, second son
of Richard Evelyn Esq;
who having serv'd the Publick
in several employments, of which that
of Commissioner of the Privy-Seal in the
Reign of King James the 2d was most
honourable, and perpetuated his fame
by far more lasting monuments than
those of Stone or Brass, his learned
and usefull Works, fell asleep the 27 day
of February 1705-6, being the 86 year
of his age, in full hope of a glorious
Resurrection, thro' Faith in Jesus Christ,
Living in an age of extraordinary
Events and Revolutions, he learnt
(as himself asserted) this Truth,
which pursuant to his intention
is here declared—
That all is vanity which is not honest,

and that there is no solid wisdom
but in real Piety.
Of five Sons and three Daughters
born to him from his most
vertuous and excellent Wife,
Mary, sole daughter and heiress
of Sir Rich. Browne of Sayes
Court near Deptford in Kent,
onely one daughter, Susanna
married to William Draper
Esq; of Adscomb in this
County, survived him; the
two others dying in the
flower of their age, and
all the Sons very young ex-
cept one named John, who
deceased 24 March 1698-9,
in the 45 year of his age,
leaving one son, John, and
one daughter, Elizabeth:

On another monument at the head of, and like the former:

MARY EVELYN,
the best Daughter, Wife,
and Mother,
the most accomplished of women,
beloved, esteemed, admired,
and regretted, by all who knew her,
is deposited in this stone coffin,
according to her own desire, as near
as could be to her dear Husband
JOHN EVELYN,
with whom she lived almost
Threescore years,
and survived not quite three, dying
at London, the 9 of Feb. 1708-9,
in the 74th year of her age.

In the Church of St. Nicholas, Deptford, on the East wall, to the South of the altar, is a marble mural tablet with the following Inscriptions to the two Children of Mr. Evelyn, whose early loss he has so feelingly lamented in his Diary:

R. EVELYN. I. F.
Quiescit hoc sub marmore,
Unà quiescit quicquid est amabile,
Patres quod optent, aut quod orbi lugeant;
Genas decentes non, ut ante, risus
Lepore condit amplius;

Morum venustas, quanta paucis contigit,
Desideratur omnibus.
Linguæ, Latina, Gallica,
Quas imbibit cum lacte materno, tacent.
Tentarat Artes, artiumque principiis
Pietatis elementa hauserat.
Libris inhæsit improbo labore
Ut sola mors divelleret.
Quod indoles, quod disciplina, quod labor
Possint, ab uno disceres.
Puer stupendus, qualis hic esset senex
Si fata vitæ subministrâssent iter!
Sed aliter est visum Deo:
Correptus ille febriculâ levi jacet,
Jacent tot unà spes Parentum!
Vixit Ann. V. M. V. III super D.
Eheu! delicias breves.
Quicquid placet mortale, non placet diu,
Quicquid placet mortale, ne placeat nimis.

Mary Evelyn,
Eldest Daughter of John Evelyn,
and Mary his wife, borne the last day of
September 1665, att Wootton in
the County of Surrey. A beautifull
young woman, endowed with shining
Qualities both of body and mind, infinitly
pious, the delight of her Parents and Friends.
She dyed 17 March 1685 at the
Age of 19 Years, 5 Months, 17 Dayes,
regretted by all persons of worth
that knew her value.

A tablet adjoining the foregoing, is thus inscribed:

M. S.
Neere this place are deposited ye bodys
of Sir Richard Browne of Sayes-Court in Deptford, Knt;
Of his wife Dame Joanna Vigorus of Langham in Essex,
deceased in Nov. 1618 aged 74 years.
This Sir Richard was younger son of an ancient family of
Hitcham in Suffolk, seated afterwards at Horsly in Essex, who (being
Student in the Temple) was by Robert Dudley, the great Earle of Leicester,
taken into the service of the Crowne when he went
Governor of the United Netherlands, and was afterwards
by Queene Elizabeth made Clearke of the Greene Cloth,
in which honorable office he also continued under King James untill the
time of his death, May 1604, aged 65 yeares;
Of Christopher Browne, Esq. son and heire of Sir Richard, who
deceased in March 1645, aged 70 yeares;
Of Thomasin his wife, da^r^ of Benjamin Gonson of Much Bado

in Essex, Esq. whose grandfather William Gonson, and father Benjamin, were successively Treasurers of the Navy to King Hen: VIII., to K. Ed. VI., to Queene Mary, and Q. Elizabeth; and died June 1638, aged 75 years;
Of Sir Richard Browne Knt. and Baronet, onely son of Christopher;
Of his wife Dame Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Pretyman of Dry-field in Glocester shire, who deceased VI Octobr 1652, aged 42 years.
This Sir Richard was Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to K. Charles ye First, and Cleark of the Council of his Maty, and to K. Charles ye Second, and (after several foraigne and honorable employments) continued Resident in the Court of France from K. Char. the I. and from K. Char. IId to the French-Kings LEWES XIII. and LEWES XIV. from the years 1641 (the beginning of our un-naturall civile-warr) untill the happy Restauration of K. Char. ye IId 1660; deceased XII. Feb. Ao 1682-3 aged 78 yrs; and (according to ancient custome) willed to be interred in this place.
These all deceasing in the true Faith of Christ, hope, through his merits, for a joyfull and blessed Resurrection. X. A. P. D.
This Title was erected by John Evelyn Esq. of Sayes-Court, who maried Mary sole daughter and heiresse of Sir Richard.

Arms.—Quarterly, 1. Or, a chief Sable, an augmentation granted to *Browne;* 2. Gules, a griffin passant Or, a chief of the second—*Browne;* 3. Argent, a fret G. 4. Quarterly, indented Or and G.

In the Church-yard is the Tomb of Sir Richard, with this inscription:

M. S. RICHARDUS BROWNE de Sayes Court Deptfordiæ in comitatu Cantii, eques auratus et baronettus, Regibus Carolo I. et II. a sanctioribus conciliis secretarius, necnon utriusque Regis totos viginti annos ad Ludovicos XIII. et XIV. Galliæ Reges prolegatus. Ætatis confectus in cœlestem patriam migrans exuvias corporis hic deposuit ætatis anno 78, reparatæ salutis 1683, unicâ relictâ filiâ Johanni Evelyno nuptâ. Monumentum in parte ecclesiæ interiore Gener P. P.

KALENDARIUM.

I WAS borne at Wotton, in the county of Surrey, 31st Oct. 1620, after my Father had been married about 7 yeares*, and my Mother had borne him two daughters and one sonn, *viz.* Eliza 28th Nov. 1614; Jane 16 Feb. 1615; George 18 June 1617. They had another sonn after me, Richard, born 4th Decr. 1622.

My Father, named Richard, was of a sanguine complexion, mixed with a dash of choler: his haire inclining to light, which tho' very thick became hoary by that time he was 30 yeares of age; it was somewhat curled towards the extremity; his beard, which he wore a little picked, as the mode was, of a brownish colour, and so continued to the last, save that it was somewhat mingled with grey haires about his cheekes: which, with his countenance, was cleare, and fresh colour'd, his eyes quick and piercing, an ample forehead, manly aspect; low of stature, but very strong. So exact and temperate, that I haue heard he had never been surprised by excesse, being ascetic and sparing. His wisdom was greate, his judgment acute; of solid discourse, affable, humble, and in nothing affected; of a thriving, neate, silent, and methodical genius; discreetly severe, yet liberal on all just occasions, to his children, strangers, and servants; a lover of hospitality; of a singular and Christian moderation in all his actions; a Justice of the Peace and of the Quorum; he served his Country as High Sheriff for Surrey and Sussex together†. He was a studious decliner of honours

*. He was married at St. Thomas's Church, Southwark, 27 Jan. 1613.

† Formerly the two Counties had, in general, only one Sheriff, though sometimes distinct ones; in 1637 each County had its Sheriff, and so it has continued ever since.

honours and titles, being already in that esteem with his country that they could have added little to him beside their burden *. He was a person of that rare conversation, that upon frequent recollection, and calling to mind passages of his life and discourse, I could never charge him with the least passion or inadvertence. His estate was esteem'd about £.4,000 *per ann.* well wooded and full of timber.

My Mother's name was Elianor, sole daughter† and heyresse of John Standsfield Esq; of an ancient and honorable family (though now extinct) in Shropshire, by his wife Elianor Comber of a good and well knowne house in Sussex. She was of proper personage; of a browne complexion; her eyes and haire of a lovely black; of constitution inclyned to a religious melancholy, or pious sadnesse; of a rare memory and most exemplary life; for œconomie and prudence esteemed one of the most conspicuous in her Country.

So much touching my parents; nor was it reasonable I should speake lesse of them to whom I owe so much.

Wotton, the mansion house of my father, left him by my grandfather, (now my eldest brother's) is situated in the most Southern part of the Shire, and tho' in a vally, yet really upon part of Lyth Hill, one of the most eminent in Engl'd ‡ for the prodigious prospect to be seen from its sum'it, tho' by few observed. From it may be discern'd 12 or 13 Counties, with part of the Sea on the Coast of Sussex, in a serene day; the house large and ancient, suitable to those hospitable times, and so sweetly environed with those delicious streams and venerable woods, as in the judgement of Strangers as well as Englishmen it may be compared to one of the most pleasant Seates in the Nation, and most tempting for a great person and a wanton purse to render it conspicuous: it has rising grounds, meadows, woods, and water, in abundance.

The distance from London little more than 20 miles §, and yet so securely placed as if it were 100; three miles from Dorking, which

* "R[d] the 29. Octr 1630, of Rich[d] Evlinge of Wottone in the Countye of Surr' Esq; by waie of composic'one to the use of his Matie, being apointed by his Matie Collector for the same, for his Fine for not apearinge at the time and place apoynted for receavinge order of K[t]hood, the somme of fivetey pound I say receaved THO. CRYMES."

† She was born 17 Nov. 1598, near Lewes in Sussex.

‡ 993 feet.

§ Computed miles; it is a little more than 26 measured miles.

Wotton, in Surry, the Seat of John Evelyn, Esqr.

Leith Hill Tower is seen in the distance

serves it abundantly with provisions as well of land as sea; 6 from Gilford, 12 from Kingston *. I will say nothing of the ayre, because the præeminence is universally given to Surrey, the soil being dry and sandy; but I should speake much of the gardens, fountaines, and groves, that adorne it, were they not as generaly knowne to be amongst the most natural, and (til this later and universal luxury of the whole nation, since abounding in such expenses) the most magnificent that England afforded, and which indeede gave one of the first examples to that elegancy since so much in vouge and follow'd in the managing of their waters, and other ornaments of that nature. Let me add, the contiguity of five or six Mannors †, the patronage of the livings about it, and, what is none of the least advantages, a good neighbourhood. All which conspire to render it fit for the present possessor, my worthy brother, and his noble lady ‡, whose constant liberality give them title both to the place and the affections of all that know them. Thus, with the poet,

Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos
Ducit, et im'emores non sinit esse sui.

1624. I was not initiated into any rudiments till I was four years of age, and then one Frier taught us at the church porch of Wotton; and I perfectly remember the great talk and stir about il Conde Gundamar, Ambass^r from Spain (for near about this time was the match of our Prince with the Infanta proposed).

1625. I was this year sent by my Father to Lewes in Sussex, to be with my Grandfather Standsfield, with whom I passed my childhood. This was the year in which the pestilence was so epidemical that there dy'd in London 5,000 a week; and I well remember the strict watches and examinations upon the ways as we passed.

1626. My picture was drawn in oyle by one Chanterell, no ill painter.

1627. My Grandfather Standsfield dyed this yeare on 5 Feb.: I remember the solemnity at his funeral. He was buried in the parish church of All Soules, where my Grandmother, his second wife, erected a monument. About this time was the consecration of the Church of

* 8, and 14. † 7 Manors, 2 Advowsons, and a Chapel of Sir John Cotton. ‡ Lady Cotton, widow.

South Malling, near Lewes, the building whereof was chiefly procured by my Grandfather, who having the Impropriation, gave 20*l.* a-year out of it to this Church. I afterwards sold the Impropriation. I layd one of the first stones at the building of the Church, which was consecrated by Bishop Field, Bishop of Oxf[d], the sermon being preached by Mr. Coxhall, afterwards minister there.

It was not till the yeare 1628 that I was put to learne my Latine rudiments, and to write, of one Citolin, a Frenchman, in Lewes. I was put to schoole to Mr. Potts, in the Cliffe at Lewes; and in 1630 from thence to the Free-schole at Southover neere the town, of which one Agnes Morley had been the foundresse, and now Edward Snatt was the master, under whom I remained till I was sent to the University*. This yeare my Grandmother (wth whom I sojourn'd) being married to one Mr. Newton, a learned and most religious gent. we went from the Cliff to dwell at his house in Southover.

1631. There happen'd an extraordinary dearth in England, corne bearing an excessive price; and, in imitation of what I had seene my Father do, I began to observe matters more punctualy, which I did use to set downe in a blanke almanac.

21st Oct. 1632. My eldest Sister was married to Edw[d] Darcy Esq; who little deserved so excellent a person. I was soone afterwards sent for into Surrey, and my Father would willingly have weaned me from my fondness of my too indulgent Grandmother, intending to have placed me at Eaton; but I was so terrified at the report of the severe discipline there, that I was sent back to Lewes, which perversenesse of mine I have since a thousand times deplor'd. Whiles I was now trifling at home I saw London, where I lay one night onely. The next day I dined at Beddington, where I was much delighted with the gardens and curiosities. Thence we returned to the Lady Darcy's at Sutton, thence to Wotton, and the 16th of Aug. 1633, back to Lewes.

1634. My Father was appointed Sheriff for Surrey and Sussex before they were disjoyned. He had 116 servants in liverys, every one livery'd in greene sattin doublets; divers gentlemen and persons of quality

* Long after, Mr. Evelyn paid great respect to this gentleman, as appears by his letters.

waited on him in the same garbe and habit, which at that time (when 30 or 40 was the usual retinue of the High Sheriff) was esteem'd a great matter. Nor was this out of the least vanity that my Father exceeded (who was one of the greatest decliners of it), but because he could not refuse the civility of his friends and relations, who voluntarily came themselves, or sent in their servants. But my Father was afterwards most unjustly and spitefully molested by y^t^ jeering judge Richardson*, for repreeving the execution of a woman, to gratifie my L. of Lindsey, then Admiral; but out of this he emerged with as much honor as trouble.

15 December 1634. My Sister Darcy departed this life, being arriv'd to her 20 yeare of age, in vertue advanc'd beyond her yeares, or the merit of her husband, the worst of men. She had been brought to bed the 2d of June before, but the infant died soon after her. My Sister was interr'd in a very honorable manner in our dormitory joyning to the parish church †, where now her monument stands.

1635. My deare Mother departed this life upon the 29th September, about the 37th of her age and 22d of her marriage; her death hastened by excessive grief for the losse of her daughter. When near her death, she summoned all her children then living (I shall never forget it), and express'd herself in a manner so heavenly, with instructions so pious and Christian, as made us strangely sensible of the extraordinary losse then imminent; after which, embracing every one of us, she gave to each a ring, with her blessing. Then taking my Father by the hand, she recom'ended us to his care; and having importun'd him that what he design'd to bestow on her funeral he would rather dispose among ye poore, she labour'd to compose herselfe for the blessed change which she now expected. There was not a servant in the house whom she did not expressly send for, advise, and infinitely affect with her counsell.

* He was made a Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1626, and of the King's Bench in 1631. There is a monument for him in Westminster Abbey. Fuller says he lived too near the time to speake fully of him. He took on him to issue an order against keeping wakes on Sundays, which Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, took up as an infringement of the rights of Bishops, and got him severely reprimanded at the Council Table. He was owner of Starborough Castle in Lingfield in Surrey. Manning and Bray's History of Surrey, vol. II. p. 345. † Of Wotton.

Though her Physicians, Dr. Merwell, Dr. Clement, and Dr. Rand, had given over all hopes of her recovery, and Sr Sanders Duncombe tried his celebrated and famous powder, she was many days impairing, and endur'd the sharpest conflicts of her sicknesse with admirable patience and most Christian resignation, retaining her intellectuals and ardent affections for her dissolution to the very article of her departure. When near her dissolution, she laid her hand on every one of her children, and taking solemn leave of my Father, with elevated heart and eyes she quietly expired, and resign'd her soule to God. She was interr'd, as neere as might be, to her daughter Darcy, the 3d of October, at night, but with no meane ceremony.

* 1636. This yeare being extreamely dry, the pestilence much increased in London and divers parts of England.

13 Feb. I was admitted into the Middle Temple, London, though absent, and as yet at schoole.

3d April, 1637. I left schoole, where, till about the last yeare, I had been extreamly remisse in my studies, so as I went to the Universitie rather out of shame of abiding longer at schoole, than for any fitnesse, as by sad experience I found, which put me to re-learne all that I had neglected, or but perfunctorily gain'd.

10 May. I was admitted a fellow com'uner of Baliol College, Oxford, and on the 29th I was matriculated in the Vestry at St. Marie's, where I subscribed the Articles and took the oaths, Dr. Baily, head of St. Johns, being Vice Chancelor, afterwards Bp. The Fellow Com'uners in Balliol were no more exempt from exercise than the meanest scholars there, and my Father sent me thither to one Mr. Geo. Bradshaw, *(nomen invisum!* yet the son of an excellent father, beneficed in Surrey †.) I ever thought my Tutor had parts enough, but as his ambition made him much suspected of ye College, so his grudge to Dr. Lawrence, the governor of it, (whom he afterwards supplanted) tooke up so much of his tyme, that he seldom or never had the opportunity to discharge his duty to his scholars. This I perceiving, asso-

* An account of the visit made by K. Charles I. and his Queen to the University of Oxford, in Sept. 1636, is given at the end of this Volume, in a letter from George Evelyn, Esq. to his Father.

† Rector of Ockham.

ciated myself with one Mr. James Thicknesse, (then a young man of the Foundation, afterwards a Fellow of the House,) by whose learned and friendly conversation I received great advantage. At my first arival, Dr. Parkhurst was Master; and after his discease, Dr. Lawrence, a chaplaine of his Ma'ties and Margaret Professor, succeeded, an accute and learned person; nor do I much reproch his severity, considering that the extraordinary remissenesse of discipline had (til his coming) much detracted from the reputation of that Colledg.

There came in my tyme to the Coll: one Nathaniel Conopios, out of Greece, from Cyrill the Patriarch of Constantinople, who returning many years after, was made (as I understand) Bishop of Smyrna. He was the first I ever saw drink coffee, wch custom came not into England till 30 years after.

After I was somewhat settled there in my formalities (for then was the University exceedingly regular, under the exact discipline of William Lawd, Archbishop of Canterbury, then Chancelor,) I added, as benefactor to the Library of the Coll. these books:

Zanchii Opera, vols. 1, 2, 3.

Granado in Thomam Aquinatem, vols. 1, 2, 3.

Novarini Electa sacra, and *Cresolii Anthologia sacra*, authors (it seems) desired by the students of Divinity there.

1637. At Christmas the Gentlemen of Exeter College presented a Comedy to the University.

I was admitted into the dauncing and vaulting Schole, of which late activity one Stokes, the Master, set forth a *pretty book*, which was publish'd with many witty elogies before it *.

1638. My Father order'd that I should begin to manage myne owne expenses, which till then my Tutor had done; at which I was much satisfied.

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* It being now become extremely scarce, the title of it is here given: "The Vaulting Master, or the Art of Vaulting. Reduced to a method comprized under certain Rules. Illustrated by examples, and now primarily set forth, by Will. Stokes. Printed for Richard Davis in Oxon, 1655." A small oblong quarto, with the author's portrait prefixed, and a number of plates beautifully engraved (most probably by Glover) representing feats of activity on horseback that appear extraordinary ones at this time of day. From the communication of James Bindley, Esq. a gentleman whose collection of scarce and valuable books is perhaps hardly to be equalled.

1639. I began to look on the rudiments of musick, in which I afterwards ariv'd to some formal knowledge, though to small perfection of hand, becaus I was so frequently diverted by inclinations to newer trifles.

20 May. Accompany'd with one Mr. Jo. Crafford, (who afterwards being my fellow-traveller in Italy there chang'd his religion,) I tooke a journey of pleasure to see ye Sumersetshire Bathes, Bristoll, Cirencester, Malmesbury, Abington, and divers other townes of lesser note, and returned the 25th.

1640. Came my bro. Richard from schole to be my chamber-fellow at the University. He was admitted the next day, and matriculated the 31st.

11th April. I went to London to see the solemnity of his Maties riding through the Citty in state to the Short Parliament, which began the 13th following, a very glorious and magnificent sight, the King circled with his royal diademe and the affections of his people.

27th April. I went to London to be resident in the Middle Temple. My being at the University, in regard of these avocations, was of very small benefit to me.

5th May was the Parliament unhappily dissolved.

20th May I return'd with my bro. Geo. to Wotton, who on the 28th of the same month was married at Aldbury to Mrs. Caldwell (an heiress of an ancient Leicestershire family *).

10th June I repaired with my Brother to the Tearme, to goe into our new lodgings, (that were formerly in Essex Court,) being a very handsome apartment just over against the Hall-Court, but four pair of stairs high, w'ch gave us the advantage of the fairer prospect, but did not much contribute to the love of that impolish'd study, to w'ch (I suppose) my Father had design'd me, when he paid 145*l.* to purchase our present lives, and assignments afterwards.

London, and especially the Court, were at this period in frequent disorders, and greate insolencies were com'itted by the abus'd and too happy Citty: in particular the Bish. of Canterbury's Palace at Lam-

* A daughter of Daniel Caldwell, Esq. by Mary, daughter of Geo. Duncomb, Esq. of Albury. She died 15 May 1644, and he afterwards married the widow of Sir John Cotton.

beth was assaulted by a rude rabble from Southwark; my Lord Chamberlayne imprison'd, and many scandalous libells and invectives scatter'd about the streetes, to ye reproch of Government and the fermentation of our since distractions.

27th June. My Father's indisposition augmenting, by advice of the physitians he repaired to the Bathe.

7 July. My brother Geo. and I understanding ye peril my Father was in, rod post from Guildford towards him, and found him extraordinary weake; but on 8 Sept. I returned home with him in his litter.

15 Oct. I went to the Temple, it being Michaelmas Tearme *.

30th. I saw his Ma'tie (com'ing from his Northern Expedition) ride in pomp and a kind of ovation, with all the marks of a happy peace, restor'd to the affections of his people, being conducted through Lond: with a most splendid cavalcade; and on 3 Nov. following (a day never to be mention'd without a curse) to that long, ungratefull, foolish, and fatal Parliament, the beginning of all our sorrows for twenty yeares after, and the period of the most happy Monarch in the world: *Quis talia fando!* †

My Father's disorder appeared to be a dropsy, an indisposition the most unsuspected, being a person so exemplaryly temperate. On the 24th Dec. he died, retaining his senses and piety to the last, which he most tenderly expressed in blessing us, whom he now left to the world, and the worst of times, whilst he was taken from the evill to come.

1641. 2 January. We at night followed the mourning hearse to the Church at Wotton, when, after a sermon and funeral oration, my Father was interred neere his formerly erected monument, and mingled with the ashes of our Mother, his deare wife. Thus we were bereft of both our parents in a period when we most of all stood in need of theire counsell and assistance, especially myselfe, of a raw, vaine, uncertain, and very unwary inclination; but so it pleased God to make tryall of my conduct in a conjuncture of the greatest and most prodigious hazard that ever the youth of England saw. If I did not amidst all this

* The Term then began in October.

† Notwithstanding this expression, it will afterwards appear that Mr. Evelyn by no means approved of arbitrary or tyrannical measures.

peach my liberty, nor my vertue, with the rest who made shipwreck of both, it was more the infinite goodness and mercy of God than the least discretion of myne owne, who now thought of nothing but the pursuite of vanity, and the confused imaginations of young men.

15. I went to London, to heare and see the famous tryall of the Earle of Strafford, who on 22d March before had been summon'd before both Houses of Parliament, and now appear'd in Westminster Hall, which was prepar'd with scaffolds for the Lords and Com'ons, who together with the King, Queene, Prince, and flower of the Noblesse, were spectators and auditors of the greatest malice and the greatest innocency that ever met before so illustrious an assembly. The E. of Arundell and Surrey, Earle Martial of England, was made High Steward. The sequel is too well known.

27. Came over from Holland the young Prince of Orange, with a splendid equipage, to make love to his Ma'ties eldest daughter, the now Princess Royal.

That evening was celebrated the pompous funerall of the Duke of Richmond, who was carried in effigie in an open chariot thro' London in great solemnity.

12th May. I beheld on Tower Hill the fatal stroke which sever'd the wisest head in England from the shoulders of the Earle of Strafford; whose crime coming under the cognizance of no human law, a new one was made, not to be a precident, but his destruction; to such exorbitancy were things arived.

28 June. I went to London with my sister Jane, and the day after sate to one Vanderborcht for my picture in oyle, which I presented to her, being her request, on my resolution to absent myself from this ill face of things at home, which gave umbrage to wiser than myselfe, that the medaill was reversing, and our calamities but yet in their infancy.

The 16th July, having procur'd a passe at the Costome-house, I went to Gravesend, accompany'd with one Mr. Caryll and our servants, with a purpose to take the first opportunity of a passage for Holland; but the wind as yet not favourable. On the 19th we rode to Rochester and Chatham, to see the Soveraigne, a monstrous vessel so called, being for burthen, defense, and ornament, the richest that ever spread

cloth before the wind*, and especialy for this remarkable, that her building cost his Ma'tie the affections of his subjects, who quarrell'd with him for a trifle, refusing to contribute either to their own safety or his glory.

21. We embarqued in a Dutch Fregat, bound for Flushing, convoyed and accompanied by 5 other stoute vessells, whereof one was a man of war. The next day at noon we landed at Flushing.

Being desirous to overtake the Leagure †, which was then before Genep ‡, 'ere the Summer should be too far expir'd, we went this evening to Midelbrogh and Derveer. From Derveer we passed over many townes, houses, and ruines of demolish'd suberbs, &c. which have formerly ben swallow'd up by the sea, at what time no less than 8 of those Ilands had ben irrecoverably lost.

The next day we ariv'd at Dort, the first towne of Holland, furnish'd with all German commodities, and especialy Rhenish wines and timber. It hath almost at the extremity a very spacious and venerable Church; a stately Senat-house, wherein was holden that famous Synod against the Arminians in 1618, and in that hall hangeth a picture of the *Passion*, an exceeding rare and much esteemed piece.

From Dort, being desirous to hasten towards the Army, I tooke wagon to Roterdam, where we were hurried in lesse than an houre, though it be 10 miles distant, so furiously do these Foremen drive. I saw the publiq statue of the learn'd Erasmus, of brasse. They shew'd us his House, or rather the meane Cottage wherein he was borne, over which there were extant these lines in capital letters:

ÆDIBUS HIS ORTUS, MUNDUM DECORAVIT ERASMUS
ARTIBUS INGENUIS, RELIGIONE, FIDE.

The 26th I passed through Delft to the Hague; in which journey I observ'd divers leprous poor creatures dwelling in solitary huts on the

* Accidentally burnt at Chatham in 1696.

† Mr. Evelyn means, by this expression, to be in time to witness the siege, &c.

‡ On the Waal — a place which having been greatly strengthened by the Cardinal Infante D. Fernando in 1635, was at this time besieged by the French and Dutch. There is a full account of the siege in the great work of Aitzema, a man who with extraordinary patience compiled materials for the History of the United Provinces during the greater part of the seventeenth century. One of his brothers was mortally wounded at this siege.

brink of the water, and permitted to aske the charity of passengers, which is convey'd to them in a floating box that they cast out.

Ariv'd at the Hague, I went first to the Queene of Bohemia's Court; there were several of the Princesses her daughters, Prince Maurice newly come out of Germany, and my Ld. Finch not long before fled out of England from the fury of the Parliament. It was a fasting-day with the Queene, for the unfortunate death of her husband; and the Presence Chamber had been hung with black velvet ever since his discease.

The 28th I went by Leyden; and the 29th to Utricht. We then came to Rynen, where the Queene of Bohemia hath a neate Palace or Country-house, built after the Italian manner as I remember. Then by Nimeguen. And, 2d of August, ariv'd at the Leagure, where was then the whole Army encamped about Genep, a strong castle on the river Wahale; but being taken 4 or 5 days before, we had only a sight of the demolitions. The next Sunday was the thanksgiving sermons perform'd in Col. Goreing's Regiment (eldest sonne of the since Earle of Norwich) by Mr. Goffe his Chaplin (now turned Roman and Father Confessor to the Queen-Mother). The evening was spent in firing canon, and other expressions of military triumphs.

Now, according to the compliment, I was received a Volunteere in the Company of Cap. Apsley, of whose Capt. Lieutennant Honywood (Apsley being absent) I received many civilities.

3 August, at night, we rod about the lines of circumvallation, the Gen'll being then in the field. The next day I was accom'odated with a very spacious and com'odious tent for my lodging, as before I was with an horse, which I had at com'and, and an hutt, which during the excessive heates was a greate convenience, for the sun piercing the canvass of the tent, it was, during the day, unsufferable, and at night not seldome infested with mists and fogg, which ascended from the river.

6 August. As the turne came about, I watched on a horne worke neere our quarters, and trailed a pike, being the next morning reliev'd by a company of French. This was our continual duty till the Castle was re-fortified.

The 7th I went to see a Convent of Franciscan Friers, not far from our tents; the Chapell and Refectory full of the goods of such poor people as at the approch of the Army had fled with them thither for sanctuary. On the day following I went to view all the trenches, approches, and mines, &c. of the Besiegers, and in particular the wheel-bridg, which engine his Excellency had made to run over the moate when they storm'd the castle. The walls and ramparts of earth, which a mine had broaken and crumbled, were of prodigious thicknesse.

8. I din'd in the Horse quarters with Sir Robert Stone and his Lady, Sir William Stradling, and divers Cavaliers, where there was very good cheere, but hot service for a young drinker as I then was.—Being pretty well satisfied with the confusion of Armies and Sieges, (if such that of the United Provinces may be called, where their quarters and encampments are so admirably regular, and orders so exactly observed as few Cittys exceede it for all conveniences), I tooke my leave of the Leagure and Camerades.

12 August, I embarked on the Waal, in company with 3 grave Divines, who entertayn'd us a greate part of our passage with a long dispute concerning the lawfulness of Church Musick. We touch'd at Bommell, that had divers English in garrison. It stands upon Contribution land, which subjects the environs to the Spanish incursions. We passed Lovestine, famous for the escape of the learned Grotius, whose lady conveyed him out as a trunk of books. We lay at Gorcum.

13. We arived late at Roterdam, where was their annual marte or faire, so furnished with pictures (especially Landskips and Drolleries, as they call those clounish representations) that I was amaz'd. Some I bought and sent into England. The reson of this store of pictures and their cheapness proceedes from their want of land to employ their stock, so that it is an ordinary thing to find a com'on Farmer lay out two or £.3,000 in this com'odity. Their houses are full of them, and they vend them at their faires to very greate gaines. Here I first saw an Eliphant. I passed thro' Delft, and visited the Church, where was the monument of Prince William of Nassau, and his sonn and successor, Grave Maurice. The Senat-house hath a very stately Portico, supported with very choyse pillars of black marble, as I remember, of one entire stone. Within, there hangs a weighty vessell, not unlike a Butter Churne,

which the adventurous woman that hath two husbands at one time is to weare for a time about the towne, her head com'ing out at the hole, and the rest hanging on her shoulders, as a pennance for her incontinency. Risewick is a stately country-house of the Prince of Orange, for nothing more remarkable than the delicious walkes planted with lime trees, and the moderne paintings within.

19 August. We vissited the *Haff* or Prince's Court at the Hague, with the adjoining gardens, which were full of ornament, close-walks, statues, marbles, grotts, fountains, and artificiall musiq *, &c. There is a stately Hall, not much inferior to ours of Westminster, hung round with colours and other trophys taken from the Spanyards; and the sides below are furnish'd with shopps †. Next day I returned to Delft, Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Haerlem, and Amsterdam, where I went to a Synagogue of the Jews, being Saturday; the ceremonies, ornaments, lamps, law, and scholes, afforded matter for my wonder and enquiry. The women were secluded from the men, being seated above in galleries, and having their heads muffled with linnen after a fantasticall and somewhat extraordinary fashion. They have a seperate burying-ground, full of sepulchres with Hebrew inscriptions, some of them very stately. In one, looking through a narrow crevice, I perceiv'd divers bookes lye about a corpse, for it seems when any learned Rabbi dies, they bury some of his books with him. With the help of a stick I raked out some of the leaves, written in Hebrew characters, but much impaired.—We stepp'd in to see the *Spin-house*, a kind of Bridewell, where incorrigible and lewd women are kept in discipline and labour, but all neate. — We were shew'd an Hospital for poor travellers and pilgrimes, built by Queene Eliz. of England; and another maintained by the Citty.

The State or Senat-house, if the designe be perfected, will be a magnificent piece of architecture, especialy for the materialls and the carvings. In the *Doole* is paynted on a very large table *Marie de Medice's statue* to the breast, supported by foure royal diademes, the work of one Vandall, who hath set his name thereon, 1 September 1638.

* As at Enstone in Oxfordshire, see afterwards.

† Westminster Hall used to be so in Term time and the sitting of Parliament, in the beginning of the reign of George III.

I went to heare an English sermon at the Presbyterian Congregation, where they had chalked upon a slate the psalms that were to be sung, so that all the congregation might see it without the bidding of a Clerk. After such an age no minister was permitted to preach, but had his maintenance continu'd during life.

I changed my lodgings out of a desire to converse amongst the Sectaries that swarm'd in this Citty. It was at a Brownist's house, where we had an extraordinary good table. There was in pension with us my L. Keeper Finch, and one Sir Jo. Fotherbee. Here I also found an English Carmelite, with another Irish gentleman. I went to see the Weese-house, a foundation like our Charter-house, for the education of decay'd persons, orphans, and poore children, where they are taught several occupations. The girls are so well brought up to housewifry, that men of good worth who seeke that cheifly in a woman, frequently take their wifes from this seminary. We went to see the Rasp-house, where the lusty knaves are compell'd to labour, and the rasping of Brasill and Logwood is very hard labour. Thence to the Dull-house, for madmen and fooles. But none did I so much admire as an Hospitall for their lame and decrepid souldiers, it being for state, order, and acom'odations, one of the worthiest things that the world can shew of that nature. Indeede it is most remarkable what provisions are here made and maintain'd for publiq and charitable purposes, and to protect the poore from misery, and the country from beggers.

On Sunday morning about 11, after their sermons were ended, I went to see their Dog-market, which lasts till two in the afternoon. I do not look on the structure of the Exchange to be comparable to that of Sir Tho. Gresham in o^r^ Citty of London, yet in one respect it exceeds, that ships of considerable burthen ride at the very key contiguous to it. It is by extraordinary industry that as well this Citty, as generaly the townes of Holland, are so acom'odated wth graffs, cutts, sluces, moles, and rivers, that nothing is more frequent then to see a whole navy of marchands and others environ'd with streetes and houses, every man's barke or vessell at anker before his very doore, and yet the streete so exactly straite, even, and uniforme, that nothing can be more pleasing, especialy being so frequently planted and

shaded with the beautifull lime-trees, set in rows before every man's house.

The next day we were entertain'd at a kind of tavern called the *Briloft*, appertaining to a rich Anabaptist, where, in the upper roomes of the house were divers pretty waterworkes, rising 108 foote from the ground; here were many quaint devices, fountaines, artificiall musiq, noyses of beasts, and chirping of birds, &c. There was a lamp of brasse, with eight socketts from the middle stem, like those we use in churches, having counterfeit tapers in them, streams of water issuing as out of their wickes, the whole branch hanging loose upon . . . . . the middst of a beame, without any other perceptible com'erce with any pipe, so that, unlesse it were by compression of the ayre with a syringe, I could not comprehend how it should be don. There was a chime of purselan dishes, which fitted to clock-worke rung many changes and tunes.

The Keisers Graft, or Emperors Streete, appears a citty in a wood through the goodly ranges of the stately lime-trees planted before each man's doore, and at the margent of that goodly aquæ-duct, or river, so curiously wharfed with clincars (a kind of white sun-bak'd brick), and of which the spacious streetes on either side are paved. This part of Amsterdam is gained upon the maine Sea, supported by piles at an im'ense charge. Prodigious it is to consider the multitude of vessels which continualy ride before this Citty, which is certainly the most busie concourse of mortalls now upon the whole earth, and the most addicted to com'erce.

The Steeples are adorned after a particular manner for cost and invention; the Chimes of Bells are so rarely manag'd, that being curious to know whether the motion were from any engine, I went up to that of St. Nicholas (as I take it), where I found one who play'd all sorts of compositions from the tablature before him, as if he had fingered an organ, for so were the hammers fastened with wires to several keys, put into a frame 20 foote below the bells, upon which (by help of a wooden instrument, not much unlike a weavers shuttle, that guarded his hand) he struck on the keys and play'd to admiration: all this while through the clattering of the wires, din of the too nearly sounding bells,

and noise that his wooden gloves made, the confusion was so greate that it was impossible for the musician, or any that stood neare him, to heare any thing himselfe; yet to those at a distance, and especialy in the streetes, the harmony and the time were the most exact and agreeable.

Generaly there are in all the Churches in Holland, organs, lamps, monuments, &c. carefully preserved from the fury and impiety of popular reformers, whose zeale has foolishly transported them in other places rather to act like mad-men than religious.

I went to Hundius's shop to buy some mapps, greatly pleased with the designes of that indefatigable person. Mr. Bleaw, the setter forth of the Atlas's and other workes of that kind, is worthy seeing. At another shop I furnish'd myselfe with some shells and Indian curiosities.

Towards the end of August I returned to Haerlem by the river 10 miles in length, straighte as a line and of competent breadth for ships to saile by one another. They shew'd us a cottage where, they told us, dwelt a woman who had been married to her 25th husband, and being now a widdow was prohibited to marry in future, yet it could not be proved that she had ever made any of her husbands away, though the suspicion had brought her divers times to trouble.

This is a very delicate towne, and hath one of the fairest Churches, of the Gotiq design, I had seene. There hang in the steeple two silver bells said to have been brought from Damiate in Egypt by an Earle of Holland, in memory of whose successe they are rung out every evening. In the Nave hang the goodliest branches of brasse for tapers that I had seene, esteem'd of great value for the curiosity of the workmanship; also a faire payre of organs, which I could not find they made use of in divine service, or so much as to assist them in singing psalmes, but only for shewe, and to recreate the people before and after their devotions, whilst the Burgomasters were walking and conferring about their affaires.—There hang near the West window two modells of shipps compleetely equipp'd, in memory of that invention of saws under their keeles with which they cutt the chayne before the Port of Damiatæ. Having vissited this Church, the Fish-market, and made some enquiry about the Printing-house, the invention whereof is sayd to have been in this towne, I returned to Leyden.

At Leyden I was carried up to the Castle, or Pyrgus, built on a very steepe artificial mount, cast up (as reported) by Hengist the Saxon on his returne out of England, as a place to retyre to in case of any sudden inundations.

The Churches are many and very faire; in one of them lyes interr'd that prodigy of learning the noble and illustrious Joseph Scaliger, without any extraordinary inscription, as having himself left so many monuments of his worth behind him, more lasting than marble, besides giving his Library to this University.

28. I went to see their Colledge and Schooles, which are nothing extraordinary, and was matriculated by the then Magnificus Professor, who first in Latine demanded of me where my lodging in the towne was, my name, age, birth, and to what faculty I addicted myself; then, recording my answers in a booke, he administered an oath to me that I should observe the statutes and orders of the University whiles I stay'd, and then deliver'd me a ticket by virtue whereof I was made excise-free, for all which worthy privileges and the paines of writing, he accepted of a rix-dollar.

Here was the famous Dan. Heinsius, whom I so long'd to see, as well as the Elzivirian printing-house and shop, renown'd for the politeness of the character and editions of what he has publish'd through Europe. I visited their garden of simples, wch was indeede well stor'd with exotic plants, if the Catalogue presented to me by the Gardiner be a faithfull register.

I was much pleased with a sight of their Anatomy schole, theater, and repository adjoyning, which is well furnish'd with natural curiosities; skeletons from the whale and eliphant to the fly and spider, which last is a very delicate piece of art, to see how the bones (if I may so call them) of so tender an insect could be seperated from the mucilaginous parts of y^t^ minute animal. Amongst a great variety of other things, I was shew'd the knife newly taken out of a drunken Dutchman's guts by an incision in his side, after it had slipped from his fingers into his stomach. The pictures of the chyrurgeon and his patient, both living, were there.

There is without the Towne a faire Maill curiously planted.

I was shew'd the statue, cut in stone, of the happy Monke whom they report to have been the first inventor of Typography, set over the doore; but this is much controverted by others, who strive for the glory of it, besides John Guttenberg.

I was brought acquainted with a Burgundian Jew who had married an apostate Kentish woman. I asked him divers questions; he told me, amongst other things, that the world should never end, that our soules transmigrated, and that even those of the most holy persons did pennance in the bodys of bruits after death, and so he interpreted the banishment and salvage life of Nebucodnezer; that all the Jewes should rise againe and be lead to Jerusalem; that the Romans only were the occasion of our Saviour's death, whom he affirm'd (as the Turks do) to be a greate Prophet, but not the Messias; he shewed me severall bookes of their devotion, wch he had translated into English for the instruction of his wife; he told me that when the Messias came, all the ships, barkes, and vessells of Holland should, by the powere of certaine strange whirle-winds be loosed from their ankers and transported in a moment to all the desolat ports and havens throughout the world where ever the dispersion was, to convey their breathren and tribes to the holy Citty; with other such like stuff. He was a merry drunken fellow.

1 Sept. I went to Delft and Roterdam, and two days after back to the Hague, to bespeake a suite of armore which I caused to be made to fit me, with the harnesse of a horseman. I went to see one of the Prince's Palaces, called The Hoff Van Hounslers Dyck, which is a very magnificent cloyster'd and quadrangular building. The gallery is prettily paynted with severall Huntings, and at one end a Gordian knot, with several rusticall instruments so artificially represented as to deceive an accurate eye, to distinguish it from actual relievo. The ceiling of the staire-case is painted with the *Rape of Ganymede*, and other pendent figures, the worke of F. Covenberg, of whose hand I bought an excellent drollery, which I afterwards parted with to my brother George of Wotton, where it now hangs*. To this Palace joynes a faire garden and parke, curiously planted wth limes.

* It is now there.

8th Septr to Rotterdam thro' Delfts-haven and Seedam, where was at that time Coll: Goring's winter-quarters. This towne has heretofore been much talk'd of for witches.

10. I took waggon for Dort, to be present at ye reception of the Queene Mother, Maria de Medices, Dowager of France, Widdow of Henry the Greate, and Mother to the French King Lewis xiij and the Queene of England, whence she newly arived, toss'd to and fro by the various fortune of her life. From this Citty she design'd for Collin, [Cologne] conducted by the Earle of Arundell and the Here Van Brederod. At this interview I saw the Princesse of Orange, and the Lady her daughter, afterwards married to the House of Brandenbourg. There was little remarkable in this reception befitting the greatnesse of her person, but an universal discontent, which accompany'd that unlucky woman wherever she went.

12 Sepr. I went towards Bois le Duke. We arrived on the 16th, when the New Citidall was advancing with innumerable hands, and incomparable inventions for draining off the waters out of the fenns about it, being by bucketts, mills, cocklea's, pumps, and the like. Here were now 16 companies and 9 tropes of horse. They were cutting a new river to passe from the Towne to a Castle not far from it. Here we split our skiff, falling fowle on another through negligence of the master, who was faine to run on ground, to our no little hazard. A Soldier convey'd us to the Governor, where our names were taken, and o^r^ persons examin'd very strictly. I was permitted to walk the round and view the workes, and to visite a Convent of religious women of the order of St. Clara, who by the capitulation were permitted to enjoy their monastery and maintenance undisturbed at the surrender of the towne 12 years since. We had a collation, and very civil entertaynment. They had a neate Chapell, in which the heart of the Duke of Cleve, their founder's, lies inhum'd under a plate of brasse. Within the Cloyster is a garden, and in the middle of it an overgrowne lime-tree, out of whose stem, neere the roote, issue 5 upright and exceeding tall suckers or boles, the like whereof for evenesse and heighth I had not observ'd.

The cheife Church is curiously carved within and without, with a paire of organs, and a most magnificent font, all of copper.

18th. I went to that most impregnable towne and fort of Hysdune, where I was exceedingly obliged to one Coll: Crombe the Lieutenant Governor, who would needes make me accept the honor of being Capt: of the Watch, & to give the word this night.

18th. We departed towards Gorcum. Here Sr Kenelme Digby travelling towards Colin met us.

19th. We arived at Dort, passing by the Decoys, where they catch innumerable quantities of fowle.

22. I went to Roterdam to receive a passe which I expected from the Cardinal Infante, then Governor for his brother the K. of Spaine, in Flanders, being desirous to see that country in my returne for England, whither I was now shaping my course; and within 2 days after, having obtain'd another fr^m^ the Pr. of Orange, on the 24th Sepr I departed through Dort, but met with very bad tempestuous weather, being several times driven back, and oblig'd to lie at anker off Keele, other vessells lying there waiting better weather. The 25th and 26th we made other essays, but were driven back to the harbor, where lay 60 vessels waiting to sail. But on the 27th we, impatient of the tyme and inhospitablenesse of the place, sailed again with a contrary and impetuous wind, and a terrible sea, in greate jeopardy, for we had much ado to keepe ourselves above water, the billows breaking desperately on our vessel; we were driven into Williamstadt, a place garrison'd by the English, where the Govr had a faire house. The workes and especialy the Countercamp are curiously hedg'd with quick, and planted with a stately row of limes on the Rampart. The Church is of a round structure with a Cupola.

28th. Failing of an appointement, I was constrained to returne to Dort for a bill of exchange, but it was the 1st of Octr ere I could get back; at Keele I numbered 141 vessells who durst not yet venture out; but animated by the master of a stout bark, after a small encounter of weather, we ariv'd by 4 that evening at Stene-bergen. In the passage we sailed over a sea call'd the Plaet, which is an exceeding dangerous water, by reason of 2 contrary tydes which meete there very impetuously. Here, because of the many shelfes, we were forc'd to tyde it along the Channell; but, ere we could gaine the place, the ebb

was so far spent, that we were compell'd to foote it at least a league thro' a most pelting shower of raine.

2nd Octr. I went in a cart (for it was no better, and no other accomodation could be procured) of 2 wheeles and one horse to Bergen-op-Zome, meeting divers partys of his Highn^s Army retiring towards their winter quarters. The Fort was heretofore built by the English.

The next morning I embarked for Lillo, having refused a convoy of horse which was afforded me. The tyde being against us, we landed short of the Fort, on the beach, where we marched half leg deep in mud ere we could gaine the dyke, wch being 5 or 6 miles f^rm Lillo, we were forced to walke on foote very wett and discompos'd, and then entering a boat we pass'd the Ferry, and came to the Castle. Being taken before the Governor, he demanded my passe, to which he set his hand, and asked 2 rix-dollars for a fee, wch methought appeared very unhandsome in a Soldier of his quality. I told him that I had already purchased my passe of the Commissaries at Roterdam; at which, in a greate fury snatching the paper out of my hand, he flung it scornfully under a table, and bad me try whether I could get to Antwerp without his permission; but when I drew out the mony, he return'd it as scurvily again, bidding me pay 14 Dutch shill. to the Cantone, or Searcher, for my contempt, which I was also glad to do with a greate deale of caution and danger, concealing my Spanish passe, it being a matter of imprisonment, for that the States were therein treated by the names of Rebells. Besides all these exactions I gave the Com'issary 6 shill., to the soldiers something, and 'ere perfectly cleare of this frontiere 31 stivers to the man of war who lay blocking up the river 'twixt Lillo and the opposite sconce called Lifkinshoeck.

4th Octr. We passed several Spanish Forts, out of one of which came some Dons, to whom I shewed my Spanish passe, which was signed by one, and I gave him 6 guilders. We pass'd by another man of war, to which we lower'd our topsails; and at length ariv'd at Antwerp.

The lodgings here are very handsome and convenient. I lost little tyme, but with the conduct of one Mr. Lewkner visited divers Churches, Colledges, Monasteries, &c. The Church of the Jesuits

is most sumptuous and magnificent, a glorious fabriq without, and within wholly incrusted with marble, inlay'd and polish'd into divers representations of histories, landskips, flowers, &c. On the high altar is plac'd the Statue of the B. Virgin and our Saviour in white marble. The quire is a glorious piece; the pulpet is supported by foure angels, and adorn'd with other carvings. There are rare pictures by Rubens, now lately deceased, and divers votive tables and reliques. The tower of Notre Dame d'Anvers, which is the Cathedrall Church, is a very venerable fabriq, built after the Gotick manner; the Tower is of an excessive heigth. I assended it to take a better view of the country. The sun shon exceeding hot, and darted the rayes without any intermission, affording so bright a reflection to us who were above, and had a full prospect of both land and water about it, that I was much confirmed in my opinion of the moon's being of some such substance as this earthy globe consists of; perceiving all the subjacent country, at so small a horizontal distance, to repercuss such a light as I could hardly look against, save where the river, and other large water within our view, appeared of a more dark and uniforme colour, resembling those spotts in the moone supposed to be seas there, according to our new philosophy, and viewed by optical glasses.

We went to see Jerusalem Church, affirmed to have been founded by one who, upon divers greate wagers, went to and fro betweene y^t^ Citty and Antwerp on foote, by which he procur'd greate sums of mony, which he bestow'd in this pious structure. Hence to St. Mary's Chapell, where I had some conference with two English Jesuites, Confessors to Coll. Gage his regiment. These Fathers conducted us to ye Cloyster of religious women, where we heard a Dutch sermon at a Quarantia, or exposure of the Sacrament as they tearme it. The Senat-house of this Citty is a very spacious and magnificent building.

5th Octr I vissited the Jesuits schole, wch for the fame of their method & institution I had greately desir'd to see. They were divided into 4 classes with a several inscription over each; as, 1. *Ad majorem Dei gloriam;* over the 2d, *Princeps diligentiæ;* the 3d, *Imperator Byzantiorum;* over the 4th and upmost, *Imperator Romanorum.* Under these the scholars and pupils had their places or formes, with

titles and priority according to their proficiency. Their dormitory and lodgings above were exceeding neate. They have prisons for the offenders and lesse diligent; a court to recreate themselves in, wherein is an aviary of birds, eagles, foxes, monkeys, &c. to divert the boys at their times of remission. To the house joyn music and mathematical scholes, and lastly a pretty chapell. The greate streete is built after a mere Italian mode, and is very faire and noble, cleane and sweete.

The *Oesters house*, belonging to the East India Company, is a most beautifull palace, adorn'd with more than 300 windows. From hence walking into the Gun-garden, I was suffered to see as much of the Citadell as is easily permitted to strangers. It is a matchless piece of modern fortification, accom'odated with logiaments for the souldiers and magazines. The graffs, ramparts, and platforms, are stupendious. Returning by the shop of Plantine, I bought some bookes for the namesake onely of that famous printer.

But there was nothing about this Citty which more ravished me than those delicious shades and walkes of stately trees, which render the fortified workes of the towne one of the sweetest places in Europ; nor did I ever observe a more quiet, cleane, elegantly built, and civil place, then this magnificent and famous Citty of Antwerp. In the evening I was invited to Sig^{r} Duert's, a Portuguese by nation, an exceeding rich merchant, whose palace I found to be furnish'd like a prince's; his three daughters entertain'd us with rare musiq, vocal & instrumental, wch was finish'd with a handsome collation. I tooke leave of the Ladys, and of sweete Antwerp, as late as it was, embarquing for Bruxelles on the Scheld, in a vessel which delivered us to a second boate (in another river) drawn or tow'd by horses. In this passage we frequently chang'd our barge, by reason of the bridges thwarting our course. Here I observed numerous families inhabiting their vessels, and floating dwellings, so built and divided by cabins, as few houses on land enjoy'd better accom'odation, stor'd with all sorts of utensills, neate chambers, a pretty parlour, and kept so sweete that nothing could be more refreshing. The rivers on which they are drawne are very cleare & still waters, and passe through a most pleasant country on both the bankes. We had in our boate a very good ordnary, and

excellent company. The cutt is straight as a line for 20 English miles. What I much admir'd was, neere the midway, another artificial river, which intersects this at right angles, but on an eminence of ground, and is carryed in an aqueduct of stone so far above the other as that the waters neither mingle nor hinder one another's passage *.

At Villefrow all the passengers went on shore to wash at a fountaine issuing out of a pillar, and then came aboard again. On the margin of this long tract are aboundance of Shrines and Images, defended from the injuries of the weather by niches of stone in which they are placed.

7th Octr. We arriv'd at Bruxelles at 9 in the morning. The State house, neere the market-place, is for the carving in freestone a most laborious and finished piece, well worthy observation. The flesh-shambles are also built of stone. I was pleased with certain small engines by which a girl or boy was able to draw up, or let downe, greate bridges, wch in divers parts of this Citty crossed ye channell, for the benefit of passengers. The walls of this Town are very intyre, and full of towers at competent distances. The Cathedrall is on a very high and exceeding steepe ascent, to which we mounted by faire stepps of stone. Hence I walked to a Convent of English Nunns, with whom I sate discoursing most part of the afternoone.

8th Octr. being the morning I came away, I went to see the Prince's Court, which is an ancient, confus'd building, not much unlike the Hofft at the Hague; there is here likewise a very large Hall, where they vend all sorts of wares. Through this we passed by the Chapell, which is indeed rarely arch'd, and in the middle of it was the hearse or catafalco of the late Arch-Dutchesse, the wise & pious Clara Eugenia. Out of this we were conducted to the lodgings, tapistry'd with incomparable arras, and adorn'd with many excellent pieces of Reubens, old and young Breughel, Titian, and Stenwick, with stories of most of the late actions in the Netherlands.

By an accident we could not see the Library. There is a faire terrace which looks to the Vine-yard, in which, on pedestalls, are fix'd

* As the Duke of Bridgewater's, in Lancashire.

the statues of all the Spanish Kings of the House of Austria. The opposite walls are paynted by Rubens, being an history of the late tumults in Belgia; in the last piece the Arch-Dutchesse shutts a greate payre of gates upon Mars, who is coming out of hell, arm'd, and in a menacing posture. On another, the Infanta is seen taking leave of Don Philip.

From hence we walked into the Parke, which for being intirely within the walls of the Citty is particularly remarkable; nor is it less pleasant than if in the most solitary recesses, so naturally is it furnish'd with whatever may render it agreeable, melancholy, and country-like. Here is a stately heronry, divers springs of water, artificial cascades, rocks, grotts, one whereof is composed of the extravagant rootes of trees cunningly built and hung together. In this Parke are both fallow and red deare.

From hence we were led into the Manege, and out of that into a most sweete and delicious garden, where was another grott, of more neate and costly materials, full of noble statues, and entertaining us with artificial musiq; but the hedge of water, in forme of lattice-worke, which the fontanier caused to ascend out of the earth by degrees, exceedingly pleased and surpris'd me, for thus with a pervious wall, or rather a palisad hedge, of water, was the whole parterre environ'd.

There is likewise a faire Aviary, and in the court next it are kept divers sorts of animals, rare & exotic fowle, as eagles, cranes, storkes, bustards, pheasants of several kinds, a duck having 4 wings, &c. In another division of the same close, are rabbits of an almost perfect yellow colour.

There was no Court now in the Palace, the Infante Cardinal, who was the Governor of Flanders, being dead but newly, and every one in deepe mourning.

At near 11 o'clock, I repaired to his Majesty's Agent Sir Henry De Vic, who very courteously receiv'd me and accom'odated me with a coach & six horses, which carried me from Bruxelles to Gant, where it was to meete my Lord of Arundel, Earle Marshal of England, who had requested me when I was at Antwerp to send it for him, if I went not thither myselfe.

Thus taking leave of Bruxelles and a sad Court, yet full of gallant persons (for in this small Cittye the acquaintence being universal, Ladys and Gentlemen, I perceiv'd, had greate diversions and frequent meetings), I hasted towards Gant. On the way I met with divers little wagons prettily contrived and full of pedling merchandises, drawne by mastive-dogs, harnessed compleately like so many coach-horses, in some 4, in others 6, as in Bruxelles itselfe I had observed. In Antwerp I saw, as I remember, 4 dogs draw 5 lusty children in a charriot: the master com'ands them whither he pleases, crying his wares about the streetes. After passing through Ouse, by 6 in the evening I arriv'd at Ghent. This is a Citty of so great a circumference that it is reported to be 7 leagues round, but there is not half of it now built, much remaining in fields and pastures, even within the wall, which has strong gates towards the West, and two faire churches.

Here I beheld the Palace wherein John of Gaunt and Cha. V. were borne; the statue of the latter stands in the Market-place, on an high pillar, with his sword drawn, to which (I was told) the Magistrates and Bergers were wont to repaire on a certaine day every yeare wth roaps about their necks, in toaken of submission & pennance for an old Rebellion of theirs; but now the hemp is changed to a blew ribbon. Here is the Basilisco, or great Gun, so much talked of. The Ley and the Scheldt meeting in this vast City divide it into 26 Islands, which are united by many bridges, somewhat resembling Venice. This night I supp'd with the Abbot of Andoyne, a pleasant and courteous priest.

8th Octr. I passed by boate to Bruges, taking in at a redoutt a convoy of 14 musketeers, because the other side of the river being Contribution land, was subject to the inroads and depredations of the bordering States. This river was cut by the famous Marquiss Spinola, and is in my judgment a wonderfull piece of labour, and is a worthy publiq worke, being in some places forced thro' the maine rock, to an incredible depth, for 30 miles. At the end of each mile is built a small redout, which com'unicates a line to ye next, and so the whole way, from whence we received many vollies of shot in compliment to my Ld Marshall, who was in o^r^ vessel, a passenger with us. At 5 that evening we were met by the Magistrates of Bruges, who came out to

convey my Lord to his lodgings, where he was entertaynd that night at their cost.

The morning after we went to see the State-house and adjoyning Aquæduct, the Church, and Market-place, where we saw cheeses and butter piled up in heapes; also the Fortifications and Grafts, which are extreamly large.

The 9th we arived at Ostend by a straighte and artificial river. Here, wth leave of the Captaine of the Watch, I was carried to survey the river and harbour, with fortifications on one side thereof: the East and South are mud & earth walls. It is a very strong place, and lately stood a memorable siege 3 yeares, 3 moneths, 3 weeks, & 3 dayes. I went to see the Church of St. Peter, and the Cloysters of the Franciscans.

10th Octr. I went by wagon, accompany'd wth a jovial Com'issary, to Dynkirk, the journey being made all on ye sea sands. On o^r^ arrival we first viewed the Court of Guards, the Workes, the Towne-house, and the New Church; the latter is very beautifull within; and another, wherein they shew'd us an excellent piece of *our Saviour's bearing the Crosse*. The Harbour in two channels coming up to the Towne was choaked wth a multitude of prizes.

From hence, the next day, I marched three English miles towards the packet-boate, being a pretty fregat of 6 guns, which embarked us for England about 3 in the afternoone.

At our going off, the Fort against which our pinnace ankered saluted my Lord Marshall with 12 greate guns, which we answered with 3. Not having the wind favorable, we ankered that night before Calais. About midnight we weighed; and at 4 in the morning, tho' not far from Dover, we could not make the Peere till 4 in the afternoon, the wind proving contrary and driving us Westward; but at last we got on shore, Octr the 12th.

From Dover I that night rod post to Canterbery. Here I visited the Cathedrall, then in great splendour, those famous windows being intire, since demolish'd by the Phanatiqs. The next morning by Sittinbourn I came to Rochester, and thence to Graves-end, where a Light-horse-man (as they call it) taking us in, we spent our tide as far

as Greenwich. From hence, after we had a little refresh'd ourselves at the Colledge (for by reason of ye contagion then in London we baulked the Inns), we came to London, landing at Arundel-stayres: here I took leave of his Lordship, and retyred to my lodgings in the Middle Temple, being about 2 in the morning.

16th Octr. I went to see my brother at Wotton. On the 31st of that moneth (unfortunate for the Irish Rebellion, which broke out on the 23rd) I was one and twenty yeares of age.

7 Nov. I visited my Lord Marshal at Albury.

23 Novr. I returned to London; and on the 25th saw his Majesty ride thro' the Citty after his coming out of Scotland, and a Peace proclaym'd, wth greate acclamations and joy of the giddy people.

15th Decr. I was elected one of the Comptrolers of the Middle Temple-revellers, as the fashion of ye young Students and Gentlemen was, the Christmas being kept this yeare with greate solemnity; but being desirous to passe it in the Country, I got leave to resigne my staffe of office, and went with my brother Rich^d^ to Wotton.

10th Jany 1642. I gave a visite to my cousin Hatton of Ditton.

19. I went to London, where I stayed till 5th March, studying a little, but dancing and fooling more.

3rd Octr. I went to Chichester, and hence the next day to see the Seige of Portsmouth, for now was that bloody difference betweene the King and Parlm^t^ broken out, which ended in the fatal tragedy so many yeares after. It was on the day of its being render'd to Sir Wm Waller, which gave me an opportunity of taking my leave of Coll. Goring the Governor, now embarqueing for France.

From thence I went to South'ton and Winchester, where I vissited the Castle, Schole, Church, and King Arthur's Round Table, but especialy the Church, and its Saxon Kings Monuments, which I esteemed a worthy antiquity.

3 Oct. was fought that signal Battaile at Edgehill.

12th Novr was the Battle of Braineford surprisingly fought, and to the greate consternation of the Citty had his Majesty (as twas believed he would) persu'd his advantage. I came in wth my horse and armes just at the retreate, but was not permitted to stay longer than the 15th

by reason of the Army's marching to Glocester, which would have left both me and my brothers expos'd to ruine, without any advantage to his Matie.

7th Decr. I went from Wotton to London to see the so much celebrated line of com'unication, and on the 10th returned to Wotton, no body knowing of my having ben in his Maties Army.

1643. 10th March. I went to Hartingfordberry, to visite my cousin Keightly.

11th. I went to see my Lord of Salisbury's Palace at Hatfield, where the most considerable rarity besides the house (inferior to few then in England for its architecture) was the garden and vineyard rarely well watered and planted. They also shew'd us the picture of *Secretary Cecil* in mosaiq worke, very well don by some Italian hand.

I must not forget what amazed us in the night before, viz. a shining clowd in the ayre, in shape resembling a sword, the point reaching to the North: it was as bright as the moone, the rest of the sky being very serene. It began about 11 at night, and vanish'd not till about one, being seen by all the South of England.

I made many journies to and from London.

15 April. I went to Hatfield, and neere the Town of Hertford I went to see Sir J. Harris [Harrison] his house new built *. Returning to London, I called to see his Majesty's house and gardens at Theobalds, since demolish'd by the rebels.

2nd May. I went to London, where I saw the furious and zelous people demolish that stately Crosse in Cheapside. On the 4th I return'd, with no little regrett for the confusion that threaten'd us. Resolving to possess myselfe in some quiet if it might be, in a time of so great jealosy, I built by my Brother's permission a *study*, made a *fishpond*, an island, and some other solitudes and retirements, at Wotton, which gave the first occasion of improving them to those water-works and gardens which afterwards succeeded them.

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* Now called Balls Park, belonging to Lord John Townshend, who inherits it from his grandmother, Lady Viscountess Townshend, who was a Miss Harrison, and wife to Charles Viscount Townshend, Secretary of State to George the Second.

12 July. I sent my black manege horse and furniture with a friend to his Matie then at Oxford.

23. The Covenant being pressed, I absented myselfe; but finding it impossible to evade the doing very unhandsome things, and which had been a greate cause of my perpetual motions hitherto between Wotton & London, Oct. 2nd I obtayned a lycence of his Matie, dated at Oxford and sign'd by the King, to travell againe.

6 Nov. Lying by the way from Wotton at Sir Ralph Whitfield's, at Blechinglee, (whither both my Brothers had conducted me), I ariv'd at London on the 7th, and 2 days after took boate at the Tower-wharfe, which carry'd me as far as Sittingburne, tho' not without danger, I being onely in a payre of oares, expos'd to a hideous storme; but it pleas'd God we got in before the perill was considerable. From thence I went by post to Dover, accompany'd with one Mr. Thicknesse, a very deare friend of mine*.

Having a reasonable good passage, though the weather was snowy and untoward enough, we came before Calais, where, as we went on shore, mistaking the tyde, o^r^ shallop struck on ye sands, with no little danger, but at length we got off.

Calais is well fortified, in the old Castle and new Citadell, reguarding the Sea. The haven consists of a long banke of sand, lying opposite to it. The Market-place and the Church are remarkable things, besides the reliques of our former dominion there. I remember there was engraven in stone on the front of an ancient dwelling wch was shew'd us, these words in English, *God save the King*, with the name of ye architect and date. The walls of the towne are substantial, but the situation towards the land is not pleasant, by reason of the marishes and low grounds about it.

12 Novr. After diner we tooke horse with the Messagere, hoping to have ariv'd at Bollogne that night; bnt there fell so great a snow, accompanied wth hayle, rain, and suddaine darknesse, that we had much adoe to gain the next village; and in this passage being to crosse a vally by a causeway and a bridge built over a small river, the raine that had fallen making it an impetuous streame for neere a quarter

* The gentleman he mentioned as so much assisting his studies at Oxford, p. 7.

of a mile, my horse slipping had almost been the occasion of my perishing. We none of us went to bed, for the souldiers in those parts leaving little in the villages, we had enough to do to get ourselves dry by morning, between the fire and the fresh straw. The next day early we ariv'd at Bollogne.

This is a double towne, one part on a high Rock, or downes, the other, call'd ye Lower Towne, is yet wth a greate declivity towards the Sea. There is a strong Castle on a notable eminence. Under the towne runs the river, which is yet but an inconsiderable brooke. Hen. 8th. in the siege of this place is said to have used those greate leatherne guns which I have since seen in the Tower of London, inscribed *Non Marte opus est, cui non deficit Mercurius,* if at least the history be true, wch my Lord Herbert doubts *.

The next morning, in some danger of party's [Spanish] surprising us, we came to Monstreuil, built on the sum'it of a most conspicuous hill, environ'd with faire and ample meadows, but all the suburbs had been from time to time ruin'd, and were now lately burnt by the Spanish inroads. This towne is fortified with 2 very deep dry ditches; the walls about the bastions and citadal are a noble piece of masonary.

The Church is more glorious without then within. The Market-place is large, but the inhabitants are miserably poore. The next day we came to Abbeville, having pass'd all this way in continual expectation of the volunteeres, as they call them. This Towne affords a good aspect towards the hill from whence we descended, nor does it deceive us, for it is handsomely built, and has many pleasant and useful streames passing through it, the maine river being the Some, which discharges itselfe into the Sea at St. Valery, almost in view of the towne. The principal Church is a very handsome piece of Gothiq architecture, and the ports and ramparts planted for ornament. They brought us choice of guns and pistolls to sell at reasonable rates, and neately made, being here a merchandize of greate account, the towne abounding in gun-smiths.

Hence we advanced to Beauvais, a town of good noate, and having the first vineyards we had seen. The next day to Beaumont, and the

* In his History of that King.

morrow to Paris, having taken our repast at St. Denys, 2 leagues from that greate Citty. St. Denys is considerable only for its stately Cathedral, and the dormitory of the French Kings, there inhum'd as ours at Westmist^r Abbey. The treasury is esteemed one of the richest in Europe. The Church was built by King Dagobert, but since much enlarged, being now 390 foote long, 100 in bredth, and 80 in height, without comprehending the cover; it has a very high shaft of stone, and the gates are of brasse. In the choir are the sepulchres of the most ancient Kings: without it are many more; amongst the rest that of Bertrand du Gueselin, Constable of France; in the Chapell of Chas V. all his posterity, and neere him the magnificent sepulchre of Francis I. with his children, warres, victories, and triumphs, engraven in marble. Above are bodies of several Saints; below, under a state of black velvet, the late Lewis xiij. Every one of the 10 chapels, or oratories, had some Saints in them; amongst the rest, one of the Holy Innocents. The treasury is in the sacristy above, in which are crosses of massy gold and silver, studded with precious stones, one of gold 3 feet high. Amongst the still more valuable reliques are a naile from our Saviour's Cross, in a box of gold full of precious stones; a crucifix of the true wood of the Crosse, carved by Pope Clement III. inchas'd in a crystal covered with gold; a box in which is some of the Virgin's haire; some of the linnen in wch our blessed Saviour was wrapped at his nativity; in a huge reliquary modelled like a church, some of our Saviour's blood, hair, cloathes, linnen with which he wiped the Apostles feet; with many other equally authentic reliques. Amongst the treasures is the Crowne of Charlemagne, his 7 foote high scepter and hand of justice, his sword, belt, and spurrs of gold; the Crowne of St. Lewis, cover'd with precious stones, amongst which is one vast ruby, uncut, of inestimable value, weighing 300 carrats, (under which is set one of the thorns of our blessed Saviour's crowne,) his sword, seal, and hand of justice. The 2 crownes of Hen IV. his sceptre, hand of justice, and spurrs. The 2 crowns of his son Lewis. In the cloak royal of Anne of Bretagne is a very greate and rare rubie. Divers bookes cover'd with solid plates of gold and studded with precious stones. Two vasas of berill, 2 of achate, whereof one is

esteemed for its bignesse, colour, and carving imboss'd, the best now to be seene; by a special favour I was permitted to take the measure & dimensions of it; the story is a Bachanalia. It is really antique. There is a large gundola of chrysolite, a huge urn of porphyry, another of chalcedone, a vasa of onyx, the largest I had ever seen of that stone; 2 of chrystal; a morsel of one of the water-pots in which our Saviour did his first miracle; the effigies of the Queen of Saba, of Julius, Augustus, Marc Antony, Cleopatra, and others, upon saphyrs, topazes, agates, and cornelians; that of the Queen of Saba has a Morish face; those of Julius and Nero on achates rarely coloured and cut. A cup in which Solomon was us'd to drinke. Apollo on a great amethyst. There lay in a window a miroir of a kind of stone said to have belonged to the poet Virgil. Charlemayne's chessemen, full of Arabiq characters. In the presse next the doore, the brasse lanthorn full of crystals, said to have conducted Judas and his company to apprehend o^r^ B. S. A faire unicorne's horn, sent by a K. of Persia, about 7 foote long. In another presse (over which stands the picture in oil of their Orleans Amazon with her sword), the effigies of the late French Kings in wax, like ours in Westminster, covered with their robes, with a world of other rarities. Having rewarded o^r^ courteous fryer, we tooke horse for Paris, where we ariv'd about five in the afternoone. In the way were faire crosses of stone carv'd with fleurs de lys at every furlong's end, where they affirme St. Denys rested and layd down his head after martyrdom, carrying it from the place where this monastery is builded. We lay at the Ville de Venice; I went to visite Sir Richd Browne, his Maties Resident with the French King.

5 Dec. The Earl of Norwich* came as Ambassador Extraordinary; I went to meet him in a coach and six horses, at the palace of Monsr de Bassompiere, where I saw that gallant person, his gardens, terraces, and rare prospects. My lord was waited on by the master of the ceremonies, and a greate cavalcade of men of quality, to the Palais Cardinal, where on the 23d he had audience of the French King and the Queen Regent his mother, in the golden chamber of presence. From thence I conducted him to his lodgings in Rue St. Denys, and so tooke my leave.

* So created, having been George Lord Goring.

24th. I went to see the Isle encompassed by the Seine and the Oyse. The City is divided into 3 parts, whereof the Towne is greatest. The City lyes between it and the University, in form of an island. Over the Seine is a stately bridge called Pont Neuf, begun by Hen. 3. in 1578, finished by Hen. 4. his successor. It is all of hewn free stone found under the streets, but more plentifully at Mont-Martyre, and consists of 12 arches, in the midst of which ends the poynt of an island, on which are built handsome artificers houses. There is one large passage for coaches, and 2 for foot passengers 3 or 4 feet higher, and of convenient breadth for 8 or 10 to go abreast. On the middle of this stately bridge on one side stands that famous statue of Hen. the Great on horseback, exceeding the natural proportion by much; and on the 4 faces of a stately pedestal, (which is compos'd of various sorts of polish'd marble and rich mouldings,) inscriptions of his victories and most signal actions are engraven in brasse. The statue and horse are of copper, the worke of the greate John di Bologna, and sent from Florence by Ferdinand the First, and Cosmo the 2d, unkle & cousin to Mary di Medices, the wife of this K. Henry. It is inclos'd with a strong and beautifull grate of yron, about which there are allways mountebancs shewing their feates to idle passengers. From hence is a rare prospect towards the Louver and suburbs of St. Germaines, the Isle of du Palais, and Notre Dame. At the foote of this bridge is a water house, on the front whereof, at a great height, is the story of our Saviour and the Woman of Samaria powring water out of a bucket. Above is a very rare dyal of severall motions, with a chime, &c. The water is convey'd by huge wheeles, pumps, and other engines, from the river beneath. The confluence of the people and multitude of coaches passing every moment over the bridge, to a new spectator is an agreeable diversion. Other bridges there are, as that of Notre Dame; and the Pont au Change, &c. fairly built, with houses of stone, which are laid over this river: only the Pont St. Anne, landing the suburbs of St. Germaine at the Thuilleries, is built of wood, having likewise a water-house in the middst of it, and a statue of Neptune casting water out of a whale's mouth, of lead, but much inferior to the Samaritane.

The University lyes South West on higher ground, contiguous to, but the lesser part of Paris. They reckon no less than 65 Colleges, but they in nothing approch ours at Oxford for state and order. The booksellers dwell within the University. The Scholes (of which more hereafter) are very regular.

The suburbs are those of St. Denys, Honore, St. Marcel, Jaques, St. Michel, St. Victoire, and St. Germaines, which last is the largest, and where the nobility and persons of the best quality are seated; and truely Paris, comprehending the suburbs, is, for the material the houses are built with, and many noble and magnificent piles, one of the most gallant Cittyes in the world; large in circuit, of a round forme, very populous, but situated in a botome, environ'd wth gentle declivities, rendering some places very dirty, and making it smell as if sulphure were mingled wth the mudd; yet it is pav'd with a kind of free-stone, of neere a foote square, which renders it more easy to walk on than our pebles in London.

On Christmas eve I went to see the Cathedrall of Notre Dame, erected by Philip Augustus, but begun by K. Robert, son of Hugh Capet. It consists of a Gotiq fabriq, supported by 120 pillars, which make 2 ailes in the Church round about the quire, without comprehending the Chapells, being 174 paces long, 60 wide, and 100 high. The Quire is enclos'd wth stone worke graven with the sacred history, and containes 45 Chapells cancell'd wth iron. At the front of the chiefe entrance are statues in relievo of the Kings, 28 in number, from Childebert to the founder, Philip; and above them are two high square Towers, and another of a smaller size, bearing a Spire in the middle, where the body of the Church formes a Crosse. The greate Tow'r is ascended by 389 steps, having 12 gallerys from one to ye other. They greately reverence the Crucifix over the skreene of ye Quire, wth an image of the B. Virgin. There are some good moderne paintings hanging on the pillars: the most conspicuous statue is the huge Colosse of St. Christopher, wth divers other figures of men, houses, prospects, & rocks, about this gygantiq piece, being of one stone, and more remarkable for its bulke than any other perfection. This is the prime Church of France for dignity, having Arch-deacons, Vicars, Canons, Priests, and Chaplaines

in good store, to ye number of 127. It is also the Palace of the Archbishop. The young King was there wth a greate and martial guard, who enter'd the Nave of the Church wth drums and fifes, at the ceasing of which I was entertain'd with the church musiq.

1644. 4 Jany. I pass'd this day with one Mr. Jo. Wall, an Irish gentleman, who had been a Frier in Spaine, and afterwards a Reader in St. Isodors Chayre at Rome, but was, I know not how, getting away, and pretending to be a Souldier of fortune, an absolute Cavaliere, having as he told us been Capt. of Horse in Germany. It is certaine he was an excellent disputant, and so strangely given to it that nothing could passe him. He would needes perswade me to goe with him this morning to the Jesuites Colledge, to witnesse his polemical talent. We found the Fathers in their Church at the Rue St. Anthoine, where one of them shew'd us that noble fabriq, which for its cupola, pavings, incrustations of marble, the pulpit, altars (especially the high altar), organ, *lavatorium*, &c. but, above all, the richly carv'd and incomparable front, I esteeme to be one of the most perfect pieces of architecture in Europ, emulating even some of the greatest now at Rome itself; but this not being what o^r^ Frier sought, he led us into the adjoyning Convent, where having shew'd us the Library, they began a very hot dispute on some poynts of Divinity, which o^e^ Cavalier contested onely to shew his pride, and to that indiscreete height that the Jesuits would hardly bring us to our coach, they being put beside all patience. The next day we went into the University, and into the College of Navarre, which is a spacious well-built quadrangle, having a very noble Library.

Thence to the Sorbonne, an antient fabriq built by one Robert de Sorbonne, whose name it retaines, but the restauration which the late Cardinal de Richlieu has made to it renders it one of the most excellent moderne buildings; the sumptuous Church, of admirable architecture, is far superior to the rest. The cupola, portico, and whole designe of the Church is very magnificent.

We went into some of the Scholes, and in that of Divinity we found a grave Doctor in his chaire, with a multitude of auditors, who all write as he dictates; and this they call a Course. After we had sate a

little, o^r^ Cavalier started up, and rudely enough began to dispute wth the Doct^r^; at which, and especialy as he was clad in ye Spanish habit, which in Paris is the greatest bugbare imaginable, the Scholars & Doctor fell into such a fit of laughter that nobody could be heard speake for a while; but silence being obtain'd, he began to speake Latine, and make his apology in so good a style, that their derision was turn'd to admiration, & beginning to argue, he so baffled the Professor, that with universal applause they all rose up and did him greate honors, waiting on us to the very streete and our coach, testifying greate satisfaction.

3rd Feb. I went to the Exchange. The late addition to the buildings is very noble, but the gallerys where they sell their petty merchandize are nothing so stately as ours at London, no more than the place where they walke below, being onely a low vault.

The Palais, as they call the upper part, was built in ye time of Philip the Faire, noble and spacious. The greate Hall annex'd to it is arched with stone, having a range of pillars in the middle, round which and at the sides are shops of all kinds, especialy Bookesellers. One side is full of pewes for the Clearkes of the Advocates, who swarme here (as ours at Westminster). At one of ye ends stands an altar, at which Masse is said daily. Within are several Chambers, Courts, Treasuries, &c. Above that is the most rich and glorious Salle d'Audience, the Chamber of St. Lewis, and other superior Courts where the Parliament sits, richly guilt on embossed carvings & fretts, and exceeding beautified.

Within the place where they sell their wares is another narrower gallery full of shopps and toys, &c. which lookes downe into ye Prison yard. Descending by a large payre of stayres, we passed by St. Chapelle, which is a Church built by St. Lewis, 1242, after the Gotiq manner; it stands on another Church wch is under it, sustain'd by pillars at ye sides, wch seeme so weak as to appear extraordinary in ye artist. This Chapell is most famous for its Relicques, having, as they pretend, almost the intyre Crowne of Thornes; the Achat Patine, rarely sculptur'd, judg'd one of the largest & best in Europ. There was now a very beautifull Spire erecting. The Court below is very spacious, capable of holding many coaches, and surrounded with shopps, especially

Engravers, Goldsmiths, and Watchmakers. In it is a fayre Fountaine & Portico. The Isle du Palais consists of a triangular brick building, whereof one side, looking to the river, is inhabited by Goldsmiths. Within the court are private dwellings. The front looking on the greate bridge is possess'd by Mountebanks, Operators, and Puppet-players. On the other part is the every day's market for all sorts of provisions, especially bread, hearbs, flowers, orange-trees, choyce shrubbs; here is a shop called Noah's Arke, where are sold all curiosities naturall or artificial, Indian or European, for luxury or use, as cabinets, shells, ivory, porselan, dried fishes, insects, birds, pictures, and a thousand exotic extravagances. Passing hence we viewed the Port Dauphine, an arch of excellent workmanship; the street, bearing the same name, is ample and straite.

4 Feb. I went to see the Marais de Temple, where is a noble Church and Palace, heretofore dedicated to the Knights Templars, now converted to a Piazza, not much unlike ours at Covent Garden, but larger and not so pleasant, tho' built all about with divers considerable palaces.

The Church of St. Genevieve is a place of greate devotion, dedicated to another of their Amazons sayd to have deliver'd the Citty from ye English, for which she is esteem'd the tutelary Saint of Paris. It stands on a steepe eminence, having a very high spire, and is govern'd by Canons Regular.

At the Palais Royale Hen. IV. built a faire quadrangle of stately Palaces, arched underneath. In the middle of a spacious area stands on a noble pedestal, a brazen Statue of Lewis XIII. wch tho made in imitation of that in ye Roman Capitol, is nothing so much esteem'd as that on ye Pont Neuf.

The Hospital of the Quinz-Vingts in Rue St. Honorè is an excellent foundation; but above all is the Hotel Dieu for men and women, neare Notre Dame, a princely, pious, and expensive structure. That of the Charité gave me great satisfaction in seeing how decently and Christianly the sick people are attended, even to delicacy. I have seen them served by noble persons, men and women. They have also gardens, walks, & fountaines. Divers persons are here cutt for the stone with

greate successe yearly in May. The 2 Chasteletts (supposed to have been built by Julius Cæsar) are places of Judicature in Criminal Causes, to which is a strong Prison. The Courts are spacious and magnificent.

8 Feb. I took coach and went to see the famous Jardine Royale, which is an enclosure walled in, consisting of all varieties of ground for planting and culture of medical simples. It is well chosen, having in it hills, meadows, wood and upland, naturall and artificial, and is richly stor'd with exotic plants. In the middle of the Parterre is a faire fountaine. There is a very fine house, chapel, laboratory, orangery, & other accom'odations for the President, who is allways one of the King's cheife Physitians.

From hence we went to the other side of the towne, and to some distance from it, to the Bois de Vincennes, going by the Bastille, wch is the Fortresse Tower and Magazine of this great Citty. It is very spacious within, and there the Grand Master of the Artillery has his house, with faire gardens and walks.

The Bois de Vincennes has in it a square and noble Castle, with magnificent apartments, fit for a Royal Court, not forgetting the Chapell. It is the chiefe Prison for persons of quality. About it there is a parke walled in, full of deere, and in one part is a grove of goodly pine-trees.

The next day I went to see the Louvre with more attention, its severall Courts and Pavilions. One of the quadrangles, begun by Hen. IV. and finish'd by his son and grandson, is a superb but mix'd structure. The cornices, mouldings, & compartments, wth the insertion of severall colour'd marbles, have been of great expence.

We went through the long gallery, pav'd wth white & black marble, richly fretted and paynted *a fresca*. The front looking to the river, tho' of rare worke for ye carving, yet wants of that magnificence which a plainer and truer designe would have contributed to it.

In ye Cour aux Thuilleries is a princely fabriq; the winding geometrical stone stayres, with the cupola, I take to be as bold and noble a piece of architecture as any in Europ of the kind. To this is a *Corps de Logis*, worthy of so greate a Prince. Under these buildings, thro'

a garden in which is an ample fountaine, was the King's printing-house, and that famous letter so much esteem'd. Here I bought divers of the classiq authors, poets & others.

We return'd through another gallery, larger, but not so long, where hung the pictures of all the Kings and Queenes and prime Nobility of France.

Descending hence, we went into a lower very large room, call'd the Salle des Antiques, which is a vaulted Cimelia, destin'd for statues only, amongst which stands the so celebrated *Diana of the Ephesians*, said to be the same which utter'd oracles in that temple. There is a huge globe suspended by chaynes. The pavings, inlayings, and incrustations of this Hall are very rich.

In another more privat garden towards the Queene's apartment is a walke or cloyster under arches, whose terrace is paved with stones of a greate breadth; it looks towards the river, and has a pleasant aviary, fountaine, stately cypresses, &c. On the river are seene a prodigious number of barges and boates of great length, full of hay, corne, wood, wine, &c. Under the long gallery dwell goldsmiths, paynters, statuaries, and architects, who being the most famous for their art in Christendom, have stipends allowed them by the King. We went into that of Mon^{sr} Saracin, who was moulding for an image of a Madona to be cast in gold, of a greate size, to be sent by the Queene Regent to Lauretto, as an offering for the birth of the Dauphine, now the young King.

I finish'd this day with a walke in the greate garden of the Thuilleries, which is rarely contrived for privacy, shade, or company, by groves, plantations of tall trees, especialy that in ye middle, being of elmes, another of mulberys. There is a labyrinth of cypresse, noble hedges of pomegranates, fountaines, fishponds, and an aviary. There is an artificial echo, redoubling the words distinctly, and it is never without some faire nymph singing to it. Standing at one of the focus's, which is under a tree, or little cabinet of hedges, the voice seems to descend from the clouds; at another as if it was under-ground. This being at the bottom of ye garden, we were let into another, which being kept with all imaginable accuratenesse as to the orangery, pre-

cious shrubes, and rare fruites, seem'd a paradise. From a tarrace in this place we saw so many coaches, as one would hardly think could be maintained in the whole Citty, going, late as it was in the year, towards the Course, which is a place adjoyning, of neere an English mile long, planted with 4 rows of trees, making a large circle in the middle. This Course is walled about, neere breast high, wth squar'd freestone, and has a stately arch at the entrance, with sculpture and statues about it, built by Mary di Medices. Here it is that the gallants and ladys of ye Court take the ayre and divert themselves, as with us in Hide Park, the circle being capable of containing an hundred coaches to turne com'odiously, and the larger of the plantations for 5 or 6 coaches a brest.

Returning through the Thuilleries, we saw a building in which are kept wild beasts for the King's pleasure, a beare, a wolfe, a wild boare, a leopard, &c.

27 Feb. Accompany'd with some English gent^n^. we tooke horse to see St. Germains en Lay, a stately country-house of the King, some 5 leagues from Paris. By the way we alighted at St. Cloes, where, on an eminence neere the river, the Archbishop of Paris has a garden, for the house is not very considerable, rarely water'd and furnish'd with fountaines, statues, and groves; the walkes are very faire; the fountain of Laocoon is in a large square pool, throwing the water neere 40 feet high, and having about it a multitude of statues and basines, and is a surprising object; but nothing is more esteem'd than the cascade falling from the greate stepps into the lowest and longest walke from the Mount Parnassus, which consists of a grotto, or shell house, on ye sum'it of the hill, wherein are divers water-workes and contrivances to wet the spectators; this is covered with a fayre cupola, the walles paynted with the Muses, and statues placed thick about it, whereof some are antiq and good. In the upper walkes are two perspectives, seeming to enlarge the allys. In this garden are many other contrivances. The Palace, as I said, is not extraordinary. The outer walles onely paynted *a fresca*. In ye Court is a Volary, and the statues of Chas. IX. Hen. III. IV. and Lewis XIII. on horseback, mezzo-relievod in plaster. In the garden is a small chapell; and

under shelter is the figure of *Cleopatra*, taken from the Belvidere original, wth others. From the tarrace above is a tempest well paynted, and there is an excellent prospect towards Paris, the meadows, & river.

At an inn in this village is an host who treats all the greate persons in princely lodgings for furniture and plate, but they pay well for it, as I have don. Indeed the entertainment is very splendid, and not unreasonable, considering the excellent manner of dressing their meate, and of the service. Here are many debauches and excessive revellings, being out of observance.

About a league farther we went to see Cardinal Richelieu's villa at Ruell. The house is small, but fairely built, in form of a castle, moated round. The offices are towards the road, and over against it are large vineyards walled in.

Though the house is not of the greatest, the gardens about it are so magnificent that I doubt whether Italy has any exceeding it for all rarities of pleasure. The garden nearest the pavilion is a parterre, having in ye middst divers noble brásse statues, perpetually spouting water into an ample bassin, with other figures of the same metal; but what is most admirable is the vast enclosure, and variety of ground, in ye large garden, containing vineyards, cornefields, meadows, groves (whereof one is of perennial greens), and walkes of vast lengthes, so accurately kept and cultivated, that nothing can be more agreeable. On one of these walkes, within a square of tall trees, is a basilisc * of copper, wch managed by the fountaniere casts water neere 60 feet high, and will of itself move round so swiftly, that one can hardly escape wetting. This leads to the Citroniere, where is a noble conserve of all those rarities; and at the end of it is the *Arch of Constantine*, painted on a wall in oyle, as large as the real one at Rome, so well don that even a man skill'd in painting may mistake it for stone and sculpture. The skie and hills which seem to be betweene the arches are so naturall that swallows and other birds, thinking to fly through, have dashed themselves against the wall. At the further part of this walke

* The imaginary animal or serpent so called.

is that plentiful though artificial cascade which rolls down a very steepe declivity, and over the marble steps and bassins, wth an astonishing noyse and fury; each basin hath a jetto in it, flowing like sheetes of transparent glasse, especialy that which rises over the greate shell of lead, from whence it glides silently downe a channell thro' the middle of a spacious gravel walke terminating in a grotto. Here are also fountaines y^t^ cast water to a great height, and large ponds, 2 of which have islands for harbour of fowles, of which there is store. One of these islands has a receptacle for them built of vast pieces of rock, neere 50 feet high, growne over with mosse, ivy, &c. shaded at a competent distance with tall trees: in this the fowles lay eggs and breede. We then saw a large and very rare grotto of shell-worke, in the shape of satyres and other wild fancys: in ye middle stands a marble table, on which a fountaine playes in forms of glasses, cupps, crosses, fanns, crownes, &c. Then the fountaineere represented a showre of raine from the topp, mett by small jetts from below. At going out two extravagant musqueteeres shot us wth a streme of water from their muskét barrells. Before this grotto is a long poole into which ran divers spouts of water from leaden escollop bassins. The viewing this paradise made us late at St. Germains.

The first building of this palace is of Cha. V. called the Sage; but Francis I. (that true virtuoso) made it compleate, speaking as to the style of magnificence then in fashion, which was wth too greate a mixture of ye Gotic, as may be seen in what there is remaining of his in ye old Castle, an irregular peece as built on ye old foundation, and having a moate about it. It has yet some spacious & handsome roomes of state, & a chapell neately paynted. The new Castle is at some distance, divided from this by a court, of a lower but more modern designe, built by Hen. IV. To this belong 6 tarraces built of brick & stone, descending in cascads towards the river, cut out of the naturall hill, having under them goodly vaulted galleries; of these, 4 have subterranean grotts & rocks, where are represented severall objects in the manner of sceanes, and other motions by force of water, shewn by the light of torches onely; amongst these is Orpheus wth his musiq, & the animalls, wch dance after his harp; in ye 2^d^ is the King and Dol-

phin *; in the 3d is Neptune sounding his trumpet, his charriot drawne by sea-horses; in the 4th Perseus & Andromeda; mills; hermitages; men fishing; birds chirping; and many other devices. There is also a dry grott to refresh in, all having a fine prospect towards ye river and the goodly country about it, especialy the forrest. At the bottom is a parterre; the upper tarrace neere half a myle in length, wth double declivities, arched and baluster'd wth stone, of vast and royal cost.

In the Pavilion of ye new Castle are many faire roomes, well paynted, and leading into a very noble garden and parke, where is a pall-maill, in ye midst of which, on one of the sides, is a Chapell, with stone cupola, tho' small, yet of an handsome order of architecture. Out of ye parke you goe into ye forrest, which being very large is stor'd with deare, wild boares, wolves, and other wild game. The Tennis Court, and Cavalerizzo for ye menag'd horses, are also observable.

We return'd to Paris by Madrid, another villa of the King's, built by Francis I. and called by that name to absolve him of his oath that he would not go from Madrid, in which he was prisoner in Spayne, but from whence he made his escape. This house is also built in a park, walled in. We next called in at the Bonnes hommes, well situated, with a faire Chapel & Library.

1 March. I went to see the Count de Liancourt's Palace in ye Rue de Seine, which is well built. Towards his study and bedchamber joynes a little garden, which tho' very narrow, by the addition of a well painted perspective is to appearance greatly enlarged; to this there is another part, supported by arches, in which runs a streame of water, rising in ye aviary, out of a statue, and seeming to flow for some miles, by being artificially continued in the painting, when it sinkes downe at the wall. It is a very agreeable deceipt. At the end of this garden is a little theater, made to change wth divers pretty seanes, and the stage so ordered that with figures of men & women paynted on light-boards, and cut out, and, by a person who stands underneath, made to act as if they were speaking, by guiding them, & reciting words in diferent tones as the parts require. We were led into a round cabinet,

*. Dauphin.

where was a neate invention for reflecting lights by lining divers sconces with thin shining plates of gilded copper.

In one of the rooms of state was an excellent paynting of Poussin, being a *Satyre kneeling;* over ye chimney, the *Coronation of ye Virgin* by Paulo Veroneze; another *Madona* over the dore, and y^t^ of *Jos.* by Cigali; in the Hall, a *Cavaliero di Malta attended by his page,* sayd to be of Mich. Angelo; the *Rape of Proserpine,* wth a very large *land-skip* of Corregio. In ye next roome some payntings of Primaticcio, especially the *Helena,* the *naked Lady brought before Alexander,* well paynted, and a *Ceres.* In the bedchamber a picture of y^e^ *Cardinal de Liancourt* of Raphael, rarely colour'd. In ye cabinet are divers pieces of Bassano, 2 of Polemburg, 4 of Paulo Brill, the skyes a little too blew. A *Madona* of Nicholao, excellently painted on a stone; a *Judith* of Mantegna; 3 *Women* of Jeronimo; one of Stenwick; a *Madona* after Titian, and a *Magdalen* of the same hand, as the Count esteemes it: 2 small pieces of Paulo Veroneze, being the *Martyrdoms of St. Justina* & *St. Catherine;* a *Madona* of Lucas Van Leyden, sent him from our King; 6 more of old Bassano; 2 excellent drawings of Albert; a *Magdalen* of Leonardo da Vinci; 4 of Paulo; a very rare *Madona* of Titian, given him also by our King; the *Ecce Homo,* shut up in a frame of velvet, for the life and accurate finishing exceeding all description. Some curious medals, and a chaplet of admirable invention, the intaglias being all on fruit-stones. The Count was so exceeding civill that he would needes make his Lady goe out of her dressing-roome, that he might shew us the curiosities and pictures in it.

We went thence to visite one Mons. Perishot, one of the greatest virtuosos in France, for his collection of pictures, achates, medalls, and flowers, especialy tulips & anemonies. The chiefest of his payntings was a *Sebastian* of Titian.

From him we went to Mon^sr^. Frene's, who shew'd us many rare drawings, a *Rape of Helen* in black chalke; many excellent things of Sneider; some of Julio & Mich^l^. Angelo; a *Madona* of Passignano; some things of Parmensis, & other masters.

The next morning being recom'ended to Mons. de-Hausse, President du Parliament, and once Ambassador at Venice for the French

King, we were very civily receiv'd, and shew'd his Library. Amongst his paintings were, a rare *Venus & Adonis* of Veroneze, a *St. Anthony* after the first manner of Corregio, and a rare *Madona* of Palma.

Sunday 6 March. I went to Charenton, 2 leagues from Paris, to heare & see the manner of the French Protestant Churches service. The place of meeting they call ye Temple, a very faire and spacious roome, built of free-stone, very decently adorn'd with payntings of the Tables of ye Law, the Lords Prayer & Creede. The pulpit stands at the upper end in the middle, having an enclosure of seates about it, where the Elders, & persons of greatest quality and strangers, sit; the rest of ye congregation on formes & low stooles, but none in pewes as in our Churches, to their greate disgrace & nothing so orderly, as here the stooles & other comber are remov'd when ye assembly rises. I was greatly pleas'd with their harmonious singing the Psalms, which they all learn perfectly well, their children being as duely taught as their Catechisme.

In our passage we went by that famous bridge over ye Marne, where echo returnes the voice of a good singer 9 or 10 times.

7th March. I went with some company towards Fontainebleau, a sumptuous palace of the King's, like ours of Hampton Court, about 14 leagues from the Citty. By the way we pass through a Forest so prodigiously encompass'd with hideous rocks of whitish hard stone, heaped one on another in mountainous heights, that I think the like is not to be found elsewhere. It abounds wth staggs, wolves, boares, & not long after a lynx or ounce was kill'd amongst them, which had devour'd some passengers. On the sum'it of one of these gloomy precipices, intermingl'd wth trees and shrubs, the stones hanging over, & menaceing ruine, is built an Hermitage. In these solitudes rogues frequently lurke & do mischiefe (& for whom we were all well appoynted wth our carabines), but we arived safe in the evening at the village, where we lay at the Horne, going early next morning to the Palace.

This house is nothing so stately and uniforme as Hampton Court, but Francis I. began much to beautifie it; most of all, Hen. IV. and not a little the late King. It abounds with faire halls, chambers, and

gallerys; in the longest, which is 360 foote long, & 18 broad, are paynted the Victories of that great Prince Hen. IV. That of Francis I. call'd the grand Gallery, has all the King's Palaces paynted in it; above these, in 60 pieces of excellent worke in fresca is the History of Ulysses, from Homer, by Primaticcio in the tyme of Hen. III. esteemed the most renown'd in Europ for ye designe. The Cabinet is full of excellent pictures, especialy a *Woman* of Raphael. In the Hall of the Guards is a piece of tapistry painted on ye wall, very naturally, representing the Victorys of Cha. VII. over our countrymen. In the Salle des Festins is a rare Chimny-piece, & Hen. IV. on horseback, of white marble, esteemed worth 18,000 crowns; *Clementia* & *Pax*, nobly don. On columns of jasper, 2 lions of brasse. The new Stayres, and a halfe circular Court, are of modern and good architecture, as is a Chapell built by Lewis XIII. all of jasper, with several incrustations of marble in the inside.

Having seene the roomes we went to ye Volary, wch has a cupola in the middle of it, greate trees and bushes, it being full of birds who drank at two fountaines. There is a faire Tennis Court & noble Stables; but the beauty of all are the Gardens. In ye Court of ye Fountaines stand divers antiquities and statues, especialy a Mercury. In ye Queenes Garden is a Diana ejecting a fountaine, with numerous other brasse statues.

The Greate Garden, 180 toises long and 154 wide, has in the centre a fountayne of Tyber of a Colossean figure of brasse, with the Wolfe over Romulus & Rhemus. At each corner of the garden rises a fountaine. In the Garden of the Fish Pond is a Hercules of white marble. Next is the Garden of the Pines, and without that a Canale of an English mile in length, at ye end of which rise 3 jettos in the form of a fleur de lys, of a great height; on the margin are excellent walkes planted wth trees. The carps come familiarly to hand [to be fed]. Hence they brought us to a spring, which they say being first discover'd by a dog, gave occasion of beautifying this place, both wth the Palace and Gardens. The rocks at some distance in the Forest yeald one of the most august & stupendous prospects imaginable. The Parke about this place is very large, & the Towne is full of noblemen's houses.

Next morning we were invited by a Paynter, who was keeper of ye pictures and rarities, to see his owne collection. We were lead thro' a gallery of old Rosso's worke, at the end of which, in another cabinet, were 3 *Madonas* of Raphael, and 2 of Andrea del Sarto. In ye Academy where ye Paynter himselfe wrought, was a *St. Michael* of Raphael, very rare; *St. Jo. Baptist* of Leonardo, & a *Woman's head;* a *Queene of Sicily* & *St. Margaret* of Raphael; 2 more *Madonas,* whereof one very large, by ye same hand; some more of del Sarto; a *St. Jerome* of Perino del Vaga; the *Rape of Proserpine,* very good; and a greate number of drawings.

Returning part of our way to Paris that day, we visited an house cal'd *Maison Rouge,* having an excellent prospect, grott, & fountaines, one whereof rises 50 feet, & resembles the noise of a tempest, battailles of gunns, &c. at its issue.

We went to Essone, a house of Monsr. Essling, who is a greate Vertuoso; there are many good payntings in it, but nothing so observable as his gardens, fountaines, fishe-pooles, especialy y^t^ in a triangular forme, the water cast out by a multitude of heads about it; there is a noble cascade and pretty bathes, with all accommodations. Under a marble table is a fountaine of serpents twisting about a globe.

We alighted next at Corbeil, a towne famous for the seige of Hen. IV. Here we slept, & return'd next morning to Paris.

18 March. I went with S^r^ Jo. Cotton, a Cambridg-shire Kn^t^. a journey into Normandy. The first day we passed by Gaillon, the Archbishop of Rouen's Palace. The gardens are highly com'ended, but we did not go in, intending to reach Pontoise by dinner. This towne is built in a very gallant place, has a noble bridge over the Oize, and is well refresh'd wth fountaines.

This is the first towne in Normandy, and the farthest that the Vineyards extend to on this side of the country, which is fuller of playnes, wood, and enclosures, wth some townes towards ye sea, very like England.

We lay this night at a vilage call'd Magny. The next day, descending a very steepe hill, we din'd at Fleury, and after rode 5 leagues downe St. Catharine, to Rouen, which affords a goodly prospect to the ruines

of that chapell & mountaine. This country so abounds with wolves, that a shepherd whom we met told us one of his companions was strangled by one of them the day before, & that in the midst of his flock. The feilds are mostly planted wth pears & apples & other cider fruites. It is plentifully furnish'd wth quarries of stone & slate, & hath iron in abundance.

I lay at the White Crosse in Rouen, which is a very large Citty, on ye Seine, having two smaller rivers besides, call'd ye Aubelt and Lobes. There stand yet the ruines of a magnificent bridge of stone, now supply'd by one of boates only, to which come up vessells of considerable burthen. The other side of ye water consists of meadows, and there have ye Reformed a Church.

The Cathedrall Nostre Dame was built, as they acknowledge, by the English; some English words graven in Gotic characters upon the front seeme to confirm it. The Towers & whole Church are full of carving. It has 3 steeples wth a pyramid; in one of these I saw the famous bell so much talk'd off, 13 foote in height, 32 round, the diameter 11, weighing 40,000 pounds. In the Chapel d'Amboise, built by a Cardinal of that name, lies his body, with several faire monuments. The Quire has behind it a greate dragon paynted on the wall, wch they say had don much harme to the inhabitants till vanquished by St. Romain their Archbishop, for which there is an annual procession. It was now neere Easter, and many images were expos'd with scenes & stories representing ye Passion, made up of little puppets, to which there was great resort and devotion, with offerings. Before the Church is a faire Palace.—St. Owen is another goodly Church and an Abby wth fine gardens. Here the King hath lodgings when he makes his progresse through these parts. The structure where the Court of Parliament is kept is very magnificent, containing very faire halles & chambers, especialy La Chambre d'Orée. The Towne-house is also well built, and so are some gentlemen's houses; but most part of the rest are of timber, like our merchants of London, in the wooden part of the Citty.

21 March. On Easter Monday we din'd at Totes, a solitary inn between Rouen & Diepe, at which latter place we arived. This towne

is situated betweene two mountaines, not unpleasantly, and is washed on ye North by our English seas.

The Port is com'odious, but the entrance is difficult. It has one ample & faire streete, in which is a pretty church. The Fort Pollet consists of a strong earth-worke, and com'ands the Haven, as on the other side dos the Castle, which is also well fortified, wth the Citadel before it; nor is the Towne itself a little strong. It abounds with workmen, who make and sell curiosities of ivory and tortoise-shells; & indeed whatever the East Indies afford of cabinets, purcelan, natural & exotic rarities, are here to be had wth abundant choyce.

23 March. We pass'd along the Coast by a very rocky and rugged way, which forc'd us to alight many times before we came to Havre de Grace, where we lay that night.

The next morning we saw the Citadel, strong and regular, well stored with artillery, &c. The works furnish'd with faire brasse canon, having a motto, *Ratio ultima Regum.* The allogiaments of the garrison are uniforme; a spacious place for drawing up the soldiers, a pretty chapell, and a faire house for the Governor. The Duke of Richelieu being now in the fort, we went to salute him; who receiv'd us very civily, and com'anded that we should be show'd whatever we desired to see. The Citadel was built by the late Card. de Richelieu, unkle of the present Duke, and is very strong. The haven is very capacious.

We embarqued ourselves and horses to passe to Honfleur, about 4 or 5 leagues distant, where the Seine falls into the Sea. It is a poore fisher towne, remarkable for nothing so much as the odd yet usefull habites which the good women weare, of beares and other skinns, as of raggs at Dieppe, and all along these coasts.

25 March. We ariv'd at Caen, a noble and beautifull towne, on the river Orne, which passes quite thro' it, the 2 sides of the towne joyn'd only by a bridg of one arch. We lay at the Angel, where we were very well us'd, the place being abundantly furnish'd with provisions at a cheape rate.

The most considerable object is the great Abby and Church, large and rich, built after the Gotic manner, having two spires and middle lanterne at the West end, all of stone. The quire round and large,

in ye centre whereof, elevated on a square, handsome, but plain sepulchre, is this inscription:

"Hoc Sepulchrum invictissimi juxta et clementissimi Conquestoris, Gulielmi, dum viveret Anglorum Regis, Normannorum Cænomanorumque Principis, hujus insignis Abbatiae piissimi Fundatoris: Cum anno 1562 vesano hereticorum furore direptum fuisset, pio tandem nobilium ejusdem Abbatiae religiosorum gratitudinis sensu in tam beneficum largitorem, instauratum fuit, a° D'ni 1642. D'no Johanne de Baulhache ascetarii Protopriore. P. D. D. P."

On the other side are these monkish rhymes:

"Qui rexit rigidos Normanos, atq. Britanos
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Cænomanenses virtute coërcuit enses,
Imperiique sui legibus applicuit,
Rex magnus parvâ jacet hic Gulielm^s^ in urnâ,
Sufficit et magno parva domus Domino.
Ter septem gradibûs se volverat atq. duobus
Virginis in gremio Phœbus, et hic obiit."

We went to ye Castle, which is strong and fayre, and so is the Towne-house, built on the bridg which unites the two townes. Here are Scholes and an University for the Jurists.

The whole Town is handsomly built of y^t^ excellent stone so well knowne by that name in England. I was lead to a pretty garden, planted with hedges of Alaternus, having at the entrance a skreene at an exceeding height, accurately cutt in topiary worke, with well understood Architecture, consisting of pillars, niches, freezes, and other ornaments, wth greate curiosity; some of the columns wreathed, others spiral, all according to art.

28 March. We went towards Paris, lying the first night at Evreux, a Bishop's seate, an ancient Towne, wth a faire Cathedral.

The next day we arived at Paris.

1 April. I went to see more exactly the roomes of the fine Palace of Luxemburge, in the Fauxbourg St. Germains, built by Mary de Medices, and I think one of the most noble, entire, and finish'd piles, that is to be seen, taking it with the garden and all its accomplishments. The gallery is of the painting of Rubens, being the history of the Foundresses life, rarely designed; at the end of it is the Duke of

Orleans's Library, well furnished wth excellent bookes, all bound in maroquin and gilded, the valans of the shelves being of greene velvet, fring'd with gold. In the cabinet joyning it are onely the smaler volumes, with 6 cabinets of medails, and an excellent collection of shells and achates, whereof some are prodigiously rich. This Duke being very learn'd in medails and plants, nothing of that kind escapes him. There are other spacious, noble, and princely furnish'd roomes, which looke towards the gardens, which are nothing inferior to the rest.

The Court below is formed into a square by a corridor, having over the chiefe entrance a stately cupola, covered with stone; the rest is cloistered and arch'd on pillasters of rustiq worke. The tarrace ascending before the front, pav'd wth white & black marble, is balustred with white marble, exquisitely polish'd.

Onely the Hall below is lowe, and the stayrecase somewhat of an heavy designe, but the faciata towards the parterre, which is also arched & vaulted wth stone, is of admirable beauty, and full of sculpture.

The Gardens are neere an English mile in compasse, enclos'd wth a stately wall, and in a good ayre. The parterre is indeed of box, but so rarely design'd and accurately kept cut, that the embroidery makes a wonderful effect to the lodgings which front it. 'Tis divided into 4 squares, & as many circular knots, having in ye center a noble basin of marble neere 30 f^t^ diameter (as I remember), in which a triton of brasse holds a dolphin that casts a girandola of water neere 30 foote high, playing perpetualy, the water being convey'd from Arceuil by an aqueduct of stone, built after ye old Roman magnificence. About this ample parterre, the spacious walkes & all included, runs a border of freestone, adorn'd wth pedestalls for potts and statues, and part of it neere the stepps of the terrace, with a raile and baluster of pure white marble.

The walkes are exactly faire, long, & variously descending, and so justly planted with limes, elms, & other trees, that nothing can be more delicious, especially that of the hornebeam hedge, wch being high and stately, butts full on the fountaine.

Towards the farther end is an excavation intended for a vast fish-pool, but never finish'd. Neere it is an inclosure for a garden of

simples, well kept, and here the Duke keepes tortoises in greate number, who use the poole of water on one side of the garden. Here is also a conservatory for snow. At the upper part towards the Palace is a grove of tall elmes cutt into a starr. every ray being a walk, whose center is a large fountaine.

The rest of the ground is made into severall inclosures (all hedge-worke or rowes of trees) of whole fields, meadowes, boxages, some of them containing divers acres.

Next the streete side, and more contiguous to ye house, are knotts in trayle or grasse worke, where likewise runs a fountaine. Towards the grotto and stables, within a wall, is a garden of choyce flowers, in which the Duke spends many thousand pistoles. In sum, nothing is wanting to render this palace and gardens perfectly beautifull & magnificent; nor is it one of the least diversions to see the number of persons of quality, citizens and strangers, who frequent it, and to whom all accesse is freely permitted, so that you shall see some walkes & retirements full of gallants and ladys; in others melancholy fryers; in others studious scholars; in others jolly citizens, some sitting or lying on ye grasse, others runing, jumping, some playing at bowles and ball, others dancing and singing; and all this without the least disturbance, by reason of the largeness of the place.

What is most admirable is, you see no gardners or men at worke, and yet all is kept in such exquisite order as if they did nothing else but work; it is so early in the morning, that all is dispatch'd and don without ye least confusion.

I have been ye larger in the description of this Paradise, for the extraordinary delight I have taken in those sweete retirements. The Cabinet and Chapell neerer ye garden front have some choyce pictures. All the houses neere this are also noble palaces, especialy *petite Luxemburge*. The ascent of the streete is handsome from its breadth, situation, and buildings.

I went next to view Paris from the top of St. Jacques steeple, esteem'd the highest in the towne, from whence I had a full view of the whole Citty and suburbs, both which, as I judge, are not so large as London: though the dissimilitude of their formes and situations, this

round, London long, renders it difficult to determine; but there is no comparison between the buildings, palaces, and materials, this being entirely of stone and more sumptuous, tho' I esteeme our piazza's to exceede their's.

In St. Innocent's Church-yard, where the story of the devouring quality of the ground (consuming bodys in 24 hours), the vast charnells of bones, tombs, piramids, and sepulchres, took up much of my time, together with the hieroglyphical characters of Nicolas Flamen's philosophical worke, who had founded this church, and divers other charitable workes, as he testifies in his booke.

Here divers clarks get their livelyhood by inditing lett^rs^ for poor mayds & other ignorant people who come to them for advise, & to write for them into ye Country, every large grave-stone serving for a table. Joyning to this Church is a com'on fountaine, with good relievo's on it.

The next day I was carried to see a French gentleman's curious collection, which abounded in faire & rich jewels of all sorts of precious stones, most of them of greate sizes and value; achates & onixes, some of them admirably colour'd & antique; nor inferior were his landskips from the best hands, most of which he had caused to be copy'd in miniature; one of which, rarely painted on stone, was broken by one of our company, by the mischance of setting it up; but such was the temper & civility of the gentleman, that it altered nothing of his free & noble humor.

The next morning I went to the Garden of Monsr. Morine, who from being an ordinary gardner is become one of ye most skillful & curious persons in France for his rare collection of shells, flowers, & insects.

His Garden is of an exact oval figure, planted wth cypresse cutt flat & set as even as a wall: the tulips, anemonies, ranunculus's, crocus's, &c. are held to be of the rarest, and draw all the admirers of such things to his house during the season. He lived in a kind of Hermitage at one side of his garden, where his collection of purselan and coral, whereof one is carved into a large Crucifix, is much esteemed. He has also bookes of prints, by Albert [Durer], Van Leyden, Calot, &c.

His collection of all sorts of insects, especialy of Butterflys, is most curious; these he spreads and so medicates that no corruption invading them, he keepes them in drawers, so plac'd as to represent a beautifull piece of tapistry.

He shew'd me the remarks he had made on their propagation, wch he promis'd to publish. Some of these, as also of his best flowers, he had caus'd to be painted in miniature by rare hands, and some in oyle.

I went to see divers of the fairest Palaces, as that of Vendosme, very large and stately; Longueville; Guyse; Condi; Chevereuse; Nevers, esteem'd one of the best in Paris towards the river.

I often went to the Palais Cardinal, bequeathed by Richelieu to the King, on condition that it should be called by his name; at this time the King resided in it because of the building of the Louvre. It is a very noble house, tho' somewhat low; the gallerys, paintings of the most illustrious persons of both sexes, the Queenes bathes, presence chamber with its rich carved and gilded roofe, theatre, & large garden, in which is an ample fountaine, grove and maille, are worthy of remark. Here I also frequently went to see them ride and exercise the Greate Horse, especialy at the Academy of Monsr. du Plessis, and de Veau, whose scholes of y^t^ art are frequented by the Nobility; and here also young gentlemen are taught to fence, daunce, play on musiq, and something in fortification & ye mathematics. The designe is admirable, some keeping neere an hundred brave horses, all managed to ye greate saddle.

12th. I took coach to see a general muster of all the gens d'armes about ye Citty in the Bois de Boulogne before their Majesties and all ye Grandees. They were reputed to be neere 20,000; besides the spectators who much exceeded them in number. Here they performed all their motions, and being drawne up, horse & foote, into several figures, represented a battell.

The sum'er now drawing neere, I determined to spend the rest of it in some more remote towne on the river Loire; and on 19 April I tooke leave of Paris, and, by the way of the messenger, agreed for my passage to Orleans.

The way, as indeed most of the roades in France, is paved with a small square free-stone, so that there is little dirt and bad roads, as in England, onely 'tis somewhat hard to ye poore horses feete, which causes them to ride more temperately, seldom going out of the trot, or *grand pas*, as they call it. We passed several wall'd townes or villages; amongst others of note, Chartres and Estampes, where we lay the first night. This has a faire church.

20 April. We had an excellent road, but had like to come short home; for no sooner were we entred two or three leagues into ye Forest of Orleans (which extends itself many miles), but the company behind us were set on by rogues, who, shooting from ye hedges and frequent covert, slew foure upon the spot. This disaster made such an alarme in Orleans at o^r^ arival, that the Prevost Martial, wth his assistants, going in persuite, brought in two whom they had shot, and exposed them in ye greate market-place, to see if any would take cognizance of y^m^. I had greate cause to give God thankes for this escape. I lay at the White Lion, where I found Mr. John Nicholas, eldest son to Mr. Secretary [Nicholas]. In the night, a cat kitten'd on my bed, and left on it a young one having six ears, eight leggs, two bodys from the navil downwards, and two tayles. I found it dead, but warm, in the morning when I awaked.

21 April. The citty is well built of stone, on the side of the Loyre. About the middle of ye river is an island, full of walkes and faire trees, with some houses. There is a stately stone bridge, reaching to the opposite suburbs, built likewise on the edge of an hill, from whence is a beautifull prospect. At one end of the bridge are strong toures, and about the middle, on one side, is the statue of ye Virgin Mary or Pieta, with the dead Christ in her lap, as big as the life. At one side of the Crosse kneeles Cha. VII. arm'd, and at ye other, Joan d'Arc, arm'd like a cavalier, wth boots and spurrs, her hayre dischevel'd, as the deliveress of the towne from our countrymen, when they besieg'd it. The figures are all cast in copper, with a pedistall full of inscriptions, as well as a faire columne joyning it, which is adorn'd with fleurs de lys and a crucifix, wth two saints proceeding as it were from two branches out of its capital. The inscriptions on the Crosse are in Latine: "Mors

Christi in cruce nos a contagione labis et æturnorum morborum sanavit." On the pedestal: "Rex In hoc signo hostes profligavit, et Johan'a Virgo Aureliam obsidio liberavit. Non diu ab impiis diruta, restituta sunt hoc anno D'ni 1578. Jean Buret, m. f."—"Octannoq' Galliam servitute Britannicâ liberavit. A Domino factum est illud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris; in quorum memoriâ hæc nostræ fidei Insignia." To this is made an annual procession on 12 May, Masse being sung before it, attended with great ceremony and concourse of people. The wine of this place is so strong, that the King's cup-bearers are, as I was assured, sworne never to give the King any of it; but it is a very noble liquor, and much of it transported into other countrys. The town is much frequented by strangers for the greate purity of the langûage here spoken, as well as for divers other priviledges; and the University makes the towne much frequented by strangers, especialy Germans, which causes the English to make no long sojourne hear, except such as can drinke and debauch. The Citty stands in the County of Beaulse, was once stiled a Kingdom, afterwards a Dutchy, as at present, belonging to the second son of France. Many Councils have been held here, and some Kings crown'd. The University is very antient, divided now by the students into that of four nations, French, High Dutch, Normans, and Picardins, who have each their respective protectors, severall officers, Treasurers, Consuls, Seales, &c. There are in it two reasonable faire publiq Libraries, whence one may borrow a booke to one's chamber, giving but a note under hand, wch is an extraordinary custome, and a confidence that has cost many Libraries deare. The first church I went to visit was St. Croix; it has been a stately fabric, but has been much ruin'd by the late Civil Warrs. They report the towre of it to have been the highest in France. There is the beginning of a faire reperation. About this cathedrall is a very spacious cemeterie. The towne-hous is nobly built, with a high tower to it. The market-place and streetes, some whereof are deliciously planted with limes, are ample and straite, so well paved wth a kind of pebble, that I have not seen a neater towne in France. This Citty was by Francis I. esteemed the most agreable of his great dominions.

28 April. Taking boate on the Loir, I went towards Blois, the passage and river being both very pleasant. Passing Mehun, we dined at Baugency, and slept at a little towne called St. Dieu. Quitting our barke, we hired horses to Blois, by the way of Chambourg, a famous house of ye King's, built by Francis I. in ye middle of a solitary parke, full of deere; the enclosure is a wall. I was particularly desirous of seeing this palace, from the extravagance of the designe, especialy the stayre-case, mentioned by Palladio. It is said that 1800 workmen were constantly employ'd in this fabric for twelve yeares; if so, it is wonderfull that it was not finish'd, it being no greater than divers gentlemens houses in England, both for rome or circuit. The carvings are very rich and full. The stayre-case is devised wth four entries or ascents, which cross one another, so that tho' four persons meete, they never come in sight, but by small loopeholes, till they land. It consists of 274 stepps (as I remember), and is an extraordinary worke, but of far greater expense than use or beauty. The chimnys of the house appeare like so many towres. About the whole is a large deepe moate. The country about it full of corne and wine, with many faire noblemens houses.

We ariv'd at Blois in the evening. The town is hilly, uneven, and rugged. It stands on the side of the Loire, having suburbs joyn'd by a stately stone bridg, on which is a pyramid with an inscription. At the entrance of the castle is a stone statue of Lewis XII. on horseback, as large as life, under a Gothic state; and a little below are these words:

"Hic ubi natus erat dextro Ludovicus Olympo
Sumpsit honorata regia sceptra manu;
Fælix quæ tanti fulsit Lux nuncia Regis
Gallica non alio principe digna fuit."

Under this is a very wide payre of gates, nailed full of wolves and wild-boars' heads. Behind ye castle the present Duke Gastion had begun a faire building, through which we walked into a large garden, esteemed for its furniture one of the fairest, especialy for simples and exotic plants, in which he takes extraordinary delight. On the right hand is a longe gallery full of ancient statues and inscriptions, both of marble and brasse; the length, 300 paces, divides

the garden into higher and lower ground, having a very noble fountaine. There is the portrait of an hart, taken in the forest by Lewis XII. which has 24 antlers on its head. In the Collegiate Church of St. Saviour we saw many sepulchres of the Earls of Blois.

Sunday, being May day, we walked up into ye Pall Mall, very long, and so nobly shaded wth tall trees (being in the midst of a greate wood), that, unless that of Tours, I had not seene a statelier.

From hence we proceeded with a friend of mine through the adjoyning forest, to see if we could meete any wolves, which are here in such numbers that they often come and take children out of the very streetes; yet will not the Duke, who is sov'raigne here, permite them to be destroy'd. We walked five or six miles outright, but met with none; yet a gentleman, who was resting himselfe under a tree, wth his horse grazing by him, told us that, halfe an houre before, two wolves had set upon his horse, and had in probability devour'd him, but for a dog wch lay by him. At a little village at the end of this wood we eat excellent creame, and visited a castle builded on a very steepe cliff.

Bloys is a towne where the language is exactly spoken; the inhabitants very courteous; the ayre so good, that it is the ordinary nursery of the King's children. The people are so ingenious, that, for goldsmith's worke and watches, no place in France affords the like. The pastures by the river are very rich and pleasant.

2 May. We took boate, passing by Charmont, a proud castle on ye left hand; before it is a sweete island, deliciously shaded with tall trees. A little distance from hence we went on shore at Ambois, a very agreeable village, built of stone, and the houses covered with blue slate, as the towns on the Loyre generally are; but the castle chiefely invited us, the thicknesse of whose towers, from the river to ye top, was admirable. We enter'd by the draw-bridg, which has an invention to let one fall, if not premonished. It is full of halls and spacious chambers, and one stayre-case is large enough, and sufficiently com'odious, to receive a coach, and land it on the very towre, as they told us had been don. There is some artillery. In the ancient chapell is a stag's head or branches, hung up by chayns, consisting of twenty brow antlers, the

beame bigger than a man's middle, and of an incredible length. Indeed it is monstrous, and yet I cannot conceive how it should be artificial: they shew also the ribs and vertebræ of the same beast; but these might be made of whalebone.

Leaving the Castle we pass'd Mont Louis, a village having no house above ground, but such onely as are hewn out of the maine rocks, wch are of excellent free-stone. Here & there the funnell of a chimny appears on the surface amongst the vineyards which are over them, and in this manner they inhabite ye caves, as it were sea-cliffs, on one side of the river for many miles.

We now come within sight of Tours, where we were design'd for the rest of the time I had resolv'd to stay in France, the sojournment being so agreeable. Tours is on the easy side of an hill on the river Loyre, having a faire bridge of stone, called St. Edme; the streetes are very long, straite, spacious, well built, & exceeding cleane; the suburbs large and pleasant, joyn'd to the citty by another bridg. Both the Church and Monastry of St. Martin are large, of Gotic building, having 4 square towers, faire organs, and a stately altar where they shew the bones & ashes of St. Martine, with other reliques. The Mall without comparison is the noblest in Europe for length and shade, having 7 rowes of the tallest and goodliest elms I had ever beheld, the innermost of which do so embrace each other, & at such a height, that nothing can be more solemn and majestical. Here we play'd a party or two, and then walked about the Towne-walles, built of square stone, fill'd wth earth, & having a moate. No citty in France exceeds it in beauty or delight.

6 May. We went to St. Gratian, reported to have been built by our countrymen; the dyal and clock-work are much esteem'd. The Church has two handsom towres & spires of stone, and the whole fabric is very noble & venerable. To this joynes the Palace of the Archbishop, of old and new building, with many faire roomes, and a faire garden. Here I grew acquainted with one Monsr. Merey, a very good Musitian. The Archbishop treated me very courteously. We visited divers other Churches, Chapells, & Monasteries, for the most part neatly built, &

full of pretty payntings, especialy the Convent of ye Capucines, which has a prospect over the whole Citty, and many faire walkes.

8th. I went to see their manufactures in Silke (for in this towne they drive a very considerable trade wth silk-wormes), their pressing & watering the grograms and chambletts, with weights of an extraordinary poyse, put into a rolling engine. Here I took a master of the language and studied the tongue very diligently, recreating myself sometimes at the Maill, and sometymes about the Towne. The house opposite my lodging had been formerly a Palace of the King's, the outside was totaly cover'd with fleurs de lyes, emboss'd out of ye stone. Here Mary de Medici had her Court when she was compell'd to retire from Paris by the persecution of the Cardinal.

25. Was the *Fête Dieu*, and a goodly procession of all the religious orders, the whole streetes hung with their best tapistrys, and their most precious moveables expos'd; silks, damasks, velvets, plate, and pictures in abundance; the streets strew'd wth flowres, and full of pageantry, banners, and bravery.

6 June. I went by water to visit that goodly and venerable Abby of Marmoustier, being one of the greatest in the Kingdome. There is a large Church of stone, wth a very high pyramid. Amongst other reliques the Monkes shew'd us is the Holy Ampoule, the same wth that which sacres their Kings at Rhemes, this being the one which anoynted Hen. IV. Ascending many stepps we went into the Abbot's Palace, where we were shew'd a vast Tun (as big as that at Heidelberg), which they report St. Martin (as I remember) filled from one cluster of grapes growing there.

7. We walked about 2 miles from ye Citty to an agreeable solitude called du Plessis, a house belonging to ye King. It has many pretty gardens, full of nightingales. In the Chapell lyes buried the famous Poet Ronsard.

Returning, we stepp'd into a Convent of Franciscans called St. Cosmo, where the Cloister is painted with the miracles of their St. Francis à Paula, whose ashes lie in their Chapell, with this inscription: "Corpus Sancti Fran. à Paula 1507. 13 Aprilis. concrematur verò

ab Hæreticis a° 1562, cujus quidem ossa et cineres hic jacent." The tomb has 4 small pyramids of marble at each corner.

9 June. I was invited to a Vineyard, which was so artificialy planted and supported wth arched poles that stooping downe one might see from end to end, a very greate length, under the vines, the bunches hanging down in abundance.

20 June. We took hors to see certain natural Caves, called Goutiere, neare Colombiere, where there is a spring within the bowells of ye earth very deepe, & so excessive cold that the dropps meeting wth some stony matter it converts them into an hard stone, which hangs about like icicles, having many others in the form of comfitures and sugar plums as wee call them.

Neere this we went under the ground almost two furlongs, lighted wth candles, to see the source and spring which serves the whole Citty, by a passage cut through the maine rock of free-stone.

28. I went to see the Palace and Gardens of Chevereux, a sweete place.

30. I walked through the vineyards as far as Roche Corbé, to the ruines of an old & very strong Castle sayd to have ben built by the English, of great height, on the precipice of a dreadfull cliff, from whence the country and river yeald a most incomparable prospect.

27 July. I heard excellent musiq at the Jesuites, who have here a Schole and Convent, but a meane Chapell. We had now store of those admirable melons so much celebrated in France for the best of the kingdom.

1 Augt. My valet, one Garno, a Spaniard borne in Biscay, having misbehaved, I was forced to discharge him; he demanded of me (besides his wages) no lesse then 100 crownes to carry him to his country; refusing to pay it, as no part of our agreement, he had the impudence to arrest me: the next day I was to appear in Court, where both our Advocats pleaded before the Lieutennant Civile. The Judge immediately acquitting me, after he had reproached the Advocate who tooke part wth my servant, he rose from the Bench, and making a courteous excuse to me, that being a stranger I should be so us'd, he conducted mee through the Court to ye streete-dore. This varlet afterwards

threatened to pistol me. The next day I waited on the Lieutennant to thanke him for his greate civility.

18 Aug. The Queene of England came to Tours, having newly ariv'd in France, and going for Paris. She was very nobly receiv'd by the People and Cleargy, who went to meete her with the trained bands. After the harangue the Archbish'p entertain'd her at his Palace, where I paid my duty to her. The 20th she set forward to Paris.

8 Sept. Two of my kinsmen came from Paris to this place, where I settled them in their pension and exercises.

14. We tooke post for Richlieu, passing by l'Isle Bouchart, a village.—15. We ariv'd at the Towne, and went to see the Cardinal's Palace neare it. The Towne is in a low, marshy ground, having a small river cut by hand, very even and straite, capable of bringing up a small vessell. It consists of onely one considerable streete, the houses on both sides (as indeed throughout ye towne) built exactly uniforme, after a modern handsome designe. It has a large goodly Market-house and Place, opposite to which is the Church built of free-stone, having two pyramids of stone, wch stand hollow from the towers. The Church is well-built, of a well-ordered architecture, handsomely pav'd and adorn'd. To this towne belongs an Academy, where, besides ye exercise of the horse, armes, dauncing, &c. all the sciences are taught in the vulgar French by Professors stipendiated by the greate Cardinal, who by this, the cheape living there, & divers priviledges, not only design'd the improvem^t^ of the vulgar language, but to draw people and strangers to the towne; but since the Cardinal's death it is thinly inhabited, standing so much out of the way, and in a place not well situated for health or pleasure. He was allured to build by the name of the place, and an old house there belonging to his ancestors. This pretty town is handsomly wall'd about & moated, wth a kind of slight fortification, two faire gates & draw-bridges. Before the gate towards the Palace is a spacious circle, where the Faire is annually kept. About a flite-shot from the towne is the Cardinal's house, a princely pile, tho' on an old designe, not altogether Gotiq, but mix'd, inviron'd by a cleare moate. The roomes are stately, most richly furnish'd with tissue, damask, aras, and velvet,

pictures, statues, vases, & all sorts of antiquities, especialy the Cæsars in oriental alabaster. The long gallery is paynted wth the famous acts of the Founder; the roofe wth the life of Julius Cæsar; at the end of it is a Cupola or singing theatre, supported by very stately pillars of black marble. The Chapell anciently belonging to the family of the Founder. The Court is very ample. The Gardens without are very large, and the parterres of excellent imbrodry, set with many statues of brasse and marble; the groves, meadows, and walkes are a real paradise.

16. We return'd to Tours; from whence, after 19 weekes sojourne, we went towards the more Southern parte of France, minding now to shape my course so as I might winter in Italy.

16 Sept. With my friend Mr. Thicknesse and o^r^ guide we went the first day 7 leagues to a castle called Chenonceaux, built by Cath. de Medici, and now belonging to the Duke of Vendosme, standing on a bridg. In the gallery, amongst divers other excellent statues, is that of Scipio Africanus, of oriental alabaster.

21st. We pass'd by Ville Franche, where we din'd, and so by Muneton, lying at Viaron au mouton, wch was 20 leagues. The next day by Murg to Bourges, 4 leagues, where we spent the day. This is the capital of Berry, an University much frequented by the Dutch, situated on the River Eure. It stands high, is strong, & well placed for defence. It is inviron'd with meadows and vines; the living here is very cheap. In the suburbs of St. Prie there is a fountaine of sharp water wch they report wholesome against the stone. They shew'd us a vast tree wch they say stands in the center of France. The French tongue is spoken with great purity in this place. St. Stephen's Church is ye Cathedrall, well built *à la Gotic*, full of sepulchres without-side, with the representation of the final judgment over one of the ports. Here they shew the Chapel of Claude de la Chastre, a famous souldier, who had serv'd six Kings of France in their warrs.

St. Chapell is built much like that at Paris, full of reliques, and the bones of one Briat, a gyant of 15 cubits high. This was built by John Duke of Berry, and they shew'd the coronet of the dukedom. The great tour is a Pharos for defence of the towne, very strong, in thicknesse 18 foote, fortified with a graff and workes; there is a garri-

son in it, and a strange engine for throwing great stones, and the yron Cage where Lewes Duke of Orleans was kept by Chas. VIII. Neere ye Towne-house stands the Colledge of Jesuites, where was heretofore an Amphitheatre. I was courteously entertayned by a Jesuit, who had us into ye garden. The house of Jaques Coeur is worth seeing. Bourges is an Archbishopric, Primate of Aquitain. I tooke my leave of Mr. Nicholas and some other English there; & on the 23d proceeded on my journey by Pont du Charge; and lay that evening at Coulaiure, 13 leagues.

24th, by Franchede St. Menou, thence to Moulins where we din'd. This is the chiefe towne of the Bourbonois, on ye river Allier very navigable. The streetes are faire; the Castle has a noble prospect, and has been the seat of the Dukes. Here is a pretty parke and garden. After dinner came many who offered knives and scissars to sell, it being a towne famous for those trifles. This Dutchy of Bourbon is ordinarily assigned for the dowry of the Queenes of France.

Hence we tooke horse for Varenne, an obscure village, where we lay that night. The next day we went somewhat out of ye way to see the towne of Bourbon l'Archambaut, from whose ancient and ragged castle is deriv'd the name of the present Royal Family of France. The castle stands on a flinty rock, overlooking the towne. In the midst of the streetes are some bathes of medicinal waters, some of them excessive hot, but nothing so neately wall'd & adorn'd as ours in Som'ersetshire; and indeede they are chiefly for drinking, *our Queen* being then lodged there for that purpose. After dinner I went to see the St. Chapel, a prime place of devotion, where is kept one of the thornes of our Saviour's crowne, & a piece of the real crosse; excellent paintings on glasse, and some few statues of stone and wood, which they shew for curiosities. We went forward to Palisse, a village that lodged us that night.

26 Sept. We ariv'd at Roan, where we quitted our guide and tooke post for Lions. Roan seem'd to me one of the pleasantest and most agreeable places imaginable for a retyred person: besides the situation on the Loire, there are excellent provisions cheape and aboundant.

It being late when we left this towne, we rode no farther than Tarrare that night (passing St. Saforin) a little desolate village in a vally neere a pleasant streame, encompass'd with fresh meadows and vineyards. The hills which we rod over before we descended, and afterwards on the Lions side of this place, are high and mountainous; fir and pines grow frequently on them. The ayre methought was much alter'd, as well as the manner of the houses, which are built flatter, more after the Easterne manner. Before I went to bed I tooke a landskip of this pleasant terrace. There follow'd a most violent tempest of thunder and lightning.

27. We rod by Pont Charu to Lions, which being but 6 leagues we soone accomplish'd it, having made 85 leagues from Toures in seven days. There at the Golden Lion, rue de Flandre, I met divers of my acquaintance, who coming from Paris design'd for Italy. We lost no time in seing the Citty, because of being ready to accompany these gentlemen in their journey.

Lions is excellently situated on the confluence of the rivers Soane and Rhodanus, which wash the walls of the Citty in a very rapid streame; each of these has its bridg; that over the Rhone consists of 28 arches. The two high cliffs called St. Just and St. Sebastian are very stately; on one of them stands a strong fort, garrison'd. We vissited the Cathedrall, St. Jean, where was one of the fairest clockes for art and buisy invention I had ever seene. The fabriq of the Church is Gotic, as are likewise those of St. Estienne and St. Croix. From the top of one of the towers of St. Jean (for it has 4) we beheld the whole citty and country, with a prospect reaching to the Alpes, many leagues distant. The Archbishop's Palace is fairely built. The Church of St. Niser is the greatest; that of the Jacobins is well built. Here are divers other fine Churches, with other noble buildings. We went to that of the Charité, or greate Hospital for poor infirm people, entertaining about 1500, with a *schoole*, granary, gardens, and all conveniences, maintained at a wonderfull expence, worthy seeing. The place of the Belle Court is very spacious, observable for the view it affords, so various and agreeable, of hills, rocks, vineyards, gardens, precipices, and other advantages, presenting themselves together. The

Pall Mall is sett with faire trees. This stately, cleane, and noble Citty built all of stone, abounds in persons of quality and rich merchants. Those of Florence obtain greate privileges above the rest. In the Towne-house they shew 2 tables of brass on wch is engraven Claudius's speech to the Senat as to giving the Towne the Roman priviledges. There are also other antiquities.

30 Sept. We bargain'd with a waterman to carry us to Avignon on the river, and got the first night to Vienne in Dauphiné. This is an Archbishoprick, and the Province gives title to the Heir Apparent of France. Here we supped and lay, having, amongst other dainties, a dish of trufles, an earth nut, found out by an hogg train'd to it, and for which those animals are sold at a great price*. We were shew'd the ruines of an Amphitheatre pretty entire; and many handsome Palaces, especialy that of Pontius Pilate not far from the towne, at the foote of a solitary mountain neere the river, having 4 pinnacles. Here 'tis reported he pass'd his exile, and precipitated himselfe into the lake not far from it. The house is modern, and seemes to be the seate of some gentleman, being in a very pleasant place. The Cathedral of Vienne is St. Maurice; and there are many other pretty buildings, but nothing more so then the Mills where they hammer and polish the sword-blades.

Hence the next morning we swam (for the river here is so rapid that the boat was only steered) to a small village called Tain, where we dyn'd.

Over against this is another towne named Tournon, where is a very strong castle under a high precipice. To the castle joynes the Jesuits Colledge where they have a fayre library. The prospect was so tempting that I designed it with my crayon.

We then came to Valence, a capital Citty carrying the title of a Dutchy, but the Bishop is now sole lord temporal of it and the country about it. The towne having an University famous for the study of the civil law, is much frequented; but the Churches are none of the fairest, having been greatly defaced in the time of the warrs. The

* In England they are found by dogs.

streets are full of pretty fountaines. The Citadell is strong, and garrison'd. Here we pass'd the night. The next morning by Pont St. Esprit, which consists of 22 arches; in the piers of the arches are windowes as it were, to receive the water when it is high and full. At this place we went on shore, it being very dangerous to passe the bridg in a boat.

Hence leaving our barg we tooke horse, seing at a distance the Towne and Principality of Orange, and lodging one night on the way we ariv'd at noone at Avignon. This towne has belonged to the Popes ever since the time of Clement VI. being in 1352 alienated by Jane Queene of Naples and Sicily. Entering the gates the soldiers at the guard tooke our pistols and carbines, and examin'd us very strictly; after that, having obtain'd the Governor's leave and the Vice-Legat's to tarry three days, we were civilly conducted to our lodging. The City is on the Rhodanus, and divided from the newer part or towne, which is on the other side of the river, by a very faire stone bridge (which has been broken); at one end is a very high rock, on which is a strong castle well furnish'd with artillery. The walls of the Citty are of large square free-stone, the most neate and best in repaire I ever saw. It is full of well-built Palaces; those of the Vice-Legate and Archbishop being the most magnificent. There are many sumptuous Churches, especialy St. Magdalene and St. Martial, wherein [the tomb of] the Card^{l}. d'Amboise is the most observable. Clement VI. lies buried in that of the Celestines, the altar whereof is exceeding rich. There is the tomb of Laura the celebrated mistress of Petrarch. We saw the Arsenal, the Pope's Palace, and the Synagogue of the Jewes who here are distinguished by red hats. Vaucluse, so much renowned for the solitude of Petrarch, we beheld from the Castle, but could not go to visit it for want of time. We now took mules and a guide for Marseilles.

30th Sept. We lay at Loumas; the next morning came to Aix, having pass'd that extremely rapid and dangerous river of Durance. In this tract all the heathes or com'ons are cover'd with rosemary, lavender, lentiscs, and the like sweet shrubes, for many miles together, which to me was very pleasant. Aix is the chiefe Citty of Provence, being a

Parliament and Presidential Town, with other Royal Courts and Metropolitan jurisdiction. It is well built, the houses very high and the streetes ample. The Cathedrall, St. Saviour's, is a noble pile adorn'd with innumerable figures especialy that of St. Michael; the Baptisterie, the Palace, the Court, built in a most spacious Piazza, are very faire. The Duke of Guise's house is worth seeing, being furnished with many antiquities in and about it. The Jesuites have here a Royal Colledge, and the City is an University.

7 Octr. We had a most delicious journey to Marseilles, thro' a country sweetely declining to the South and Mediterranean coasts, full of vine-yards and olive-yards, orange trees, myrtils, pomegranads, and the like sweete plantations, to which belong pleasantly-situated villas to the number of above 1500 built all of freestone, and in prospect shewing as if they were so many heapes of snow dropp'd out of the clouds amongst those perennial greens. It was almost at the shutting of the gates that we arived. Marseilles is on the sea coast, on a pleasant rising ground, well walled, with an excellent port for ships and gallys, secur'd by a huge chayne of yron drawn across the harbour at pleasure, and there is a well-fortified tower with 3 other forts, especialy that built on a rock; but the castle commanding the Citty is that of Nostre dame de la Guard. In the Chapel hung up divers crocodiles skinns.

We went to visite the Gallys, being about 25; the Captaine of the Gally Royal gave us most courteous entertainement in his cabine, the slaves in the interim playing both loud and soft musiq very rarely. Then he shew'd us how he commanded their motions with a nod and his whistle, making them row out. The spectacle was to me new and strange, to see so many hundreds of miserably naked persons, having their heads shaven close and having onely high red bonnets, a payre of course canvas drawers, their whole backs and leggs naked, doubly chayn'd about their middle and leggs, in couples, and made fast to their seates, and all commanded in a trise by an imperious and cruell seaman. One Turke he much favor'd, who waited on him in his cabin but with no other dress than the rest, and a chayne lock'd about his leg but not coupled. This gally was richly carv'd and gilded, and

most of the rest were very beautifull. After bestowing something on the slaves, the captain sent a band of them to give us musiq at dinner where we lodged. I was amaz'd to contemplate how these miserable catyfs lie in their gally crowded together, yet there was hardly one but had some occupation by which, as leisure and calmes permitted, they gat some little monye, insomuch as some of them have, after many yeares of cruel servitude, been able to purchase their liberty. Their rising forward and falling back at their oare is a miserable spectacle, and the noyse of their chaines with the roaring of the beaten waters has something of strange and fearfull to one unaccustom'd to it. They are rul'd and chastiz'd by strokes on their backs and soles of theire feete on the least disorder, and without the least humanity; yet are they chereful and full of knavery.

In the church of St. Victoire is that Saint's head in a shrine of silver which weighs 600 lb. Nostre Dame is well built; it is the Cathedrall. The Duke of Guyse has a Palace: there is the Palais of Justice, the Maison du Roy, but nothing is more strange than the great number of slaves working in the streets, and carrying burthens, with their confus'd noises and gingling of their huge chaynes. The cheife trade of the towne is in silks and drougs out of Africa, Syria, and Egypt, and Barbary horses which are brought hither in great numbers. The towne is govern'd by 4 Captaines, has three Consuls and one Assessor, three Judges Royal; the Merchants have a Judge for ordinary causes. Here we bought umbrellas against the heats, and consulted of our journey to Canes by land, for feare of the Pickaron Turkes, who make prize of many small vessels about these parts, we not finding a gally bound for Genoa, whither we were design'd.

9 Oct. We tooke mules, passing the first night very late in sight of St. Baume, and the solitary grott where they affirme Mary Magdalen did her pennance. The next day we lay at Perigueux, a Citty built on an old foundation, witnesse the ruines of a most stately amphitheater which I went out to design, being about a flight shoote from the Towne; they call it now the Rolsies. There is a strong towre neere the Towne call'd the Visone, but the Towne and Citty are at some distance from each other. It is a bishoprick; has a Cathedral;

with divers noblemen's houses in sight of the sea. The place was formerly call'd Forum Julij, well known by Antiquaries.

10th Octr. We proceeded by the ruines of a stately aqueduct. The soile about the Country is rocky, full of pines and rare simples.

11. We lay at Canes, which is a small Port on the Mediterranean; here we agreed with a seaman to carry us to Genoa, and having procur'd a bill of health (without which there is no admission at any towne in Italy,) we embarq'd on the 12th. We touched at the Islands of St. Margaret and St. Honore, lately retaken from the Spanyards with great bravery by Prince Harcourt. Here, having payd some small duty, we bought some trifles offer'd us by the souldiers, but without going on shore. Hence we coasted within 2 leagues of Antibes, which is the utmost towne in France. Thence by Nice, a Citty in Savoy built all of brick, which gives it a very pleasant appearence towards the sea, having a castle built very high, which com'ands it. We sailed by Morgus, now cal'd Monaco, having passed Villa Franca, heretofore Portus Herculis, when, ariving after the gates were shut, we were forc'd to abide all night in the barg, which was put into the haven the wind coming contrary. In the morning we were hastned away, having no time permitted us by our avaricious master to go up and see this strong and considerable place; it now belongs to a Prince of the family of Grimaldi, of Genoa, who has put both it and himself under the protection of the French. The situation is on a promontory of solid stone and rock. The towne walls very fayre. We were told that within it was an ample court, and a palace, furnish'd with the most rich and princely moveables, and a collection of statues, pictures, and massie plate to an immense amount.

We sailed by Menton and Vintimiglia, being the first Citty of the Republiq of Genoa: supp'd at Oneglia, where we anker'd and lay on shore. The next morning we coasted in view of the Isle of Corsica and St. Remo, where the shore is furnish'd with evergreens, oranges, citrons, and date-trees; we lay at Port Mauritio. The next morning by Diano Arolsso, famous for the best corrall fishing, it growing in aboundance on the rocks deepe and continualy covered by the sea. By Albenga and Finale a very faire and strong towne belonging to

the King of Spain, for which reason a Monsieur in our vessell was extreamely afraide, as was the patron of our barke, for they frequently catch French prizes as they creepe by these shores to go into Italy; he therefore ply'd both sayles and oars to get under the protection of a Genoese gally that pass'd not far before us, and in whose company we sayl'd as far as the Cape of Savona, a towne built at the rise of the Apenines; for all this coast (except a little at St. Remo) is an high and steepe mountainous ground consisting all of rock marble, without any grasse, tree, or rivage, formidable to looke on. A strange object it is to consider how some poore cottages stand fast on the declivities of these precipices, and by what steps the inhabitants ascend to them. The rocks consist of all sorts of the most precious marbles. . . . .

Here, on the 15th, forsaking our gally, we encounter'd a little foule weather, which made us creepe *Terra, Terra,* as they call it, and so a vessell that encounter'd us advised us to do; but our Patron, striving to double the point of Savona, making out into the wind put us into great hazard, for blowing very hard from land betwixt those horrid gapps of the mountaines, it set so violently as rais'd on the sudden so great a sea that we could not recover the weather-shore for many houres, insomuch that, what with the water already enter'd, and the confusion of fearful passengers (of which one who was an Irish Bishop, and his brother, a priest, were confessing some as at the article of death), we were almost abandon'd to despaire, our pilot himselfe giving us up for lost. And now, as we were weary with pumping and laving out the water, almost sinking, it pleas'd God on the suddaine to appease the wind, and with much ado and greate perill we recover'd the shore, which we now kept in view within halfe a league, in sight of those pleasant villas, and within scent of those fragrant orchards wch are on this coast, full of princely retirements for the sumptuousnesse of their buildings and noblenesse of the plantations, especialy those at St. Pietro d'Arena, from whence, the wind blowing as it did, might perfectly be smelt the joys of Italy in the perfumes of orange, citron, and jassmine flowers for divers leagues seaward *.

* Mr. Evelyn was so struck with this circumstance of the fragrancy of the air on this coast, that he has noticed it again in his Dedication of the Fumifugium to King Charles the Second.

16 Octr. We got to anker under the Pharos, or watch-tower, built on a high rock at the mouth of the Mole of Genoa, the weather being still so fowle that for two houres at least we durst not stand into the haven. Towards evening we adventured, and came on shore by the Prattiq-house, where, after strict examination by the Syndics, we were had to the Ducal Palace, and there, our names being taken, we were conducted to our inne kept by one Zacharias an Englishman. I shall never forget a story of our host Zachary, who on the relation of our perill told us another of his owne, being shipwreck'd, as he affirm'd solemnly, in the middle of a greate sea somewhere in the West Indies, that he swam no lesse than 22 leagues to another island, with a tinder-box wraped up in his hayre, which was not so much as wett all the way; that picking up the carpenter's tooles with other provisions in a chest, he and the carpenter, who accompany'd him, (good swimers it seemes both) floated the chest before them, and ariving at last in a place full of wood, they built another vessell and so escaped. After this story we no more talked of our danger, Zachary put us quite downe.

17 Octr. Accompany'd by a most courteous merchand call'd Tomson, we went to view the rarities. The Citty is built in the hollow or bosom of a mountaine, whose ascent is very steepe, high, and rocky, so that, from the Lantern and Mole to the hill, it represents the shape of a theater; the streetes and buildings so ranged one above another as our seates are in play-houses; but, from their materials, beauty, and structure, never was an artificial scene more beautifull to the eye, nor is any place, for the size of it, so full of well-design'd and stately palaces, as may be easily concluded by that rare booke in a large folio which the great virtuoso and paynter Paull Rubens has published, tho' it contains [the description of] only one streete and 2 or 3 churches.

The first Palace we went to visit was that of Hieronymo del Negros, to which we pass'd by boate crosse the harbour. Here I could not but observe the sudden and devilish passion of a seaman, who plying us was intercepted by another who interpos'd his boate before him and tooke us in; for the teares gushing out of his eyes, he put his finger in his mouth and almost bit it off by the joynt, shewing it to his anta-

gonist as an assurance to him of some bloudy revenge if ever he came neere that part of the harbour again. Indeed this beautifull Citty is more stayn'd with such horrid acts of revenge and murthers than any one place in Europ, or haply in the world, where there is a political government, which makes it unsafe to strangers. It is made a gally matter to carry a knife whose point is not broken off.

This Palace of Negros is richly furnish'd with the rarest pictures; on the terrace, or hilly garden, there is a grove of stately trees amongst which are sheepe, shepherds, and wild beasts, cut very artificially in a grey stone; fountaines, rocks, and fish-ponds: casting your eyes one way, you would imagine yourselfe in a wildernesse and silent country; sideways, in the heart of a greate citty; and backwards, in the middst of the sea. All this is within one acre of ground. In the house I noticed those red-plaster flores which are made so hard, and kept so polished, that for some time one would take them for whole pieces of porphyrie. I have frequently wonder'd that we never practic'd this in England for cabinets and rooms of state *, for it appears to me beyond any invention of that kind; but by their carefull covering them with canvas and fine mattresses, where there is much passage, I suppose they are not lasting in their glory.

There are numerous other Palaces of particular curiositys, for the merchands being very rich have, like our neighbours the Hollanders, little or no extent of ground to employ their estates in: as those in pictures and hangings, so these lay it out on marble houses and rich furniture.

One of the greatest here for circuit is that of the Prince d'Orias, which reaches from the sea to the sum'it of the mountaines. The house is most magnificently built without, nor less gloriously furnish'd within, having whole tables † and bedsteads of massy silver, many of them sett with achates, onyxes, cornelians, lazulis, pearls, turquizes, and other precious stones. The pictures and statues are innumerable. To this Palace belong three gardens, the first whereof is beautified with

* There are such at Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, a seat of the Duke of Devonshire.

† One of which, Lassells says, weighed 24,000 lbs. (p. 94).

a terrace, supported by pillars of marble: there is a fountaine of eagles, and one of Neptune with other Sea-gods, all of the purest white marble; they stand in a most ample basine of the same stone. At the side of this garden is such an aviary as Sr Fra. Bacon describes in his *Sermones fidelium*, or Essays, wherein grow trees of more than two foote diameter, besides cyptesse, myrtils, lentiscs, and other rare shrubs, which serve to nestle and pearch all sorts of birds, who have ayre and place enough under their ayrie canopy, supported with huge iron worke, stupendious for its fabrick and the charge. The other two gardens are full of orange-trees, citrons, and pomegranads, fountaines, grotts, and statues; one of the latter is a Colossal Jupiter, under which is the sepulchre of a beloved dog, for the care of which one of this family receiv'd of the K. of Spaine 500 crownes a yeare during the life of that faithfull animal. The reservoir of water here is a most admirable piece of art; and so is the grotto over against it.

We went thence to the Palace of the Dukes, where is also the Court of Justice; thence to the Merchants Walke, rarely covered. Neere * the Ducal Palace we saw the publiq armoury, which was almost all new, most neatly kept and order'd, sufficient for 30,000 men. We were shew'd many rare inventions and engines of warr peculiar to that armory, as in the state where gunns were first put in use. The garrison of the towne chiefly consists of Germans and Corsicans. The famous Strada Nova, built wholly of polish'd marble, was design'd by Rubens, and for statelinesse of the buildings, paving, and evennesse of the streete, is far superior to any in Europ, for the number of houses; that of Don Carlo d'Orias is a most magnificent structure. In the gardens of the old Marquiss Spinola I saw huge citrons hanging on the trees, apply'd like our apricots to the walls. The Churches are no less splendid than the Palaces: that of St. Francis is wholly built of Parian marble; St. Lawrence, in the middle of the City, of white and black polish'd stone, the inside wholly incrusted with marble and other precious materials; on the altar of St. John stand 4 sumptuous columns of porphyry; and here we were shew'd an emerald supposed to be one

* Lassells says, *in* the Palace.

of the largest in the world *. The Church of St. Ambrosio belonging to the Jesuites, will, when finish'd, exceed all the rest. That of the Annunciada, founded at the charges of one family †, in the present and future designe can never be outdone for cost and art. The Mole is a worke of solid huge stone stretching neere 600 paces into the main sea, and secures the harbour, heretofore of no safety. Of all the wonders of Italy, for the art and nature of the designe, nothing parallels this ‡. We pass'd over to the Pharos, or Lantern, a towre of very great height. Here we tooke horses and made the circuite of the Citty as far as the new walles would let us; they are built of a prodigious height, and with Herculean industry, witnesse those vast pieces of whole mountaines which they have hewn away, and blown up with gunpowder, to render them steepe and inaccessible. They are not much lesse than § 20 English miles in extent, reaching beyond the utmost buildings of the City. From one of these promontories we could easily discern the Island of Corsica; and from the same, Eastward, we saw a Vale having a great torrent running thro' a most desolate barren country; and then turning our eyes more Northward we saw those delicious Villas of St. Pietro d'Arena, which present another Genoa to you, the ravishing retirements of the Genoese nobility. Hence, with much paine, we descended towards the Arsenale, where the gallys lie in excellent order.

The inhabitants of this City are much affected to the Spanish mode and stately garbe ||. From the narrowness of the streetes they use sedans and litters, and not coaches.

* Lassells calls it a great dish, in which they say here that our Saviour ate the Paschal Lamb with his Disciples; but he adds that he finds no authority for it in any ancient writer, and that Venerable Bede writes that the dish used by our Saviour was of silver. Of an authentic relic of St. John he observes that Baronius writes credibly.

† Two brothers, named Lomellini, allow the third part of their gains. Lassells.

‡ The Break-water now (1816) forming at Plymouth is at least as stupendous a work.

§ Lassells says, finished in 18 months, and yet 6 miles in compass, p. 83.

|| Thus described by Lassells: broad hats without hatbands, broad leather girdles with steel buckles, narrow britches with long-waisted doublets and hanging sleeves. The great ladies go in guard infanta's (child preservers); that is, in horrible overgrown vertigals of whalebone, which being put about the waiste of the lady, and full as broad on both sides as she can reach with her hands, bear out her coats in such a manner that she appears to be as broad as long. The men look like tumblers that leap thro' hoops, and the women like those that anciently danced the Hobby-horse in country mummings. p. 96.

19 Octr. We embarqued in a filuca for Ligorne [Leghorn], but the sea running very high we put in at Porta Venere, which we made with peril, between 2 narrow horrid rocks, against which the sea dashed with great velocity; but we were soone delivered into as great a calme and a most ample harbor, being the Golpho di Spetia. From hence we could see Pliny's *Delphini Promontorium*, now call'd Cap fino. Here stood that famous City of Luna, whence the Port was named *Lunaris*, being about 2 leagues over, more resembling a lake than an haven, but defended by castles and excessive high mountaines. We landed at Lerici, where, being Sunday, was a great procession, carrying the Sacrament about the streetes in solemn devotion. After dinner we took post horses, passing through whole groves of olive-trees, the way somewhat rugged and hilly at first, but afterwards pleasant. We passed thro' the townes of Sarazana and Massa, and the vast marble quarries of Carrara, and lodged in an obscure inn at a place called Viregio. The next morning we ariv'd at Pisa; where I met my old friend Mr. Thos. Henshaw, who was then newly come out of Spaine, and from whose company I never parted till more than a yeare after.

The City of Pisa is as much worth seeing as any in Italy; it has contended with Rome, Florence, Sardinia, Sicily, and even Carthage. The Palace and Church of St. Stephano (where the order of knighthood called by that name was instituted) drew first our curiosity, the outside thereof being altogether of polish'd marble; within it is full of tables relating to this order; over which hang divers banners and pendents, with other trophies taken by them from the Turkes, against whom they are particularly oblig'd to fight; tho' a religious order, they are permitted to marry. At the front of the Palace stands a fountaine, and the statue of the greate Duke Cosmo. The Campanile, or Settezonio, built by John Venipont, a German, consists of several orders of pillars, 30 in a row, design'd to be much higher. It stands alone on the right side of the Cathedrall, strangely remarkable for this, that the beholder would expect it to fall, being built exceedingly declining*, by a rare addresse of the architect; and how it is supported from falling I think would puzzle a good geome-

* See pp. 82, 171.

trician. The Domo, or Cathedrall, standing neere it, is a superb structure, beautified with 6 columns of greate antiquity; the gates are of brasse, of admirable workmanship. The Cemetere cal'd Campo Santo is made of divers gally ladings of earth formerly brought from Jerusalem, said to be of such a nature as to consume dead bodies in fourty houres. 'Tis cloistred with marble arches; here lies buried the learned Philip Decius who taught in this University. At one side of this Church stands an ample and well-wrought marble vessell which heretofore contain'd the tribute paid yearly by the Citty to Cæsar. It is plac'd, as I remember, on a pillar of opilestone, with divers other antiq urnes. Neere this, and in the same field, is the Baptistery of San Giovanni, built of pure white marble and cover'd with so artificial a cupola that the voice uttered under it seemes to breake out of a cloud. The font and pulpit supported by 4 lyons is of inestimable value for the preciousnesse of the materials. The place where these buildings stand they call the Area. Hence we went to the Colledge, to which joynes a Gallery so furnish'd with natural rarities, stones, minerals, shells, dry'd animals, skelletons, &c. as is hardly to be seen in Italy. To this the Physiq Garden lyes, where is a noble palm-tree and very fine water-workes. The river Arno runs through the middle of this stately Citye, whence the streete is named Longarno. It is so ample that the Duke's gallys, built in the Arsenal here, are easily conveyed to Livorno; over the river is an arch, the like of which, for its flatness, and serving for a bridge, is no where in Europ. The Duke has a stately Palace, before which is placed the statue of Ferdinand the Third; over against it is the Exchange, built of marble. Since this Citty came to be under the Dukes of Tuscany it has been much depopulated, tho' there is hardly in Italy any wch exceeds it for stately edifices. The situation of it is low and flat, but the inhabitants have spacious gardens and even fields within the walls.

21 Octr. We tooke coach to Livorno, thro' the Great Duke's new Parke full of huge corke-trees, the underwood all myrtils, amongst which were many buffalos feeding, a kind of wild ox, short-nos'd, with hornes revers'd; those who worke with them com'and them as our bearewards do the beares, with a ring thro' the nose, and a cord.

Much of this Parke, as well as a greate part of the country about it, is very fenny, and the ayre very bad.

Ligorne is the prime Port belonging to all the Duke's territories; heretofore a very obscure Towne, but since Duke Ferdinand has strongly fortified it (after the moderne way), has drain'd the marshes by cutting a channell thence to Pisa navigable 16 miles, and has rais'd a Mole, emulating that at Genoa, to secure the shipping, it is become a place of great receipt; it has also a place for the gallys, where they lye safe. Before the sea is an ample Piazza for the market, where are the statues in copper of the fower slaves, much exceeding the life for proportion, and, in the judgm[t] of most artists, one of the best pieces of modern worke *. Here, especialy in this Piazza, is such a concourse of slaves, Turkes, Mores, and other nations, that the number and confusion is prodigious; some buying, others selling, others drinking, others playing, some working, others sleeping, fighting, singing, weeping, all nearly naked, and miserably chayn'd. Here was a tent, where any idle fellow might stake his liberty against a few crownes, at dice or other hazard, and, if he lost, he was immediately chayn'd and led away to the gallys, where he was to serve a tearm of yeares, but from whence they seldom return'd: many sottish persons in a drunken bravado would try their fortune in this way.

The houses of this neate Towne are very uniforme, and excellently paynted *a fresca* on the outer walls with representations of many of their victories over the Turkes. The houses, though low on account of the earthquakes w[ch] frequently happen here (as did one during my being in Italy) are very well built; the Piazza is very fayre and com'odious, and with the Church whose 4 columns at the portico are of black marble polish'd, gave the first hint to the building both of the Church and Piazza in Covent Garden with us, tho' very imperfectly persu'd.

22 Oct. From Livorno I took coach to Empoly, where we lay, and the next day ariv'd at Florence, being recommended to the house

* They had attempted to steal a galley, meaning to have rowed it themselves, but were taken in this great enterprize. Lassells, p. 233.

of Sig. Baritiere, in the Piazza dal Spirito Santo, where we were exceedingly well treated. Florence is at the foot of the Appenines, the West part full of stately groves and pleasant meadows, beautified with more than a thousand houses and country palaces of note, belonging to gentlemen of the towne. The river Arno runs through this Citty, in a broad but very shallow channell, dividing it, as it were, in the middle; and over it are fower most sumptuous bridges of stone. On that nearest to our quarter are the 4 Seasons in white marble; on another are the goldsmiths shops; at the head of the former stands a column of opite on which is a statue of Justice with her balance and sword, cut out of porphyrie, and the more remarkable for being the first which had been carved out of that hard material, and brought to perfection after the art had been utterly lost; they say this was done by hardening the tools in the juice of certaine herbs. This statue was erected in that corner because there Cosmo was first saluted with the newes of Sienna being taken.

Neere this is the famous Palazzo di Strozzi, a princely piece of architecture, in a rustiq manner. The Palace of Pitti was built by that family, but of late greatly beautified by Cosmo with huge square stones of the Doric, Ionic, and the Corinthian orders, with a terrace at each side having rustic uncut balustrades, with a fountain that ends in a cascade seen from the great gate, and so forming a vista to the gardens. Nothing is more admirable than the vacant stayrecase, marbles, statues, urnes, pictures, courte, grotto, and waterworkes. In the quadrangle is a huge jetto of water in a volto of 4 faces, with noble statues at each square, especialy the Diana of porphyrie above the grotto. We were here shew'd a prodigious greate load-stone.

The garden has every variety, hills, dales, rocks, groves, aviaries, vivaries, fountaines, especialy one of five jettos, the middle basin being one of the longest stones I ever saw. Here is every thing to make such a paradise delightfull. In the garden I saw a rose grafted on an orange-tree. There was much topiary worke, and columns in architecture about the hedges. The Duke has added an ample laboratorye, over against which stands a Fort on a hill where they told us his

treasure is kept. In this Palace the Duke ordinarily resides, living with his Swiss guards after the frugal Italian way, and even selling what he can spare of his wines, at the cellar under his very house, wicker bottles dangling over even the chiefe entrance into the Palace, serving for a vintner's bush.

In the Church of S^to^ Spirito the altar and reliquary are most rich, full of precious stones; there are 4 pillars of a kind of serpentine, and some of blue. Hence we went to another Palace of the Duke's, called Palazzo Vecchio, before which is a statue of David by Michael Angelo, and one of Hercules killing Cacus, the work of Baccio Bandinelli. The quadrangle about this is of the Corinthian order, and in the hall are many rare marbles, as those of Leo the Tenth and Clement VII. both Popes of the Medicean family; also the acts of Cosmo in rare painting. In the Chapell is kept (as they would make one believe) the original Gospel of St. John, written with his owne hand; and the famous Florentine Pandects, and divers precious stones. Neere it is another pendant Towre like that at Pisa, always threatning ruine.

Under the Court of Justice is a stately Arcade for men to walke in, and over that the shops of divers rare artists who continualy worke for the great Duke. Above this is that renowned Ceimeliarcha, or Repository, wherein are hundreds of admirable antiquities, statues of marble and mettal, vases of porphyrie, &c.; but amongst the statues none so famous as the Scipio, Boare, the Idol of Apollo brought from the Delphic Temple, and two triumphant columnes. Over these hang the pictures of the most famous persons and illustrious men in arts or armes, to the number of 300, taken out of the Museum of Paulus Jovius. They then led us into a large square roome in the middle of which stood a Cabinet of an octangular forme, so adorn'd and furnish'd with chrìstals, achat, sculptures, &c. as exceeds any description. This cabinet is called the *Tribuna*, and in it is a pearl as big as a hazale nut *. The cabinet is of ebonie, lazuli, and jasper; over the

* Sir Gore Ouseley brought from Persia a picture of the Khan, now (1816) in his house in Bruton-street, on whose dress are represented pearls of such a size as to make the one here spoken of very insignificant.

door is a round of M. Angelo; in the cabinet, *Leo the Tenth*, with other paintings of Raphael, del Sarto, Perugino, and Coreggio, viz. a *St. John*, a *Virgin*, a *Boy*, 2 *Apostles*, 2 Heads of Durer, rarely carved. Over this cabinet is a Globe of ivory, excellently carved; the Labours of Hercules in massy silver, and many incomparable pictures in small. There is another, which had about it 8 oriental columns of alabaster on each whereof was placed a head of a Cæsar, cover'd with a canopy so richly set with precious stones that they resembled a firmament of starrs. Within it was our Saviour's Passion and 12 Apostles in amber. This cabinet was valued at two hundred thousand crownes. In another, with Calcidon pillars, was a series of golden medaills. Here is also another rich ebony Cabinet cupola'd with a tortoise-shell and containing a collection of gold medails esteem'd worth 50,000 crownes; a wreathed pillar of oriental alabaster, divers paintings of Da Vinci, Pontorno, del Sarto, an *Ecce Homo* of Titian, a *Boy* of Bronzini, &c. They shew'd us a branch of corall fixed on the rock which they affirme dos still grow. In another roome is kept the Tabernacle appointed for the Chapel of St. Lawrence, about which are placed small statues of Saints, of precious materials; a piece of such art and cost, that, having been these 40 years in perfecting, it is one of the most curious things in the world. Here were divers tables of Pietra Comessa, which is a marble ground inlay'd with severall sorts of marbles and stones of various colours, representing flowers, trees, beasts, birds, and landskips. In one is represented the town of Ligorne by the same hand who inlay'd the altar of St. Lawrence, Domenico Benotti. I purchased of him 19 pieces of the same worke for a cabinet. In a presse neere this they shew'd an yron naile, one halfe whereof being converted into gold by one Thornheuser, a German chymist, is look'd on as a greate rarity, but it plainly appeared to have been soldered together. There is a curious watch, a monstrous turquoise as big as an egg, on which is carved an emperor's head.

In the Armory are kept many antiq habits, as those of Chinese kings; the sword of Charlemain; Hannibal's head-piece; a loadstone of a yard long; which bears up 86 lbs. weight, in a chaine of 17 links,

such as the slaves are tied to. In another roome are such rare tourneries in ivory as are not to be described for their curiosity. There is a faire pillar of oriental alabaster; 12 vast and compleate services of silver plate, and one of gold, all of excellent workmanship; a rich embrodred saddle of pearls sent by the Emperor to this Duke; and here is that embrodred chaire set with precious stones in which he sits, when, on St. John's Day, he receives the tribute of the Citties.

25 Octr. We went to the Portico where the famous statues of Judith and Holofernes stand, also the Medusa, all of copper; but what is most admirable is the Rape of a Sabine with another man under foot, the confusion and turning of whose limbs is most admirable. It is of one entire marble, the worke of John di Bologna, and is most stupenduous; this stands directly against the greate Piazza, where, to adorne one fountaine, are erected four marble statues and eight of brasse, representing Neptune and his family of sea-gods, of a Colossean magnitude, with four sea-horses in Parian marble of Lamedrati; this is in the midst of a very great basin, a work, I think, hardly to be parallel'd. Here is also the famous statue of David by M. Angelo; Hercules and Cacus by Baccio Bandinelli; the Perseus in copper by Benevento, and the Judith of Donatelli, wch stand publickly before the old palace with the Centaur of Bologna, huge Colossean figures. Neere this stands Cosmo di Medici on horseback, in brasse on a pedistal of marble, and four copper bass relievos by John di Bologna, with divers inscriptions; the Ferdinand the First on horseback is of Pietro Tacca. The brazen Boare which serves for another publiq fountaine is admirable.

After dinner we went to the church of Annunciata, where the Duke and his Court were at their devotions, being a place of extraordinary repute for sanctity; for here is a shrine that dos greate miracles, [proved] by innumerable votive tablets, &c. covering almost the walles of the whole church. This is the image of Gabriel who saluted the Bl. Virgin, and which the artist finish'd so well that he was in despaire of performing the Virgin's face, whereupon it was miraculously don for him whilst he slept; but others say it was painted by St. Luke himselfe. Whoever it was, infinite is the devotion of both sexes to it. The altar is set off with four columns of oriental alabaster, and lighted

by thirty greate silver lamps. There are innumerable other pictures by rare masters. Our Saviour's passion in brasse tables inserted in marble is the worke of John di Bologna and Baccio Bandinelli.

To this church joynes a Convent whose cloister is painted in *fresca* very rarely. There is also neere it an Hospital for 1000 persons, with nurse children, and several other charitable accom'odations.

At the Duke's Cavalerizzo, the Prince has a stable of the finest horses of all countries, Arabs, Turks, Barbs, Gennets, English, &c. which are continualy exercis'd in the *manège*.

Nere this is a place where are kept several wild beasts, as wolves, catts, beares, tygers, and lions. They are loose in a deep wall'd court, and therefore to be seene with more pleasure than at the Tower of London, in their grates. One of the lions leaped to a surprising height to catch a joynt of mutton which I caused to be hung downe.

* There are many playne brick towers erected for defence when this [Sienna.] was a free state. The highest is called the *Mangio*, standing at the foote of the Piazza, which we went first to see after our arival. At the entrance of this tower is a Chapel, open towards the Piazza, of marble well adorn'd with sculpture.

On the other side is the Signoria, or Court of Justice, well built *a la moderna* of brick; indeed the bricks of Sienna are so well made that they look almost as well as porphyrie itselfe, having a kind of natural polish.

In the Senate House is a very faire hall where they sometimes entertain the people with publiq shews and operas as they call them. Towards the left are the statues of Romulus and Remus with the Wolf, all of brasse, plac'd on a columne of ophite stone which they report was brought from the renowned Ephesian Temple. These ensignes being the armes of the towne, are set up in divers of the streetes and publiq wayes both within and far without the citty.

The Piazza compasses the faciata of the Court and Chapel, and, being made with descending steps, much resembles the figure of an escalop shell. The white ranges of pavement intermix'd with the excellent bricks above mentioned, with which the town is generally well paved,

* There seems to be an omission in the MS. as to their leaving Florence and going to Sienna.

render it very clean. About this market-place (for so it is) are many faire palaces, though not built with excesse of elegance. There stands an Arch the worke of Baltazar di Sienna, built with wonderfull ingenuity so that it is not easy to conceive how it is supported, yet it has some imperceptible contignations wch do not betray themselves easily to the eye. On the edge of the Piazza is a goodly fountaine beautified with statues, the water issuing out of the wolves mouths, being the worke of Jacobo Quercei, a famous artist. There are divers other publiq fountaines in the Citty, of good designe.

The Sapienza is the University, or rather Colledg, where the High Germans enjoy many particular priviledges when they addict themselves to the Civil Law. This place has produced many excellent scholars, besides those three Popes, Alexander, Pius the IInd, and the III^d^ of that name the learned Æneas Sylvius, and both were of the antient house of the Piccolomini.

The chiefe streete is called Strada Romana, in which Pius the II^d^ has built a most stately Palace of square stone with an incomparable portico joyning neere to it. The towne is com'anded by a Castle which hath four bastions and a garison of souldiers. Neere it is a List to ride horses in, much frequented by the gallants in summer.

Not far from hence is the Church and Convent of the Dominicans, where in the Chapel of St. Catherine of Sienna they shew her head, the rest of her body being translated to Rome. The Domo or Cathedral, both without and within, is of large square stones of black and white marble polish'd, of inexpressible beauty, as is the front adorn'd with sculpture and rare statues. In the middle is a stately cupola and two columns of sundry streaked colour'd marble. About the body of the Church on a cornice within, are inserted the heads of all the Popes. The pulpit is beautified with marble figures, a piece of exquisite worke; but what exceeds all description is the pavement, where (besides the various emblemes and other figures in the nave) the quire is wrought with the History of the Bible, so artificialy express'd in the natural colours of the marbles that few pictures exceede it. Here stands a Christo rarely cut in marble, and on the large high Altar is a brasen vessell of admirable invention and art. The organs are exceeding sweete and well

tun'd. On the left side of the altar is the Library, where are painted the acts of Æneas Sylvius and others by Raphael. They shew'd us an arme of St. John the Baptist, wherewith, they say, he baptized our Saviour in Jordan; it was given by the King of Peloponesus to one of the Popes, as an inscription testifies. They have also St. Peter's Sword with which he smote off the ear of Malchus.

Just against the Cathedral we went into the Hospital, where they entertain and refresh for three or four days, gratis, such pilgrimes as go to Rome. In the Chapel belonging to it lies the body of St. Susorius their founder, as yet uncorrupted though dead many hundreds of yeares. They shew one of the nailes which pierced our Saviour, and St. Chrysostom's Comment on the Gospel written by his owne hand. Below the hill stands the pool called Fonte Brande, where fish are fed for pleasure more than foode.

St. Francis's Church is a large pile, neere which, yet a little without the Citty, growes a tree which they report in their legend grew from the Saint's staff, which on going to sleepe he fix'd in the ground, and at his waking found it had grown a large tree. They affirme that the wood of it in decoction cures sundry diseases.

2 Nov. We went from Sienna, desirous of being present at the Cavalcade of the new Pope Innocent X.* who had not yet made the grand procession to St. John de Lateran. We set out by Porto Romano, the country all about the towne being rare for hunting and game. Wild boare and venison are frequently sold in the shops in many of the townes about it. We pass'd neere Mont Oliveto, where the Monastrie of that Order is pleasantly situated and worth seeing. Passing over a bridg, which, by the inscription, appears to have been built by Prince Matthias, we went through Buon-Conventa, famous for the death of the Emperor Hen. VII. who was here poison'd in the holy Eucharist. Thence we came to Tormiero, where we din'd. This village is in a sweete vally in view of Monte Alcini, famous for the rare Muscatello†. After three miles more we go by St. Querico, and lay at a privat Osteria neere it, where, after we were provided of lodging, came in Cardinal

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* John Baptista Pamphili, chosen Pope in October 1644, died in 1655. † A wine.

Doughi, a Genoese by birth, now come from Rome; he was so civil as to entertaine us with greate respect, hearing we were English, for that, he told us, he had been once in our country. Amongst other discourse he related how a dove was seen to sit on the chayre in the Conclave at the election of Pope Innocent, which he magnified as a greate good omen, with other particulars which we enquir'd of him, till our suppers parted us. He came in great state with his owne bedstead and all the furniture, yet would by no meanes suffer us to resigne the room we had taken up in the lodging before his arival. Next morning we rod by Monte Pientio, or, as vulgarly called, Monte Mantumiato, which is of an excessive height, ever and anon peeping above any clowds with its snowy head, till we had climbed to the inn at Radicofany built by Ferd^{d} the greate Duke for the necessary refreshment of travellers in so inhospitable a place. As we ascended we entered a very thick, solid, and dark body of cloudes, wch look'd like rocks at a little distance, which lasted neare a mile in going up; they were dry misty vapours, hanging undissolved for a vast thicknesse, and obscuring both the sun and earth, so that we seemed to be in the sea rather than in the cloudes, till, having pierced through it we came into a most serene heaven, as if we had been above all human conversation, the mountaine appearing more like a greate island than joyn'd to any other hills, for we could perceive nothing but a sea of thick cloudes rowling under our feete like huge waves, every now and then suffering the top of some other mountaine to peepe through, which we could discover many miles off; and betweene some breaches of the cloudes we could see landskips and villages of the subjacent country. This was one of the most pleasant, newe, and altogether surprizing objects that I had ever beheld.

On the sum'it of this horrid rock (for so it is) is built a very strong Fort, garrison'd, and somewhat beneath it is a small Towne; the provisions are drawne up with ropes and engines, the precipice being otherwise inaccessable. At one end of the towne lie heapes of rocks so strangely broaken off from the ragged mountaine as would affright one with their horror and menacing postures. Just opposite to the inn gushed out a plentifull and most useful fountaine, which falls into

a great trough of stone; bearing the Duke of Tuscany's armes. Here we din'd, and I with my black lead pen tooke the prospect*. It is one of the utmost confines of the Etrurian State towards St. Peter's Patrimony since the gift of Matilda to Gregory 7, as they say.

Here we passe a stone bridg built by Pope Gregory XIV. and thence immediately to Aquapendente†, a town situated on a very ragged rock, down which precipitates an intire river with a horrid roaring noise. From this river it has its name. We lay at the Post-house, on which is this inscription:

"L'Insegna della Posta, é posta a posta,
In questa posta, fin che habbia à sua posta
Ogn' un Cavallo a Vetturi in Posta."

Before it was darke we went to see the Monastery of the Franciscans, famous for 6 learned Popes and sundry other great scholars, especialy the renowned physician and anatomist Fabricius de Aquapendente, who was bred and borne here.

4 Nov. After a little riding we descend towards the Lake of Bolsena, which being above 20 miles in circuit yields from hence a most incomparable prospect. Neere the middle of it are 2 small islands, in one of which is a Convent of melancholy Capucines, where those of the Farnesian family are interred. Pliny calls it Tarquiniensis Lacus, and talks of divers floting islands about it, but they did not appear to us. The Lake is environ'd with mountaines, at one of whose sides we pass'd towards the towne Bolsena, anciently Vulsinium, famous in those times, as is testified by divers rare sculptures in the court of St. Christiana's Church, the urne, altar, and jasper columns.

After 7 miles riding, passing thro' a wood heretofore sacred to Juno, we came to Monte Fiascone, the head of the Falisci a famous people in old time, heretofore Falernum, as renowned for its excellent wine, as now for the story of the Dutch Bishop, who lyes buried in Faviano's Church with this epitaph:

"Propter Est, Est, dominus meus mortuus est."

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* An etching of it, with others, is in the Library at Wotton.

† 12 miles from the Duke's Inn, according to Lassells.

Because having ordered his servant to ride before, enquire where the best wine was, and there write *Est*, the man found some so good that he wrote *Est*, *Est*, and the Bishop drinking too much of it died.

From hence we travell a plain and pleasant champain to Viterbo, which presents itselfe with much state afarr off, in reguard of her many lofty pinnacles and toweres; neither dos it deceive our expectation, for it is exceedingly beautified with publiq fountaines, especialy that at the entrance which is all of brasse and adorn'd with many rare figures, and salutes the passenger with a most agreeable object and refreshing waters. There are many Popes buried in this Citty, and in the Palace is this odd inscription:

"Osiridis victoriam in Gigantes litteris historiographicis in hoc antiquissimo marmore inscriptam, ex Herculis olim, nunc Divi Laurentij Templo translatam, ad conversam: vetustiss: patriæ monumenta atq' decora hic locandum statuit S. P. Q. V.

Under it:

Sum Osiris Rex Jupiter universo in terrarum orbe.	Sum Osiris Rex qui ab Italia in Gigantes exercitu veni, vidi, et vici.	Sum Osiris Rex qui terrarum pacato Italiam decem a'nos quorum inventor fui."

Neere the towne is a sulphureous fountaine which continualy boils. After dinner we tooke horse by the new way of Capranica, and so passing near Mount Ciminus and the Lake, we began to enter the plains of Rome, at which sight my thoughts were strangely elevated, but soon allay'd by so violent a shower which fell just as we were contemplating that proud mistress of the world, and descending by the Vatican (for at that gate we entered), that before we got into the Citty I was wet to the skin.

I came to Rome on the 4 Nov. 1644, about 5 at night, and being perplexed for a convenient lodging wandered up and down on horseback, till at last one conducted us to Monsr Petit's, a Frenchman, near the Piazza Spagnola. Here I alighted, and having bargained with my host for 20 crownes a moneth I caused a good fire to be made in my chamber and went to bed, being so very wet. The next morning (for I was resolved to spend no time idly here) I got acquainted with several persons who had long lived in Rome. I was especialy recommended to

Father John, a Benedictine monke and Superior of his Order for the English College of Douay, a person of singular learning, religion, and humanity; also to Mr Patrick Cary, an Abbot, brother to our learned Lord Falkland, a witty young priest who afterwards came over to our Church; Dr. Bacon and Dr. Gibbs*, physicians who had dependance on Cardinal Caponi, the latter being an excellent poet; Father Cortnee, the Chiefe of the Jesuites in the English Colledge; my Lord of Somerset brother to the Marquiss of Worcester, and some others, from whom I received instructions how to behave in towne, with directions to masters and bookes to take in search of the antiquities, churches, collections, &c. Accordingly the next day, Novr 6th, I began to be very *pragmatical* †.

In the first place our *Sights-man* ‡ (for so they name certain persons here who get their living by leading strangers about to see the City) went to the Palace Farnezi, a magnificent square structure, built by Michael Angelo of the 3 orders of columns after the ancient manner, and when Architecture was but newly recovered from the Gotic barbarity. The court is square and tarrass'd, having two payre of staires, which leade to the upper roomes, and conducted us to that famous gallery painted by Agostino Caracci, than which nothing is more rare of that art; so deepe and well-studied are all the figures, that it would require more judgement than I confesse I had, to determine whether they were flat or emboss'd. Thence we passed into another painted in *chiaro oscuro*, representing the fabulous history of Hercules. We went out on a terrace, where was a pretty garden on the leads, for it is built in a place that has no extent of ground backwards: The

* James Alban Gibbs, a Scotchman bred at Oxford, who resided many years at Rome, where he died in 1677, and was buried in the Pantheon there with an epitaph to his memory under a marble bust of him. He was an extraordinary character. In Wood's Athenæ is a long account of him, and also some curious particulars in Warton's Life of Dr. Bathurst. He was a great writer of Latin Poetry, a small collection of which he published at Rome, to which is prefixed his portrait neatly engraved.

† Mr. Evelyn must intend *this* in a good sense, very active and full of business, viz. what he came upon, to view the antiquities and beauties of Rome, both ancient and modern.

‡ The present name for these gentlemen is with the Italians a *Cicerone*, but they affect universally the title of *Antiquaries*.

greate Hall is wrought by Salviati and Zuccharo, furnish'd with statues, one of which being modern is a figure of one of the Farnese in a triumphant posture, of white marble, worthy of admiration. Here we were shewed the Museum of Fulvius Ursinos repleate with innumerable collections; but the Major Domo being absent, we could not at this time see all we had a desire to see. Descending into the court we with astonishment contemplated the 2 statues of Hercules and Flora, so much celebrated by Pliny. There is a modern statue of Hercules and two Gladiators not to be despis'd. In a second court was a temporary shelter of boards over the most stupendous and never to be sufficiently admir'd Torso of Amphion and Dirces, represented in 5 figures exceeding the life in magnitude, of the purest white marble, the contending work of those famous statuaries, Apollonius and Taurisco in the time of Augustus, hewed out of one entire stone, and remaining unblemished, to be valued beyond all the marbles of the world for its antiquity and workmanship. There are divers other heads and busts. At the entrance of this stately Palace stand 2 rare and vast fountaines of garnito stone, brought into this Piazza out of Titus's Bathes. Here in sum'er the gentlemen of Rome take the fresco in their coaches and on foote. At the sides of this court we vissited the Palace of Sign. Pichini, who has a good collection of antiquities, especialy the Adonis of Parian marble, which my Lord Arundel would once have purchas'd if a greate price would have been taken for it.

7 Nov. We went into the Campo Vaccino by the ruines of the Temple of Peace built by Titus Vespasianus, thought to be the largest, as well as the most richly furnish'd, of all the Roman dedicated places; it is now an heape rather than a temple, yet the roofe and volto continue firme, shewing it to have been formerly of incomparable workmanship. This goodly structure was, none knows how, consum'd by fire the very night, by all computation, that our Saviour was born.

Hence we passed by the place into wch Curtius precipitated himself for the love of his country, now without any sign of a lake or vorago. Neere this stand some columns of white marble, of exquisite worke, supposed to be part of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans built by

Augustus; the worke of the capitals (being Corinthian) and architrave is excellent, full of sacrificing utensils. There are 3 other of Jupiter Stator. Opposite to these are the Oratories or Churches of St. Cosmo and Damiano, heretofore the Temples of Romulus and Remus, a pretty odd fabriq, with a Tribunal, or Tholus within, wrought all of Mosaic. The gates before it are brasse, and the whole much obliged to Pope Urban the 8th. Here lie the bodies of those 2 Martyrs; and in a Chapel on the right hand is a rare painting of Cavaliero Baylione. We next entered St. Laurenzo in Miranda. The portico is supported by a range of most stately columns; the inscription cut in the architrave shews it to have been the Temple of Faustina. It is now made a faire Church, and has an Hospital which joines it. On the same side is St. Adriano, heretofore dedicated to Saturne. Before this was once placed a Miliary Column, supposed to be set in the center of the Citty, from whence they us'd to compute the distance of all the citties and places of note under the dominion of those universal Monarchs. To this Church are likewise brazen gates and a noble front. Just opposite they shew'd us heapes and ruines of Cicero's Palace. Hence we went towards Mons Capitolinus, at the foote of which stands the Arch of Septimius Severus, full and entire, save where the pedestal and some of the lower members are choaked up with ruines and earth. This Arch is exceedingly inrich'd with sculpture and trophies, with a large inscription. In the terrestrial and naval battailes here graven is seen the Roman *Aries* [the battering-ram]. This was the first triumphal arch set up in Rome. The Capitol, to which we climbed by very broad steps, is built about a square court, at the right hand of which going up from Campo Vaccino gushes a plentifull streame from the statue of Tybur in porphyry, very antiq, and another representing Rome; but above all is the admirable figure of Marforius casting water into a most ample Concha. The front of this court is crowned with an excellent fabriq containing the Courts of Justice, and where the Criminal Notary sits, and others. In one of the Halls they shew the statues of Gregory XIII. and Paule III. with several others. To this joynes a handsome Tower, the whole faciata adorn'd with noble statues both on the outside and on the battlements, ascended by a double payre of staires, and a stately Posario.

In the center of the court stands that incomparable Horse bearing the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, as big as the life, of Corinthian mettal, placed on a pedestal of marble, esteemed one of the noblest pieces of worke now extant, antique and very rare. There is also a vast Head of a Colossean magnitude, of white marble, fixed in the wall. At the descending stayres are sett two Horses of white marble governed by 2 naked Slaves, taken to be meant for Castor and Pollux, brought from Pompey's Theatre. On the balustrade the Trophies of Marius against the Cimbrians, very ancient and instructive. At the foote of the stepps towards the left hand is that Colonna Miliaria with the globe of brasse on it, mention'd to have been formerly sett in Campo Vaccino. On the same hand is the Palace of the Segniori Conservatori, or 3 Consuls, now the Civil Governors of the Citty, containing the Fraternities or Halls (or Guilds, as we call them) of sundry Companys, and other offices of state. Under the Portico within, are the statues of Augustus Cæsar, a Bacchus, and the so renowned Colonna Rostrata of Duillius, with the excellent bassi relievi. In a smaller court are the statue of Constantine on a fountaine, a Minerva's head of brasse, and that of Com'odus to which belongs an hand the thumb of which is at least an ell long, but the rest of the Colosse is lost. In the corner of this Court stand an horse and lyon fighting, as big as life, in white marble, exceedingly valu'd; likewise the Rape of the Sabines; 2 cumbent figures of Alexander and Mammea; 2 monstrous feete of a Colosse of Apollo; the sepulchre of Agrippina; and the Standard, or antiq measure of the Roman foote. Ascending by the stepps of the other corner, are inserted fower basse relievo's, *viz.* the triumph and sacrifice of Marcus Aurelius, which last, for the antiquity and rareness of the worke, I caused my painter Carlo Neapolitano to copy. There are also 2 statues of the Muses, and one of Adrian the Emperor; above stands the figure of Marius, and by the wall Marsias bound to a tree; all of them excellent and antique. Above, in the Lobby, are inserted into the walls those ancient laws on brasse call'd the 12 Tables; a faire Madona of Pietro Perugino, painted on the wall; neere which are the Archives full of ancient records. In the

great Hall are divers excellent paintings of Cavaliero Giuseppe d'Arpino, a statue in brasse of Sixtus V. and of Leo X. of marble. In another Hall are many modern statues of their late Consuls and Governors, set about with fine antique heads; others are painted by excellent masters, representing the actions of M. Scævola, Horatius Cocles, &c.— The room where the Conservatori now feast on solemn days is tapisstred with crimson damasq embrodred with gold, haveing a state or balduquino of crimson velvet very rich, the freeze above rarely painted. Here are in brasse, Romulus and Remus sucking the wolfe, with the shepherd Faustulus by them; also the Boy plucking the thorne out of his foote (in brasse) so much admir'd by artists. There are also holy statues and heads of Saints. In a Gallery neere adjoyning are the names of the ancient Consuls, Prætors, and Fasti Romani, so celebrated by the learned; also the figure of an old woman; 2 others representing Poverty; and more in fragments. In another large roome furnish'd with velvet are the statue of Adonis very rare, and divers antiq heads. In the next chamber is an old statue of Cicero, one of another Consul, an Hercules in brasse, 2 women's heads of incomparable worke, six other statues; and over the chimny a very rare basso relievo and other figures. In a little Lobby before the Chapell is the statue of Hannibal, a Bacchus very antiq, bustos of Pan and Mercury, with other old heads. All these noble statues, &c. belong to the Citty, and cannot be dispos'd of to any privat person or remov'd hence, but are preserv'd for the honor of the place, though greate sumes have been offer'd for them by divers greate Princes lovers of art and antiquity. We now left the Capitol, certainely one of the most renown'd places in the world, even as now built by the designe of the famous M. Angelo.

Returning home by Ara Cœli, we mounted to it by more than 100 marble stepps, not in devotion as I observed some to do on their bare knees, but to see those two famous statues of Constantine in white marble, placed there out of his Bathes. In this Church is a *Madona*, reported to be painted by St. Luke, and a column, on which we saw the print of a foote which they affirme to have been that of the Angel, seene on the Castle of St. Angelo. Here the feast of our blessed Saviour's

nativity being yearely celebrated with divers pageants, they began to make the preparation. Having viewed the Palace and Fountaine at the other side of the stayres, we return'd weary to our lodgings.

On the 7th we went againe towards the Capitol, towards the Tarpeian rock, whence it has a goodly prospect of the Tybur. Thence descending by the Tullianum, where they told us St. Peter was imprisoned, they shew'd us a Chapell in which a rocky side of it beares the impression of his face. In the nave of the Church gushes a fountaine which they say was caused by the Apostle's prayers, when having converted some of his fellow-captives he wanted water to baptize them. We then walked about Mount Palatinus and the Aventine, and thence to the Circus Maximus, capable of holding 40,000 spectators, now a heap of ruines converted into gardens. Then by the Forum Boarium, where they have a tradition that Hercules slew Cacus, some ruines of his Temple remaining. The Temple of Janus quadrifrontis, having 4 arches importing the 4 Seasons, and on each side niches for the Monethes, is still a substantial and pretty entire antiquity. Neere this is the Arcus Argentariorum. Bending now towards the Tyber we went into the Theater of Marcellus, which would hold 80,000 persons, built by Augustus and dedicated to his nephew; the architecture from what remaines appears to be inferior to none. It is now wholly converted into the house of the Savelli, one of the old Roman families. The people were now generally busye in erecting temporary triumphs and arches with statues and flattering inscriptions against his Holinesse's grand procession to St. John de Lateran, amongst which the Jewes also began one in testimony of gratitude for their protection under the Papal State. The Palazzo Barberini, designed by the present Pope's Architect, Cavaliero Bernini, seems from the size to be as princely an object as any moderne building in Europ. It has a double Portico, at the end of which we ascended by 2 paire of oval stayres all of stone and voide in the well. One of these led us into a stately Hall, the volto whereof was newly painted *a fresca* by the rare hand of Pietro Berretini di Cortona. To this is annex'd a Gallery compleately furnish'd with whatever Art can call rare and singular, and a Library full of worthy collections, medails, marbles, and manuscripts, but above all

an Egyptian Osyris, remarkable for the material being unknown and for its antiquity. In one of the roomes neere this hangs the Sposaliccio of St. Sebastian, the original of Annibal Caracci, of which I procured a copy little inferior to the prototype; a table in my judgment superior to any thing I had seen in Rome. In the Court is a vast broaken Gulio Obelisq having divers hieroglyphics cut on it.

8 Nov. We visited the Jesuites Church, the front whereof is esteem'd a noble piece of architecture, the designe of Jacomo della Porta and the famous Vignola. In this Church lies the body of their renown'd Ignatius Loyola, an arme of Xaverius, their other Apostle, and at the right end of their high altar their Champion Card: Bellarmine. Father Kircherus (professor of Mathematics and of the Oriental tongues) shew'd us many singular courtesies, leading us into their Refectory, Dispensatory, Laboratory, Gardens, and finally (through an Hall hung round with pictures of such of their order as had been executed for their pragmatical and buisy adventures) into his own study, where, with Dutch patience, he shew'd us his perpetual motions, catoptrics, magnetical experiments, models, and a thousand other crotchets and devices, most of them since published by himselfe or his industrious scholar Schotti.

Returning home we view'd the Palazzo de Medici, which was a house of the Duke of Florence, neere our lodging, on the brow of Mons Pincius, having a fine prospect towards the Campo Marzo. It is a magnificent, strong building, having a substruction very remarkable, and a portico supported with columns towards the gardens, with two huge lions of marble at the end of the balustrade. The whole outside of the faciata is incrusted with antiq and rare basse-relieves and statues. Descending into the garden is a noble fountaine govern'd by a Mercury of brasse. At a little distance on the left is a lodge full of fine statues, amongst which the Sabines is antiq and singularly rare. In the arcado neere this stand 24 statues of great price, and hard by is a mount planted with cypresses representing a fortresse, with a goodly fountaine in the middle. Here is also a row balustred with white marble, covered over with the natural shrubbs, ivy, and other perennial greenes, divers statues and heads being placed as in niches.

At a little distance are those fam'd statues of Niobe and her family, in all 15, as large as the life, of which we have ample mention in Pliny, esteemed among the best pieces of worke in the world for the passions they expresse, and all other perfections of that stupendous art. There is in this garden a faire obelisq full of hieroglyphics. In going out, the fountaine before the front casts water neere 50 foote in height when it is received in a most ample marble basin. Here they usually rode the greate-horse every morning, which gave me much diversion from the tarrace of my owne chamber, where I could see all their motions. This evening I was invited to heare rare musiq at the Chiesa Nova; the black marble pillars within led us to that most precious Oratory of Philippus Nerius their founder, they being of the oratory of secular priests, under no vow. There are in it divers good pictures, as the *Assumption* of Girolamo Mutiano; the *Crucifix;* the *Visitation of Elizabeth;* the *Presentation of the Blessed Virgin; Christo Sepolto* of Guido Rheno, Caravagio, Arpino, and others. This faire Church consists of 14 altars and as many chapells. In it is buried (besides their Saint) Cæsar Baronius the greate annalist. Through this we went into the Sacristia, where, the tapers being lighted, one of the Order preach'd; after him stepp'd up a child of 8 or 9 years old who pronounced an oration with so much grace, that I never was better pleas'd than to heare Italian so well and so intelligently spoken. This course it seemes they frequently use, to bring their scholars to a habit of speaking distinctly, and forming their action and assurance, which none so much want as ours in England. This being finish'd began their Motettos, which, in a lofty cupola richly painted, were sung by eunuchs and other rare voices, accompanied with theorbos, harpsicors, and viols, so that we were even ravish'd with the entertainment of the evening. This roome is painted by Cortona, and has in it two figures in the niches, and the Church stands in one of the most stately streetes of Rome.

10th Novr. We went to see Prince Ludovisio's villa where was formerly the *Viridarium* of the poet Sallust. The house is very magnificent, and the extent of the ground is exceeding large considering that it is in a Citty; in every quarter of the garden are antiq statues,

and walkes planted with cypresse. To this garden belongs a house of retirement built in the figure of a crosse after a particular ordonance, especially the stayrecase. The whiteness and smoothness of the pargeting was a thing I much observ'd, being almost as even and polish'd as if it had been marble. Above is a faire prospect of the Citty. In one of the chambers hang two famous pieces of Bassano, the one a *Vulcan*, the other a *Nativity;* there is a German clock full of rare and extraordinary motions, and in a little room below are many precious marbles, columns, urnes, vasas, and noble statues of porphyry, Oriental alabaster, and other rare materials. About this fabriq is an ample area, environ'd with 16 vast jarrs of red earth wherein the Romans us'd to preserve their oyle, or wine rather, which they buried, and such as are properly call'd *Testæ*. I must never forget the famous statue of the Gladiator spoken of by Pliny, so much follow'd by all the rare artists as the many copies testifie, dispersed through almost all Europ both in stone and metal. There is also an Hercules, a head of porphyrie, and one of Marcus Aurelius. In the Villa-house is a man's body, flesh and all, petrified and even converted to marble, as is was found in the Alps, and sent by the Emperor to one of the Popes; it lay in a chest or cofin lin'd with black velvet, and one of the armes being broken, you may see the perfect bone from the flesh which remains intire. The Rape of Proserpine in marble is of the purest white, the worke of Bernini. In the cabinet neere it are innumerable small brasse figures and other curiosities. But what some looke upon as exceeding all the rest, is a very rich bedstead (which sort of grosse furniture the Italians much glory in, as formerly did our grandfathers in England in their inlaid wooden ones) inlaid with all sorts of precious stones and antiq heads, onyxs, achates, and cornelians, esteem'd to be worth 80 or 90,000 crownes. Here are also divers cabinets and tables of the Florence work, besides pictures in the gallery, especialy the *Apollo*. There is a chayre to sleepe in with the leggs stretcht out, with books, and pieces of wood to draw out longer or shorter.

From this we went to see Sign. Angeloni's study, who very courteously shew'd us such a collection of rare medailles as is hardly to be

parallel'd; divers good pictures, and many outlandish and Indian curiosities and things of nature.

Hence we went to Monte Cavallo, heretofore call'd Mons Quirinalis, where we saw those two rare horses, the worke of the rivals, Phidias and Praxiteles, as they were sent as a present to Nero [by Tiridates King] out of Arminia. They were placed on pedestals of white marble by Sixtus V. by whom I suppose their injuries were repair'd. They are govern'd by 4 naked slaves like those at the foote of the Capitol. Here runs a most noble fountaine, faceing fower of the most stately streetes for building and beauty to be seen in any Citty of Europ. Opposite to these statues is the Pope's Sum'er Palace, built by Gregory XIII. and in my opinion for the largeness and the architecture one of the most conspicuous in Rome. It has a stately portico which leads round the court under columns, in the center of which runs a beautifull fountaine. The chapell is incrusted with such precious materials, that nothing can be more rich or glorious, nor are the other ornaments and moveables about it at all inferior. The hall is painted by Lanfranci and others. The garden, which is call'd the *Belvedere di Monte Cavallo*, in emulation to that of the Vatican, is most excellent for ayre and prospect, its exquisite fountaines, close walkes, grotts, piscinas or stews for fish, planted about with venerable cypresses, and refresh'd with water-musiq, aviaries, and other rarities.

12th Nov. We saw Dioclesian's Bathes, whose ruines testifie the vastnesse of the original foundation and magnificence; by what M. Angelo tooke from the ornaments about it, 'tis sayd he restor'd the then almost lost art of architecture. This monstrous pile was built by the labour of the primitive Christians, then under one of the ten great persecutions. The Church of St. Bernardo is made out of one onely of these ruinous cupolas, and is in the form of an urne with a cover.

Opposite to this is the Fontana delle Therme, otherwise call'd Fons Felix; in it is a basso relievo of white marble representing Moses striking the rock, which is adorn'd with camels, men, women, and children drinking, as large as life; a worke for the designe and vastnesse truly magnificent. The water is convey'd no lesse than 22 miles

in an aquæduct by Sixtus V. *ex agro Columnæ* by way of Præneste, as the inscription testifies. It gushes into three ample lavors rais'd about with stone, before which are placed two lions of a strange black stone very rare and antiq. Neere this are the Store-houses for the Citty's corne, and over against it the Church of St. Susanna where were the gardens of Sallust. The faciata of this church is noble, the soffito within is guilded and full of pictures; especialy famous is that of *Susanna*, by Baldassa di Bologna. The tribunal of the high altar is of exquisite worke, from whose marble stepps you descend underground to the repository of divers Saints. The picture over this altar is the worke of Jacomo Siciliano. The foundation is for Bernadine Nunns.

Sta Maria della Vittoria presents us with the most ravishing front. In this church was sung the *Te Deum* by Greg. XV. after the signal victory of the Emp^r^ at Prague; the standards then taken still hang up, and the impresse waving with this motto over the Pope's armes, *Exterpentur*. The high altar was much frequented for an image of the Virgine. There are some rare statues: there is Paule ravish'd into the third heaven, by Ger. Fiamengo, and some good pictures.

We went again to Dioclesian's Bathes, never satisfied with contemplating that immense pile, in building which 150,000 Christians were destin'd to labour 14 yeares and were then all murther'd. Here is a Monastery of Carthusians call'd Sta Maria degli Angeli, the architecture of M. Angelo, the cloister encompassing walls in an ample garden.

Mont Alto's Villa is enter'd by a stately gate of stone built on the Viminalis, and is no other than a spacious parke full of fountaines, especialy that which salutes us at the front; stews for fish; the cypresse walkes are so beset with statues, inscriptions, relievos, and other ancient marbles, that nothing can be more stately and solemn. The citron-trees are uncommonly large. In the Palace joining to it are innumerable collections of value.

In St. Agnes Church is a tribunal of antiq Mosaiq, and on the altar a most rich Ciborio of brasse with a statue of St. Agnes in Oriental alabaster. The Church of Sta Constanza has a noble cupola. Here they shew'd us a stone ship borne on a column heretofore sacred

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to Bacchus, as the relievo intimates by the drunken emblemes and instruments wrought upon it. The altar is of rich porphyrie, as I remember. Looking back we had the intire view of the Via Pia downe to the two houses before the Monte Cavallo before mention'd, one of the most glorious sights for state and magnificence that any Citty can shew a traveller. We return'd by Porta Pia and the Via Salaria, neere Campo Scelerato, in whose gloomy caves the wanton vestals were heretofore im'ured alive.

Thence to Via Felix a straite and noble streete but very precipitous, till we came to the Fountaines of Lepidus, built at the abbutments of 4 stately wayes, making an exact Crosse of right angles; and at the Fountaines are as many cumbent figures of marble under very large niches of stone, the water pouring into huge basins. The Church of St. Carlo is a singular fabriq for neatnesse, of an oval designe, built of a new white stone; the columns are worth notice. Under it is another Church of a structure nothing lesse admirable.

Sta Maria Maggiore is on the Esquiline Mountaine, which gives it a most conspicuous face to the streete at a greate distance. The design is mix'd, partly antiq, partly moderne. Here they affirme that the Bl. Virgin appearing, shew'd where it should be built 300 yeates since. The first pavement is rare and antiq; so is the portico built by P. P. Eugenius II. The Ciborio is the worke of Paris Romano, and the Tribunal of Mosaic. We were shew'd in the Church a Concha of porphyrie wherein they say Patricius the founder lyes. This is one of the most famous of the 7 Roman Churches, and is in my opinion at least, after St. Peter's, the most magnificent. Above all, for incomparable glory and materials, are the two Chapels of Sextus V. and Paulus V. That of Sextus was design'd by Dom. Fontana, in which are two rare greate statues, and some good pieces of painting; and here they pretended to shew some of the Holy Innocents bodyes slaine by Herod. That renown'd tabernacle of metall gilt, sustain'd by 4 angels holding as many tapers, is placed on the altar. In this Chapel is the statue of Sextus in copper, with basse relievo's of most of his famous acts in Parian marble. But that of P. Paulus opposite to this, is beyond all imagination glorious and beyond description. It is so incircl'd with

achates and other most precious materials as to dazzle and confound the beholders. The basse relievo's are for the most part of pure snowy marble, intermixed with figures of molten brasse double gilt on lapis lazuli. The altar is a most stupendous piece; but most incomparable is the cupola, painted by Cavaliero Giuseppe Rheni and the present Baglioni, full of exquisite sculptures. There is a most sumptuos Sacristia; and the piece over the altar was by the hand of St. Luke, if you will believe it. Paule V. hath here likewise built two other altars; under the one lye the bones of the Apostle St. Mathias. In another Oratory is the statue of this Pope, and the head of the Congo Ambassador who was converted at Rome and dy'd here. In a third Chapel design'd by M. Angelo lyes the body of Platina, and the Cardinal of Toledo, Honorius III. Nicephorus IV: the ashes of St. Hierom, and many others. In that of Sextus V. before mentioned was shew'd us part of the crib in which Christ was swaddl'd at Bethlem; there is also the statue of Pius V. Going out at the further end is the resurrection of Lazarus by a very rare hand. In the portico is this late inscription: "Cardinali Antonio Barberino Archipresbytero, aream marmoream quam Christianorum pietas exculpit, laborante sub Tyrannis ecclesia, ut esset loci sanctitate venerabilior, Franciscus Gualdus Arm. Eques S. Stephani, è suis ædibus huc transtulit et ornavit 1632." Just before this portico stands a very sublime and stately Corinthian columne of white marble, translated hither for an ornament from the old Temple of Peace built by Vespasian, having on the plinth of the capital the image of our Lady gilt on mettal; at the pedestal runs a fountaine.— Going downe the hill we saw the Obelisq taken from the Mausoleum of Augustus, and erected in this place by Domenico Fontana, with this epigraphe: "Sixtus V. Pont. Max. obeliscum Ægypto advectum, Augusti in mausoleo dicatum, eversum deinde et in plures confractum partes, in via ad S. Rochum jacentem, in pristinam faciem restitutum, Salutiferæ Cruci felicius hic erigi jussit anno M.D.L.XXXVIII. Pont. III."

At the foote of this hill is the Church of St. Pudentia, in which is a well fill'd with the blood and bones of several Martyrs, but grated over

with yron; it is visited by many Devota's. Neere this is the Church of her sister S. Praxedeis, much frequented for the same reason. In a little obscure place cancelled in with yron worke, is the Pillar or Stump at which they relate our Bl. Saviour was scourged, being full of bloudy spotts, at which the devout sex are always rubbing their chaplets, and convey their kisses by a stick having a tassel on it. Here, besides a noble statue of St. Peter is the tombe of the famous Cardinal Cajetan, an excellent piece. Here they hold that St. Peter sayd his first masse at Rome with the same altar and the stone he kneeled on, he having been first lodged in this house, as they compute, about the 44th yeare of the incarnation. They also shew many reliques, or rather raggs, of his mantle. In the Church of St. Laurence in Panisperna is the Grid-iron on which that Martyr was broyl'd. St. Brigit is buried in this Church under a stately monument. In the front of the pile is the suffering of St. Laurence painted *à fresca* on the wall. The fabriq is nothing but Gotic. On the left is the Therma Novatii, and on the right Agrippina's Lavacrum.

14 Nov. We pass'd againe thro' the stately Capitol and Campo Vaccino towards the Amphitheatre of Vespasian, but were first stay'd to looke at Titus's triumphal Arch erected by the people of Rome in honour of his victory at Jerusalem, on the left-hand whereof he is represented drawne in a charriot with 4 horses abreast; on the right-hand, or side of the arch within, is sculptur'd in figures, or basse relievo as big as the life, and in one intire marble, the Arke of the Covenant, on which stands the seaven-branch'd candlestick describ'd in Leviticus, as also the two Tables of the Law, all borne on men's shoulders by the barrs, as they are describ'd in some of St. Hierom's Bibles; before this go many crown'd and laureated figures, and 12 Roman fasces, with sacred vessels. This much confirmed the idea I before had; and, for the light it gave to the Holy History, I caused my paynter Carlo to copy it exactly. The rest of the worke of the Arch is of the noblest, best understood composita.

Sta Maria Nova is on the place where they told us Simon Magus fell out of the ayre at St. Peter's prayer, and burst himselfe to pieces

on a flint. Neere this is a marble monument erected by the people of Rome in memory of the Pope's returne from Avignon.

Being now pass'd the ruines of *Meta sudante* (which stood before the Colosseum) provided to refresh the gladiators, we enter the mighty ruines of the Vespasian Amphitheatre, begun by Vespasian, and finished by that excellent prince Titus. It is 830 Roman palmes in length (*i. e.* 130 paces), 90 in breadth at the area, with caves for the wild beasts which us'd to be baited by men instead of doggs; the whole oval peripheria 2888$\frac{4}{7}$ palmes, and capable of containing 87,000 spectators with ease and all accom'odation: the 3 rowes of circles are yet entire; the first was for the senators, the middle for the nobility, the third for the people. At the dedication of this place were 5000 wild beasts slain in 3 months during which the feast lasted, to the expence of 10 millions of gold. It is built of Tiburtine stone, a vast height, with the 5 orders of architecture, by 30,000 captive Jewes. It is, without, of a perfect circle, and was once adorn'd thick with statues, and remained intire till of late that some of the stones were carried away to repaire the Citty walls and build the Farnesian Palace. That which still appeares most admirable is, the contrivance of the porticos, vaults, and staires, with the excessive altitude, which well deserves this distich of the poet:

"Omnis Cæsario cedat labor Amphitheatro,
Unum pro cunctis fama loquatur opus."

Neere it is a small chapell call'd Sta Maria della Pieta nel Colisseo, which is erected on the steps or stages very lofty at one of its sides or ranges within, and where there lives only a melancholy hermite. I ascended to the very top of it with wonderfull admiration.

The Arch of Constantine the Great is close by the Meta sudante before mentioned, at the beginning of the Via Appia on one side of Monte Celio, and is perfectly intire, erected by the people in memory of his victory over Maxentius at the Pons Milvius, now Ponte Mole. In the front is this inscription:

IMP. CAES. FL. CONSTANTINO MAXIMO
P. F. AVGVSTO S. P. Q. R.
QVOD INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS MENTIS
MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO
TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS

FACTIONE VNO TEMPORE IVSTIS
REMPVBLICAM VLTVS EST ARMIS
ARCVM TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT.

Hence we went to St. Gregorio in Monte Celio, where are many privileged altars, and there they shew'd us an arme of that Saint and other reliques. Before this Church stands a very noble portico.

17. I walked to Villa Borghesi, a house and ample garden on Mons Pincius, yet somewhat without the Citty walls, circumscrib'd by another wall full of small turrets and banqueting-houses, which makes it appeare at a distance like a little towne. Within it is an elysium of delight, having in the centre a noble Palace; but the enterance of the garden presents us with a very glorious fabrick or rather dore-case adorn'd with divers excellent marble statues. This garden abounded with all sorts of delicious fruit and exotiq simples, fountaines of sundry inventions, groves, and small rivulets. There is also adjoining to it a vivarium for estriges, peacocks, swanns, cranes, &c. and divers strange beasts, deare, and hares. The grotto is very rare, and represents among other devices artificial raine, and sundry shapes of vessells, flowers, &c. which is effected by changing the heads of the fountaines. The groves are of cypresse, laurell, pine, myrtil, olive, &c. The 4 sphinxes are very antique and worthy observation. To this is a volary full of curious birds. The house is square, with turrets from which the prospect is excellent towards Rome and the invironing hills covered as they now are with snow, wch indeed commonly continues even a great part of the sum'er, affording great refreshment. Round the house is a balustre of white marble, with frequent jettos of water, and adorn'd with a multitude of statues. The walls of the house are cover'd with antiq incrustations of history, as that of Curtius, the Rape of Europa, Leda, &c. The cornices above consist of frutages and festoons, between wch are niches furnish'd with statues, wch order is observ'd to the very roofe. In the lodge at the entry are divers good statues of consuls, &c. with two pieces of field artillery upon carriages (a mode much practized in Italy before the great men's houses), which they looke on as a piece of state more than defence. In the first hall within are the 12 Roman Emperors, of excellent marble: 'twixt them stand porphyry columns and other

precious stones of vast height and magnitude, with urnes of Oriental alabaster. Tables of Pietra-Commessa. Here is that renown'd Diana wch Pompey worshipp'd; the most incomparable Seneca, of touch bleeding in an huge vasa of porphyrie, resembling the dropps of his blood; the so famous gladiator, and the Hermaphrodite upon a quilt of stone. The new piece of Daphne, and David, of Cavaliero Bernini, is observable for the pure whiteness of the stone; and the art of the statuary wch is stupendious. There are a multitude of rare pictures of infinite value by the best masters; huge tables of porphyrie, and two exquisitely-wrought vases of the same. In another chamber are divers sorts of instruments of musiq: amongst other toyes that of a satyre with so artificialy express'd an human voice, with the motion of eyes and head, that it might easily affright one who was not prepared for that most extravagant sight. They shew'd us also a chayre wch catches any who sitts downe in it so as not to be able to stirr out, by certaine springs concealed in the armes and back thereoff, which at sitting downe surprizes a man on the suddaine, locking him in by the armes and thighs, after a true tretcherous Italian guise. The perspective is considerable, compos'd by the position of looking-glasses, which render a strange multiplication of things resembling divers most richly-furnish'd roomes. Here stands a rare clock of German worke; in a word, nothing but what is magnificent is to be seen in this paradise.

The next day I went to the Vatican, where in the morning I saw the ceremony of Pamfilio the Pope's nephew receiving a Cardinal's hat; this was the first time I had seen his holiness *in pontificalibus*. After the Cardinals and Princes had met in the Consistory, the ceremony was in the Pope's Chapell, where he was at the altar invested with most pompous rites.

17 Novr. I visited St. Peter's, that most stupendious and incomparable Basilicum, far surpassing any now extant in the world, and perhaps, Solomon's Temple excepted, any that was ever built. The largeness of the piazza before the portico is worth observing, because it affords a noble prospect of the Church, not crowded up as for the most part is the case in other places where greate churches are erected. In this is a fountaine out of which gushes a river rather than a streeme,

which ascending a good height breakes upon a round embosse of marble into millions of pearles that fall into the subjacent basons with greate noise; I esteeme this one of the goodliest fountaines I ever saw.

Next is the Obelisq transported out of Egypt and dedicated by Octavius Augustus to Julius Cæsar, whose ashes it formerly bore on the sumit; but being since overturn'd by the Barbarians, was re-erected with vast cost and a most stupendious invention by Domenico Fontana, architect to Sixtus V. The Obelisk consists of one intire square stone without hieroglyphic, in height 72 foote, but comprehending the base and all 'tis 108 foote high. It rests on 4 lyons of gilded copper. You may see through the base of the Obelisq and plinth of the piedestal. Upon two faces of the Obelisq is engraven:

DIVO CAES. DIVI
IVLII F. AVGVSTO
TI. CAES. DIVI AVG.
F. AVGVST. SACRVM.

It now beares on the top a crosse in which 'tis sayd that Sixtus V. inclosed some of the holy wood; and under it is to be read by good eyes:

SANCTISSIMAE CRVCI
SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.
CONSECRAVIT.
E PRIORE SEDE AVVLSVM
ET CAESS. AVG. AC TIB.
I. L. ABLATVM M.D.LXXXVI.

On the foure faces of the base below:

1. CHRISTVS VINCIT.
CHRISTVS REGNAT.
CHRISTVS IMPERAT.
CHRISTVS AB OMNI MALO
PLEBEM SVAM DEFENDAT.

2. SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.
OBELISCVM VATICANVM DIIS GENTIVM
IMPIO CVLTV DICATVM
AD APOSTOLORVM LIMINA
OPEROSO LABORE TRANSTVLIT
AN. M.D.LXXXVI. PONT. II.

3. ECCE CRVX DOMINI
FVGITE PARTES
ADVERSAE
VINCIT LEO
DE TRIBV IVDA.

4. SIXTVS V. PONT. MAX.
CRVCI INVICTAE

OBELISCVM VATICANVM
AB IMPIA SVPERSTITIONE
EXPIATVM IVSTIVS
ET FELICIVS CONSECRAVIT
AN. M.D.L.XXXVI. PONT. II.

A little lower:

DOMINICVS FONTANA EX PAGO MILIA GRI NOVOCOMENSIS TRANSTVLIT ET EREXIT.

It is reported to have taken a year in erecting, to have cost 37,975 crowns, the labor of 907 men and 75 horses; it was the first of the 4 Egyptian Obelisks set up at Rome, and one of the 42 brought to the Citty out of Egypt, set up in several places, but thrown down by the Goths, Barbarians, and Earthquakes. See Platina in Vita Pontiff. p. 315. — Some coaches stood before the stepps of the ascent, whereof one belonging to Card^{l}. Medici had all the metall worke of massy silver; *viz.* the bow behind and other places. The coaches at Rome, as well as cover'd wagons wch are also much in use, are generally the richest and largest I ever saw. Before the faciata of the Church is an ample pavement. The Church was first begun by St. Anacletus when rather a Chapel, on a foundation as they give out of Constantine the Great, who in honour of the Apostles carried 12 baskets full of sand to the work. After him Julius II. tooke it in hand, to which all his successors have contributed more or less.

The front is suppos'd to be the largest and best studied piece of architecture in the world; to this we went up by 4 stepps of marble. The first entrance is supported by huge pilasters; the volto within is the richest in the world, overlayd with gold. Between the 5 large anti-ports are columns of enormous height and compass, with as many gates of brasse the worke and sculpture of Pollajuolo the Florentine, full of cast figures and histories in a deepe relievo. Over this runs a terrace of like amplitude and ornament, where the Pope at solemn times bestowes his benediction on the vulgar. On each side of this portico are two campaniles, or towers, whereof there was but one perfected, of admirable art. On the top of all runns a balustrade wch edges it quite round, and upon this at equal distances are Christ and the 12 Disciples of gigantic size and stature, yet below shewing no greater than the life. Entring the Church, admirable is the bredth of the volto or roofe wch is all carv'd with foliage and roses overlayd wth gold in nature of a deepe bass relievo, *à l' antiq.* The nave, or body,

is in forme of a crosse, whereof the foote part is the longest; and at the internodium of the transept rises ye cupola, wch being all of stone and of prodigious height is more in compasse than y^t^ of the Pantheon (wch was the largest amongst the old Romans, and is yet intire) or any other in ye world. The inside or concave is cover'd wth most exquisite Mosaiq representing the Celestial Hierarchy, by Giuseppe d'Arpino, full of starrs of gold; the convex or outside expos'd to ye aire, is cover'd wth lead wth great ribbs of metall double guilt (as are also the ten other lesser cupolas, for no fewer adorn this glorious structure) which gives a great and admirable splendor in all parts of ye Citty. On the sum'it of this is fix'd a brasen globe gilt, capable of receiving 35 persons. This I entered and engrav'd my name amongst other travellers. Lastly is the crosse, the access to wch is betweene the leaden covering and the stone convex or arch-worke, a most truly astonishing piece of art. On the battlements of the Church, also all overlayd wth lead and marble, you would imagine yourself in a town, so many are the cupolas, pinnacles, towers, juttings, and not a few houses inhabited by men who dwell there, and have enough to do to looke after the vast reparations wch continually employ them.

We descended into the body of the Church, which is full of collaterall Chapells and large Oratories, most of them exceeding the size of ordinary Churches; but the principal are fowre incrusted with most precious marbles and stones of various colours, adorn'd with an infinity of statues, pictures, stately altars, and innumerable reliques. The altar-piece of St. Michael being of Mosaiq I could not passe without particular note, as one of the best of that kind. The Chapel of Gregory XIII. where he is buried, is most splendid. Under the cupola, and in ye center of the Church, stands the high altar, consecrated first by Clement VIII. adorn'd by Paul V. and lately cover'd by Pope Urban VIII. with that stupendous canopy of Corinthian brasse which heretofore was brought from the Pantheon; it consists of 4 wreath'd columns partly channel'd and incircl'd with vines, on which hang little puti, birds and bees (the armes of the Barbarini), sustaining a baldachino of the same mettal. The 4 columns weigh an hundred and ten thousand pounds, all over richly gilt; this with the pedestalls, crowne, and statues about it, form a thing of y^t^ art, vastness,

and magnificence, as is beyond all that man's industry has produced of the kind: it is the work of Bernini, a Florentine sculptor, architect, painter, and poet, who, a little before my coming to the Citty, gave a publiq. Opera (for so they call shews of that kind) wherein he painted the scenes, cut the statues, invented the engines, compos'd the musiq, writ the comedy, and built the theatre. Opposite to either of these pillars, under those niches which with their columns support the weighty cupola, are placed 4 exquisite statues of Parian marble, to which are 4 altars; that of St. Veronica made by Fra. Mochi, has over it the Reliquary, where they shew'd us the miraculous Sudarium indued wth the picture of o^r^ Saviour's face, with this inscription: "Salvatoris imaginem Veronicæ Sudario excepta ut loci majestas decentèr custodiret, Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. Marmoreum signum et Altare addidit, Conditorium extruxit et ornavit."

Right against this is y^t^ of Longinus, of a Colossean magnitude, also by Bernini, and over him the Conservatory of ye iron lance inserted in a most precious chrystal, with this epigraph: "Longini Lanceam quam Innocentius VIII. a Basagete Turcarum Tyranno accepit, Urbanus VIII. statuâ appositâ, et Sacello substructo, in exornatum Conditorium transtulit."

The third Chapel has over the altar the statue of our countrywoman St. Helena the mother of Constantine the Great, the worke of Boggi, an excellent sculptor; and here is preserved a greate piece of the pretended wood of the holy crosse, which she is said to have first detected miraculously in the Holy Land. It was placed here by the late Pope with this inscription: "Partem Crucis quam Helena Imperatrix è Calvario in Urbem adduxit, Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. è Sissorianâ Basilicâ desumptam, additis arâ et statuâ, hìc in Vaticano collocavit."

The 4th hath over the altar, and opposite to that of St. Veronica, the statue of St. Andrew, the worke of Fiamingo, admirable above all the other; above is preserv'd the head of y^t^ Apostle richly inchas'd. It is said that this excellent sculptor died mad to see his statue placed in a disadvantageous light by Bernini the chiefe architect, who found himselfe outdone by this artist. The inscription over it is this:

"St. Andreæ caput quod Pius II. ex Achaiâ in Vaticanum asportandum curavit, Urbanus VIII. novis hie ornamentis decoratum, sacrisq' statuæ, ac Sacelli honoribus coli voluit."

The Reliques shew'd and kept in this Church are without number, as are also the precious vessels of gold, silver, and gems, with the vests and services to be seene in the Sacristy, which they shew'd us. Under the high altar is an ample grot inlaid with Pietra Com'essa, wherein half of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul are preserv'd; before hang divers greate lamps of the richest plate burning continually. About this and contiguous to the altar runns a balustrade in forme of a theatre, of black marble. Towards the left as you goe out of the Church by the portico, a little beneath the high altar, is an old brasse statue of St. Peter sitting, under the soles of whose feete many devout persons rub their heads and touch their chaplets. This was formerly cast from a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus. In another place stands a columne grated about wth yron, whereon they report that our Bl. Saviour was often wont to leane as he preached in the Temple. In the work of the reliquary under the cupola there are 8 wreathed columns wch were brought from the Temple of Solomon. In another Chapell they shew'd us the chayre of St. Peter, or as they name it, the Apostolical Throne; but amongst all the Chapells the one most glorious has for an altar-piece a Madona bearing a dead Christ on her knees in white marble, the work of M. Angelo. At the upper end of the Cathedral are several stately monuments, especialy that of Urban VIII. Round the cupola and in many other places in the Church are confession-seates for all languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, English, Irish, Welsh, Sclavonian, Dutch, &c. as it is written on their freezes in golden capitals, and there are still at confessions some of all nations. Towards the lower end of the Church and on the side of a vast pillar sustaining a weighty roofe, is the depositum and statue of the Countess Matilda, a rare piece, wth basso-relievos about it of white marble, the worke of Bernini. Here are also those of Sextus IV. and Paulus III. &c. Amongst the exquisite pieces in this sumptuous fabriq is that of the Ship with St. Peter held up from sinking by o^r^ Saviour; the emblems about it are the Mosaiq of the famous Giotto, who restor'd and made it perfect after it had been defaced by the Barbarians. Nor is the pavement under the cupola to be passed over without observation, which with the rest of the body and walls of the whole Church, are all inlaid with the richest of

Pietra Com'essa, in the most splendid colours of polish'd marbles, achats, serpentine, porphyry, calcedone, &c. wholy incrusted to ye very roofe. Coming out by the portico at which we entred, we were shew'd the Porto Santo, never opened but at the year of jubilee. This glorious foundation hath belonging to it 30 Canons, 36 Beneficiates, 28 Clearks benefic'd, with innumerable Chaplaines, &c. a Cardinal being always Arch-Priest; the present Cardinal was Franc. Barberini, who also stiled himselfe Protector of the English, to whom he was indeede very courteous.

20 Nov. I went to visite that ancient See and Cathedral of St. John de Laterana, and the holy places thereabout. This is a Church of extraordinary devotion, though for outward forme not comparable to St. Peter's, being of Gotiq ordonance. Before we went into the Cathedral, the Baptisterie of St. John Baptist presented itselfe, being formerly part of the Greate Constantine's Palace, and as it is sayd, his chamber where by St. Silvester he was made a Christian; it is octagonal, having before the entrance 8 faire pillars of rich porphyrie, each of one intire piece, their capitalls of divers orders supporting lesser columnes of white marble, and these supporting a noble cupola, the moulding whereof is excellently wrought. Women are prohibited from entering this chamber, for the malice of Herodias who caus'd him to loose his head. Here are deposited several sacred reliques of St. James, Mary Magdalen, St. Matthew, &c. and two goodly pictures. Another Chapel or Oratory neere it is called St. John the Evangelist, well adorn'd wth marbles and tables, especialy those of Cavalier Giuseppe, and of Tempesta, in fresco. We went hence into another called St. Venantius, in which is a Tribunal all of Mosaiq in figures of Popes; here is also an altar of the Madona much visited, and divers Sclavonish Saints, companions of Pope John IV. The portico of the Church is built of materials brought from Pontius Pilate's house in Jerusalem.

The next sight which attracted our attention was a wonderful concourse of people at their devotions before a place call'd Scala Sancta, to which is built a noble front. Entering the portico, we saw those large marble stayres, 28 in number, which are never ascended but on the knees, some lip-devotion being us'd on every step, on which you

may perceive divers red specks of blood under a grate which they affirme to have been drops of o^r Bl. Saviour at the time he was so barbarously mis-us'd by Herod's souldiers, for these stayres are reported to have been translated hither from his Palace in Jerusalem. At the top of these stayres is a Chapell, whereat they enter, but we could not be permitted, by gates of marble, being the same our Saviour passed when he went out of Herod's house. This they name the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and over it we read this epigraph: *Non est in toto sanctior orbe locus.* Here, through a grate, we saw that picture of Christ paynted as they say by St. Luke to the life. Descending again, we saw before the Church the Obelisc, which is indeed most worthy of admiration. It formerly lay in the Circo Maximo, and was erected here by Sixtus V. in 1587, being 112 foote in height without the base or pedestal; at ye foote 9½ one way and 8 the other. This pillar was first brought from Thebes at the utmost confines of Egypt, to Alexandria, from thence to Constantinople, thence to Rome, and is said by Ammianus Marcellinus to have been dedicated to Ramises King of Egypt. It was transferr'd to this City by Constantine the sonne of the Great, and is full of hieroglyphics, serpents, men, owles, falcons, oxen, instruments, &c. containing (as Father Kercher the Jesuit will shortly tell us in a book which he is ready to publish) all the recondite and abstruse learning of that people. The vessel, gally, or floate y^t brought it to Rome so many hundred leagues must needs have been of wonderful bignesse and strange fabriq. The stone is one and intire, and [having been thrown down] was erected by the famous Dom! Fontana for that magnificent Pope Sixtus V. as the rest were; 'tis now cracked in many places, but solidly joyn'd. The Obelisk is thus inscrib'd at the several faciatas:

Fl. Constantinus Augustus, Constantini Augusti F. Obeliscum à patre suo motum diuq; Alexandriæ jacentem trecentorum remigum impositum navi mirandi vastitatis per mare Tiberimq; magnis molibus Romam convectum in Circo Max. ponendum S. P. Q. R. D. D.

On the second square:

Fl. Constantinus Max: Aug: Christianæ fidei Vindex & Assertor Obeliscum ab Ægyptio Rege impuro voto Soli dicatum sedibus avulsum suis per Nilum

transfer. Alexandriam ut novam Romam ab se tunc conditam eo decoraret monumento.

On the third:

Sixtus V. Pontifex Max: Obeliscum hunc specie eximiâ temporum calamitate fractum, Circi Maximi ruinis humo limoq; altè demersum, multâ impensâ extraxit, hunc in locum magno labore transtulit, formæq; pristinæ accuratè vestitum, Cruci invictissimæ dicavit anno M.D.LXXXVIII. Pont. IIII.

On the fourth:

Constantinus per Crucem Victor à Silvestro hìc baptisatus Crucis gloriam propagavit.

Leaving this wonderful monument (before which is a stately publiq fountaine, wth a statue of St. John in the middle of it) we visited his Holyness's Palace, being a little upon the left hand, the designe of Fontana architect to Sixtus V.; this I take to be one of the best Palaces in Rome; but not staying, we enterd the Church of St. John de Lateran, wch is properly the Cathedral of the Roman See, as I learn'd by these verses engraven upon the architrave of the portico:

Dogmate Papali datur, et simul Imperiali
Quod sim cunctarum mater caput Ecclesiarū
Hinc Salvatoris cœlestia regna datoris
Nomine sanxerunt, cum cuncta peracta fuerunt;
Sic vos ex toto conversi supplice voto
Nostra quod hæc ædes tibi Christe sit inclyta sedes.

'Tis call'd *Lateran* from a noble family dwelling it seems hereabouts, on Mons Cælius. The Church is Gotiq, and hath a stately tribunal; the paintings are of Pietro Pisano. It was the first Church y^t^ was consecrated with the ceremonies now introduc'd; and where altars of stone supplied those of wood, heretofore in use and made like large chests for the easier removal in times of persecution, such an altar is still the greate one here preserved, as being that on which (they hold) St. Peter celebrated masse at Rome, for which reason none but the Pope may now presume to make that use of it. The pavement is of all sorts of precious marbles, and so are the walles to a great height, over which 'tis painted *a fresca* with the life and acts of Constantine the Greate, by most excellent masters. The organs are rare, supported

by 4 columns. The suffito is all richly gilded and full of pictures. Opposite to the porte is an altar of exquisite architecture with a tabernacle on it all of precious stones, the worke of Targoni; on this is a Cœna of plate, the invention of Curtius Vanni, of exceeding value; the tables hanging over it are of Giuseppe d'Arpino. About this are 4 excellent columnes transported out of Asia by the Emperor Titus, of brasse double gilt, about 12 foote in height; the walls betweene them are incrusted wth marble and set with statues in niches, the vacuum reported to be fill'd with holy earth wch St. Helena sent from Jerusalem to her sonn Constantine, who set these pillars where they now stand. At one side of this is an Oratory full of rare paintings and monuments, especially those of the great Connestable Colonna. Out of this we came into the Sacristia, full of good pictures of Albert and others. At the end of the Church is a flat stone supported by 4 pillars which they affirme to have beene the exact height of our Bl. Saviour, which they say never fitted any mortal man that tried it, but he was either taller or shorter; two columns of the vaile of the Temple which rent at his passion; the stone on which they threw lots for his seamelesse vesture, and the pillar on which the cock crow'd after Peter's denial; and, to omit no fine thing, the just length of the Virgin Mary's foote as it seems her shoemaker affirm'd. Here is a most sumptuous crosse beset with precious stones, containing some of the very wood of the holy crosse itselfe; with many other things of this sort. Here are many most magnificent monuments, especialy those of St. Helen of porphyrie; Cardinal Farneze; Martine the first of copper. The pictures of *Mary Magdalen, Martine V., Laurent. Valla,* &c. are of Gaetano; the *Nunciata,* designed by M. Angelo; and the *greate Crucifix* of Sermoneta. In a Chapel at one end of the porch is a statue of Henry IV. of France in brasse, standing in a darke hole, and so has don many yeares; perhaps from not believing him a thorough proselyte. The 2 famous Œcumenical Councils were celebrated in this Church by Pope Simachus, Martin the first, Stephen, &c.

Leaving this venerable Church (for in truth it has a certaine majesty in it) we pass'd through a faire and large Hospital of good architecture, having some inscriptions put up by Barberini, the late Pope's nephew. We then went by St. Sylvia, where is a noble statue of St. Gregory P.

began by M. Angelo, a St. Andrewe, and the Bath of St. Cecilia. In this Church are some rare paintings, especialy that story on the wall of Guido Rheni.—Thence to St. Giovanni e Paula, where the Friers are reported to be greate chymists. The quire, roofe and paintings in the Tribuna are excellent.—Descending the Mons Cælius we come against the vestiges of the Palazzo Maggiore, heretofore the Golden House of Nero; now nothing but an heape of vast and confused ruines, to shew what time and the vicissitude of human things dos change from the most glorious and magnificent to the most deformed and confused.—We next went into St. Sebastian's Church, which has an handsome front. We then pass'd by the place where Romulus and Remus were taken up by Faustulus; the Forum Romanum; and so by the edge of the Mons Palatinus, where we were shew'd the ruines of Pompey's house, and the Church of St. Anacletus; and so into the Circus Maximus, heretofore capable of containing an hundred and sixty thousand spectators, but now all one entire heape of rubbish, part of it converted into a garden of pot-herbs. We concluded this evening with hearing the rare voices and musiq at the Chiesa Nova.

21 Nov. I was carried to see a great virtuoso Cavaliero Pozzo, who shew'd us a rare collection of all kind of antiquities, and a choice library, over which are the effigies of most of our late men of polite literature. He had a great collection of the antiq bassi-relievos about Rome, wch this curious man had caus'd to be design'd in several folios; many fine medails; the stone which Pliny calls Enhydrus; it had plainly in it the quantity of halfe a spoonfull of water, of a yellow pebble colour, of the bigness of a walnut. A stone in a ring without foiles, paler than an amethyst, which yet be affirm'd to be the true carbuncle, and harder than a diamond; 'twas set in a ring, without foile or any thing at the bottom, so as it was transparent, of a greenish yellow, more lustrous than a diamond. He had very pretty things painted on crimson velvet, design'd in black, and shaded and heighten'd with white, set in frames; also a number of choice designs and drawings.

Hence we walked to the *Suburra* and *Erariū Saturni*, where yet remaine some rūines and an inscription. From thence to St. Pietro in Vinculi, one of the 7 Churches on the Esqueline, an old and much fre-

quented place of greate devotion for the relicks there, especially the bodyes of the seaven Maccabean breathren which lye under the altar. On the wall is a St. Sebastian of Mosaic, after the Greeke manner: but w^t^ I chiefly reguarded was that noble sepulchre of Pope Julius II. the worke of M. Angelo, with that never sufficiently to be admired statue of Moses in white marble, and those of *Vita Contemplativa* and *Activa* by the same incomparable hand. To this Church belongs a Monastery, in the Court of whose Cloisters grow two tall and very stately palme-trees. Behind these are the Bathes of Titus with prodigious receptacles for water, which the vulgar call the *Setti Sali*, now all in heapes.

23 Nov. There was the solemne and greatest ceremony of all the Ecclesiastical States, *viz.* the procession of the Pope (Innocent X.) to St. John de Lateran. Standing on the stepps of Ara Celi, neere the Capitol, I saw it passe in this manner:—First went a guard of Swissers to make way, and divers of the avant guard of horse carrying lances. Next follow'd those who carried the robes of the Cardinals, two and two; then the Cardinals Mace-bearers; the Caudatari on mules; the Masters of their Horse; the Pope's Barber, Taylor, Baker, Gardner, and other domestic officers, all on horseback in rich liveries; the Squires belonging to the guard; 5 men in rich liveries led 5 noble Neapolitan horses white as snow cover'd to the ground with trappings richly embroidered, which is a service paid by the King of Spaine for the kingdomes of Naples and Sicily, pretended feudatorys to the Pope; 3 mules of exquisite beauty and price, trapp'd in crimson velvet: 3 rich litters with mules, the litters empty; the Master of the Horse alone, with his Squires; 5 Trumpeters; the Amerieri estra muros; the Fiscale and Consistorial Advocates; Capellani, Camerieri de honore, Cubiculari and Chamberlaines, call'd Secreti; 4 other Camerieri with 4 capps of the dignity Pontifical, which were Cardinals' hatts carried on staffs; 4 Trumpets; after them a number of noble Romans and gentlemen of quality very rich, follow'd by innumerable Staffieri and Pages; the Secretaries of the Chancellaria, Abbreviatori-Acoliti in their long robes and on mules; Auditori di Rota; the Deane of the Roti and Master of the sacred Palace on mules, with grave but rich foote clothes, and in flat

episcopal hatts; then went more of the Roman and other Nobility and Courtiers, wth divers Pages in most rich liveries on horseback; 14 Drums belonging to the Capitol; the Marshalls with their staves; the 2 Sindics; the Conservators of the Citty in robes of crimson damask; the Knight Confalonier and Prior of the R. R. in velvet tocques; 6 of his holynesses Mace-bearers; then the Captaine or Governor of the Castle of St. Angelo upon a brave prancer; the Governor of the Citty; on both sides of these 2 long ranks of Swissers; the Masters of the Ceremonies; the Crosse-bearer on horseback, wth two Priests at each hand on foote; Pages, Footmen, and Guards in aboundance; then came the Pope himselfe, carried in a litter or rather open chaire of crimson velvet richly embrodred, and borne by two stately mules; as he went he held up two fingers, blessing, the multitude who were on their knees or looking out of their windows and houses, wth loud *viva's* and acclamations of felicity to their new Prince. This was follow'd by the Master of his Chamber, Cupp-bearer, Secretary, and Physitian; then came the Cardinal Bishops, Cardinal Priests, Cardinal Deacons, Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, all in their several and distinct habits, some in red, others in greene flat hatts wth tassells, all on gallant mules richly trapp'd wth velvet and lead by their servants in great state and multitudes; then came the Apostolical Protonotari, Auditor, Tresurer, and Referendaries; lastly, the Trumpets of the reare-guard, 2 Pages of Armes in helmets wth feathers and carrying launces; 2 Captaines; the Pontifical Standard of the Church; the two Alfieri or Cornets of the Pope's Light Horse, who all follow'd in armor and carrying launces; which, with innumerable rich coaches, litters, and people, made up the procession. What they did at St. John di Laterano I could not see by reason of the prodigious crowd; so I spent most of the day in viewing the two triumphal arches which had been purposely erected a few days before, and till now covered; the one by the Duke of Parma in the Foro Romano, the other by the Jewes in the Capitol, wth flattering inscriptions. They were of excellent architecture, decorated with statues and aboundance of ornaments proper for ye occasion, since they were but temporary, and made up of boards, cloath, &c. painted and fram'd on the suddaine, but as to outward appearance solid and very

stately. The night ended wth fire-workes. That wch I saw was that which was built before the Spanish Ambass^rs^ house in the Piazza del Trinita, and another of the French. The first appear'd to be a mighty rock, bearing the Pope's armes, a dragon, and divers figures, which being set on fire by one who flung a roquet at it, tooke fire immediately, yet preserving the figure both of ye rock and statues a very long time, insomuch as it was deemed ten thousand reports of squibbs and crackers spent themselves in order. That before the French Ambass^rs^ Palace was a Diana drawne in a chariot by her doggs, with aboundance of other figures as large as ye life, which plaied wth fire in the same manner. In the meane time the windows of the whole Citty were set with tapers put into lanterns or sconces of several colour'd oyl'd paper, that the wind might not annoy them; this render'd a most glorious shew. Besides these there were at least 20 other fire-workes of vast charge and rare art for their invention befor diverse Ambass^rs^, Princes, and Cardinals Palaces, especialy that on the Castle of St. Angelo, being a pyramid of lights, of greate height, fastned to ye ropes and cables wch support the standard-pole. The streetes were this night as light as day, full of bonfires, canon roaring, musiq playing, fountaines running wine, in all excesse of joy and triumph.

24. Nov. I went to the Jesuites Colledge againe, the front whereoff gives place to few for its architecture, most of its ornaments being of rich marble. It has within a noble Portico and Court, sustain'd by stately columnes, as is the Corridor over the Portico, at the sides of which are the Scholes for the Arts and Sciences, which are here taught as at the University. Here I heard Father Athanasius Kercher upon a part of Euclid, wch he expounded. To this joynes a glorious and ample Church for ye Students; a second is not fully finish'd; and there are two noble Libraries where I was shew'd that famous wit and historian Famianus Strada. Hence we went to the house of Hippolito Vitellesco (afterwards Bibliothecary of ye Vatican Library) who shew'd us one of the best collections of Statues in Rome, to which he frequently talkes as if they were living, pronouncing now and then orations, sentences, and verses, sometimes kissing and embracing them. He has an head of Brutus scarr'd in the face by order of the Senate for killing Julius; this is much

esteem'd. Also a Minerva and others of greate value. This gentleman not long since purchased land in the kingdome of Naples, in hope by digging ye ground to find more statues; which it seemes so far succeeded as to be much more worth than ye purchase. We spent the evening at the Chiesa Nova, where was excellent musiq; but before that began the courteous Fathers led me into a nobly-furnish'd Library contiguous to their most beautifull Convent.

28. I went to see the garden and house of the Aldobrandini, now Cardinal Borghese's. This palace is, for architecture, magnificence, pompe and state, one of the most considerable about the Citty. It has 4 fronts, and a noble Piazza before it. Within the Court, under arches supported by marble columns, are many excellent statues. Ascending the stayres there is a rare figure of Diana of white marble. The St. Sebastian and Hermaphrodite are of stupendious art. For paintings, *our Saviour's head* by Corregio; several pieces of Raphael, some of which are small; some of Bassano Veroneze; the *Leda*, and two admirable *Venus's*, are of Titian's pensill; so is the *Psyche and Cupid*; the *head of St. John borne by Herodias*; two heads of Albert Durer, very exquisite. We were shewn here a fine cabinet and tables of Florence-worke in stone. In the garden are many fine fountaines, the walls cover'd wth citron-trees, which being rarely spread invest the stone worke intirely; and towards the streete, at a back gate, the Port is so handsomely cloath'd with ivy as much pleas'd me. About this Palace are many noble antiq bassi relievi, two especialy are placed on the ground, representing armor and other military furniture of the Romans; beside these stand about the garden numerous rare statues, altars, and urnes. Above all, for antiquity and curiosity (as being the onely rarity of that nature now knowne to remaine) is that piece of old Roman paynting representing the Roman Sponsalia, or celebration of their marriage, judged to be 1400 yeares old, yet are the colours very lively and the designe very intire, tho' found deepe in the ground. For this morcell of painting's sake onely 'tis sayd that Borghesi purchased the house, because this being on a wall in a kind of banqueting house in ye garden could not be removed, but passe with the inheritance.

29 Nov. I a second time visited the Medicean Palace, being neere my lodging, the more exactly to have a view of the noble collections y^t adorne it, especialy the bass relievi and antiq frezes inserted about the stone worke of the house. The Saturne of mettal standing in the portico is a rare piece; so is the Jupiter and Apollo in the hall. We were now led into those roomes above we could not see before, full of incomparable statues and antiquities; above all, and happly preferable to any in the world, are the two Wrestlers, for the inextricable mixture wth each others armes and legges is stupendious. In the greate chamber is the Gladiator whetting a knife; but the Venus is without parallel, being the master-piece of whose name you see graven under it in old Greeke characters; nothing in sculpture ever approached this miracle of art. To this add Marcius, Ganymede, a little Apollo playing on a pipe; some relieui incrusted on the palace walls; and an antiq vasa of marble neare 6 foote high. Among the pictures may be mentioned the *Magdalen* and *St. Peter weeping*. I passe over the cabinets and tables of Pietra Com'essa, being the proper invention of the Florentines. In one of the chambers is a whimsical chayre, which folded into so many varieties as to turn into a bed, a bolster, a table, or a couch. I had another walk in the garden, where are two huge vasa's or bathes of stone.

I went farther up the hill to the Pope's Palace at Monte Cavallo, where I now saw the garden more exactly, and found it to be one of the most magnificent and pleasant in Rome. I am told the gardener is annualy alowed 2000 scudi for the keeping it. Here I observ'd hedges of myrtle above a man's height; others of laurell, oranges, nay of ivy and juniper; the close walks, and rustic grotto; a crypta, of which the laver or basin is of one vast, intire, antiq porphyrie, and below this flows a plentifull cascade; the stepps of the grotto and the roofs being of rich Mosaiq. Here are hydraulic organs, and a fish-pond in an ample bath. From hence we went to taste some rare Greco, and so home.

Being now pretty weary of continual walking, I kept within, for the most part, till the 6th December, and during this time I entertain'd one Sign^r. Alessandro, who gave me some lessons on the theorba.

The next excursion was over the Tiber, which I crossed in a ferry-boate, to see the Palazzo di Ghisi, standing in Transtevere, fairely built, but famous onely for the painting *a fresca* on the volto of the portico towards the garden; the story is the *Amours of Cupid and Psyche*, by the hand of the celebrated Raphael d'Urbin. Here you always see Painters designing and copying after it, it being esteemed one of the rarest pieces of y^t^ art in the world, and with greate reason. I must not omit that incomparable table of *Galatea* (as I remember), so carefully preserved in the cupboard at one of the ends of this walke, to protect it from ye aire, being a most lively painting. There are likewise excellent things of Baldassare and others.

Thence we went to the noble house of the Duke of Bracciano, fairely built, with a stately court and fountaine.—Next we walked to St. Mary's Church, where was the Taberna Meritoria, where the old Roman soldiers received their triumphal garland, which they ever after wore. The high altar is very faire, adorn'd with columns of porphyrie; here is also some mosaic worke about ye quire, and the Assumption is an esteem'd piece. It is sayd that this Church was the first that was dedicated to the Virgin at Rome. In the opposite Piazza is a very sumptuous fountaine.

12. I went againe to St. Peter's, to see the Chapells, Churches, and Grotts under the whole Church (like our St. Faith's under Paules,) in which lie interr'd a multitude of Saints, Martyrs, and Popes; amongst them our countryman Hadrian IV. in a chest of porphyrie; St. Jo: Chrysostom; Petronella; the heads of St. James Minor, St. Luke, St. Sebastian, and our Thomas à Becket; a shoulder of St. Christopher; an arme of Joseph of Arimathea; Longinus; besides 134 more Bishops, Souldiers, Princes, Scholars, Cardinals, Kings, Emperors, their wives, too long to particularize.

Hence we walked into the Cemitery cal'd Campo Santo, the earth consisting of severall ship loads of mould transported from Jerusalem, which consumes a carcasse in 24 houres. To this joynes that rare Hospital, where once was Nero's Circus; and next to this is the Inquisition house and prison, the inside whereoff, I thanke God, I was not curious to see. To this joins his Holinesse's Horse-guards.

On Christmas Eve I went not to bed, being desirous of seeing the many extraordinary ceremonies performed then in their Churches, as midnight masses and sermons. I went from Church to Church the whole night in admiration at the multitude of sceanes and pageantry which the Friers had with much industry and craft set out, to catch the devout women and superstitious sort of people, who never parted without dropping some money into a vessell set on purpose; but especialy observable was the pupetry in the Church of the Minerva, representing the Nativity. I thence went and heard a sermon at the Apollinare, by which time it was morning. On Christmas Day his Holinesse saing Masse, the artillerie at St. Angelo went off, and all this day was expos'd the cradle of our Lord.

29. We were invited by the English Jesuites to dinner, being their greate feast of Thomas [à Becket] of Canterbury. We din'd in their common Refectory, and afterward saw an Italian Comedy acted by their alumni before the Cardinals.

1645. Jan. 'We saw passe the new officers of the people of Rome; especialy for their noble habits were most conspicuous ye 3 Consuls, now call'd *Conservators*, who take their places in the Capitol, having been sworne the day before betwene the hands of the Pope. We ended the day wth the rare musiq at the Chiesa Nova.

6 Jan. Was the ceremony of our Saviour's Baptisme in the Church of St. Athanasius, and at Ara Celi was a greate procession, *del Bambino* as they call it, where were all the Magistrates, and a wonderfull concourse of people.

7. A Sermon was preach'd to the Jewes at Ponte Sisto, who are constrain'd to sit till the houre is don; but it is with so much malice in their countenances, spitting, hum'ing, coughing, and motion, that it is almost impossible they should heare a word from the preacher. A conversion is very rare.

14. The heads of St. Peter and St. Paul are exposed at St. J. Laterano.

15. The Zitelle, or young wenches, which are to have portions given them by the Pope, being poore, and to marry them, walked in procession to St. Peter's, where the Veronica was shew'd.

I went to the Ghetto, where the Jewes dwell as in a suburbe by themselues; being invited by a Jew of my acquaintance to see a Circumcision. I passed by the Piazza Judea, where their Seraglio begins; for, being inviron'd wth walls, they are lock'd up every night. In this place remaines yet part of a stately fabric, which my Jew told me had been a palace of theirs for the ambassador of their nation when their country was subject to the Romans. Being lead through the Synagogue into a privat house, I found a world of people in a chamber: by and by came an old man, who prepared and layd in order divers instruments brought by a little child of about 7 yeares old in a box. These the man layd in a silver bason; the knife was much like a short razor to shut into ye haft. Then they burnt some incense in a censer, wch perfum'd the rome all the while the ceremony was performing. In the basin was a little cap made of white paper like a capuchin's hood, not bigger than the finger; also a paper of a red astringent powder, I suppose of bole; a small instrument of silver, cleft in the middle at one end to take up the prepuce withall; a fine linen cloth wrapped up. These being all in order, the women brought the infant, swaddl'd, out of another chamber, and delivered it to the Rabbie, who carried and presented it before an altar or cupbord dress'd up, on which lay the 5 Bookes of Moses, and the Commandments a little unrowled; before this, with profound reverence, and mumbling a few words, he waved the child to and fro awhile; then he deliver'd it to another Rabbie, who sate all this time upon a table. Whilst the ceremony was performing, all the company fell a singing an Hebrew hymn in a barbarous tone, waving themselves to and fro, a ceremony they observe in all their devotions.—The Jewes in Rome all wear yellow hatts, live onely upon brokage and usury, very poore and despicable, beyond what they are in other territories of Princes where they are permitted.

18 Jan. I went to see the Pope's Palace, the Vatican, where he for the most part keeps his Court. It was first built by Pope Simachus, and since augmented to a vast pile of building by his successors. That part of it added by Sixtus V. is most magnificent. This lead us into divers tarraces arched *sub dio*, painted by Raphael wth ye Historys of the Bible, so esteem'd, that artists come from all parts of Europe to

make their studies from these designes. The foliage and grotesq about some of the compartments are admirable *. In another rome are represented at large mapps and plotts of most countries in the world, in vast tables, with briefe descriptions. The stayres wch ascend out of St. Peter's portico into the first hall, are rarely contriv'd for ease; these leade into the hall of Gregory XIII. the walls whereof, halfe way to the roofe, are incrusted wth most precious marbles of various colours and workes. So is also the pavement inlaid worke; but what exceeds description is ye volta or rooff itselfe, which is so exquisitely painted, that 'tis almost impossible for the skilfullest eye to discerne whether it be the worke of the pensil upon a flatt, or of a toole cutt deepe in stone. The *Rota dentata* in this admirable perspective, on the left hand as one goes out, the *Stella*, &c. are things of art incomparable. Certainly this is one of the most superb and royall appartements in the world, much too beautifull for a guard of gigantic Swissers, who do nothing but drinke and play at cards in it. Going up these stayres is a painting of *St. Peter walking on the sea towards our Saviour.*

Out of this I went into another hall, just before the chapell called the *Sala del Conclave*, full of admirable paintings; amongst other is the *Assassination of Colignij*, the greate [Protestant] French Admiral, murder'd by ye D. of Guise, in the Parisian massacre at the nuptials of Hen. IV. with Queen Margarite; under it is written, "Coligni et sociorum cædes:" on the other side, "Rex Coligi necem probat."

There is another very large picture, under which is inscribed,

"Alexander Papa III. Fredrici Primi Imperatoris iram et impetum fugiens abdidit se Venetijs; cognitum et à senatu perhonorificè susceptum, Othone Imperatoris filio navali prælio victo captoq; Fredericus pace facta supplex adorat; fidem et obedientiam pollicitus. Ita Pontifici sua dignitas Venet. Rep. beneficio restituta MCLXXVIII." †

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* Painted by John of Udine, scholar of Raphael, from the designs of Raphael. Painter's Voyage of Italy, p. 17.

† Pope Alexander III. flying from the wrath and attack of the Emperor Frederick I. took shelter at Venice, where he was acknowledged, and most honourably received by the Senate. The Emperor's son Otho being conquered and taken in a naval battle, the Emperor, having made peace, became a suppliant to the Pope, promising faith and obedience. Thus his dignity was restored to the Pontiff by the aid of the Republic of Venice, MCLXXVIII.

This inscription I the rather took notice of, because Urban VIII. had caused it to be blotted out during the difference betweene him and that State; but it was now restor'd and refresh'd by his successor, to the greate honor of the Venetians. The *Battaile of Lepanto* is another faire piece here.

Now we came into the Pope's Chapell, so much celebrated for the *Last Judgment*, painted by M. Angelo Buonarotti. It is a painting in *fresca* upon a dead wall at the upper end of the Chapell, just over ye high altar, of a vast designe and miraculous fancy, considering the multitude of naked figures and variety of posture. The roofe also is full of rare worke.—Hence we went into the Sacristia, where we were shew'd all the most precious vestments, copes, and furniture of ye Chapell. One priestly cope, with the whole suite, had been sent from one of our English Henrys, and is shewn for a greate rarity. There were divers of the Pope's pantofles that are kissed on his foote, having rich jewells embrodred on the instep, cover'd wth crimson velvet; also his tyara, or triple crown, divers miters, crosiers, &c. all bestudded with precious stones, gold, and pearle, to a very great value; a very large crosse, carved (as they affirme) out of the holy wood it selfe; numerous utensils of chrystal, gold, achat, amber, and other costly materials for the altar.

We then went into those chambers painted wth the Historys of the *burning of Rome, quenched by the procession of a Crucifix*; the *Victory of Constantine over Maxentius; St. Peter's delivery out of Prison;* all by Julio Romano *, and are therefore cal'd the Paynters' Academy, because you always find some young men or other designing from them; a civility wch is not refused in Italy where any rare pieces of the old and best masters are extant, and wch is the occasion of breeding up many excellent men in that profession.

The Sala Clementina's Suffito is painted by Cherubin Alberti, with an ample landskip of Paul Brill's.

We were then conducted into a new Gallery, whose sides were painted with views of the most famous places, towns, and territories in

* A famous scholar of Raphael.

Italy, rarely don, and upon the roofe the chiefe acts of the Roman Church since St. Peter's pretended See there. It is doubtlesse one of the most magnificent galleries in Europ.—Out of this we came into ye Consistory, a noble roome, the volto painted in grotesq, as I remember. At the upper end is an elevated throne, and a baldachino or canopy of state, for his Holinesse, over it.

From thence, through a very long gallery (longer, I think, then the French king's at the Louvre), but onely of bare walls, we were brought into ye Vatican Library. This passage was now full of poore people, to each of whom, in his passage to St. Peter's, the Pope gave a mezzo grosse. I believe there were in number neer 1500 or 2000 persons.

This Library is the most nobly built, furnish'd, and beautified of any in the world; ample, stately, light, and cherefull, looking into a most pleasant garden. The walls and roofe are painted, not with antiques and grotescs, like our Bodleian at Oxford, but emblems, figures, diagrams, and the like learned inventions, found out by the wit and industry of famous men, of which there are now whole volumes extant. There were likewise the effigies of the most illustrious men of letters and fathers of the Church, with divers noble statues in white marble at the entrance, viz. Hippolitus and Aristides. The Generall Councils are painted on the side walls. As to ye ranging of the bookes, they are all shut up in presses of wainscot, and not expos'd on shelves to the open ayre, nor are the most precious mix'd amongst the more ordinary, which are shew'd to the curious onely; such as are those two Virgils written in parchment, of more then a thousand yeares old; the like a Terence; the Acts of ye Apostles in golden capital letters; Petrarch's Epigrams, written with his owne hand; also an Hebrew parchment made up in the ancient manner, from whence they were first call'd *Volumina*, wth ye Cornua; but what we English do much enquire after, the booke which our Hen. VIII. writ against Luther*.

* This very book, by one of those curious chances that occasionally happen, has recently been brought to England, where the Editor has seen it; and what is very remarkable, wherever the title of Defender of the Faith is subjoined to the name of Henry, the Pope has drawn his pen through the epithet. The name of the King occurs in his own hand-writing both at the beginning and end; and on the binding are the royal arms. The present possessor purchased it in Italy for a few shillings from an old book-stall.

The largest roome is 100 paces long; at the end is the gallery of printed books; then the gallery of the D. of Urbans librarie, in which are MSS. of remarkable miniature, and divers China, Mexican, Samaritan, Abyssin, and other Oriental books.

In another wing of the edifice, 200 paces long, were all the bookes taken from Heidelburg, of which the learned Gruter and other greate scholars had been keepers. These walls and volto are painted with representations of the machines invented by Domenico Fontana for erection of the obelisqs; and the true designe of Mahomet's sepulchre at Mecca.

Out of this we went to see the Conclave, where, during a vacancy, the Cardinals are shut up till they are agreed upon a new election, the whole manner whereof was describ'd to us.

Hence we went into the Pope's Armory under the Library. Over the dore is this inscription: "Urbanus VIII. Litteris Arma, Arma Litteris." I hardly believe any Prince in Europ is able to shew a more compleately furnish'd Library of Mars for the quality and quantity, wch is 40,000 compleate for horse and foote, and most neately kept. Out of this we pass'd againe by the long Gallery and at the lower end of it downe a very large payr of stayres, round, without any stepps as usualy, but descending with an evenesse so ample and easy that a horse-litter or coach may wth ease be drawne up; the sides of the vacuity are set wth columns: those at Amboise on the Loire in France are something of this invention but nothing so spruce. By these we descended into the Vatican Gardens cal'd *Belvedere*, where entring first into a kind of Court we were shew'd those incomparable statues (so fam'd by Pliny and others) of Laocoon with his three sonns embrac'd by an huge serpent, all of one entire Parian stone very white and perfect, somewhat bigger then the life, the worke of those three celebrated sculptors Agesandrus, Polidorus, and Artemidorus, Rhodians; it was found amongst the ruines of Titus's Baths, and placed here. Pliny says this statue is to be esteem'd before all pictures and statues in the world; and I am of his opinion, for I never beheld any thing of art approch it. Here are also those two famous images of Nylus with the Children playing about him, and that of Tyber; Romulus and Rhemus with the

Wolfe; the dying Cleopatra; the Venus and Cupid, rare pieces; the Mercury; Cybel; Hercules; Apollo; Antinous: most of which are, for defence against the weather, shut up in niches with wainscot dores. We were likewise shew'd the reliques of the Hadrian Moles, *viz.* the Pine, a vast piece of mettall which stood on the summit of that mausoleum; also a Peacock of coper supposed to have been part of Scipio's monument.

In the Garden without this (wch containes a vast circuit of ground) are many stately fountaines, especialy two casting water into antiq lavors brought from Titus's Bathes; some faire grotts and water works, that noble cascade where the ship daunces, with divers other pleasant inventions, walkes, terraces, meanders, fruite-trees, and a most goodly prospect over the greatest part of the Citty. One fountaine under the gate I must not omitt, consisting of three jettos of water gushing out of the mouthes or proboscis of bees (the armes of the late Pope), because of the inscription:

Quid miraris Apem, quæ mel de floribus haurit?
Si tibi mellitam gutture fundit aquam.

23. We went without the walls of ye Citty to visite St. Paules, to which place 'tis sayd the Apostle bore his owne head after Nero had caus'd it to be cut off. The Church was founded by the Greate Constantine; the maine roofe is supported by 100 vast columns of marble, and the Mosaiq worke of the greate arch is wrought with a very ancient story A° 440; as is likewise that of the faciata. The gates are brasse made at Constantinople in 1070, as you may reade by those Greeke verses engraven on them. The Church is neere 500 foote long and 258 in breadth, and has 5 great iles joyn'd to it, on the bases of one of whose columns is this odd title: "Fl. Eugenius Asellus C. C. Præf. Urbis V. S. I. reparavit." Here they shew'd us that miraculous Crucifix wch they say spake to St. Brigit: and just before the Ciborio stand two excellent statues. Here are buried part of the bodys of St. Paule and St. Peter. The pavement is richly interwoven wth precious oriental marbles about the high altar, where are also 4 excellent payntings whereof one, representing the *stoning of St. Stephen*, is by the hand of a *Bolognian lady* named Lavinia. The tabernacle on this altar is of excellent architecture, and the pictures in the Chapel del Sacramento are of

Lanfranchi. Diuers other reliques there be also in this venerable Church, as a part of St. Anna; the head of the Woman of Samaria; the chayne wch bound St. Paule, and the Eculeus us'd in tormenting the primitive Christians. The Church stands in the Via Ostensis about a mile from the walls of the Citty, separated from any buildings neere it except the Tria Fontana, to which (leaving our coach) we walked, going over the mountaine or little rising upon wch story says an hundred seaventy and 4 thousand Christians had been martyr'd by Maximianus, Dioclesian, and other blody Tyrants. On this stand St. Vincent's and Anastasius; likewise the Church of St. Maria Scala del Cielo, in whose Tribuna is a very faire Mosaiq worke. The Church of the Tre Fontane (as they are call'd) is perfectly well built tho' but small (whereas that of St. Paule is but Gotiq) having a noble cupola in the middle; in this they shew the pillar to which St. Paule was bound when his head was cut off and from whence it made three prodigious leaps, where there im'ediately broke out the 3 remaining fountaines which give denomination to this Church. The waters are reported to be medicinal; over each is erected an altar and a chayned ladle for better tasting of the waters. That most excellent picture of *St. Peter's crucifixion* is of Guido.

25. I went againe to the Palazzo Farnese, to see some certaine statues and antiquities wch by reason of the *Major Domo* not being within I could not formerly obtaine. In the hall stands that triumphant Colosse of one of the family, upon 3 figures, a modern, but rare piece. About it stood some Gladiators; and at the entrance into one of the first chambers are two cumbent figures of Age and Youth brought hither from St. Peter's to make roome for the Longinus under the cupola. Here was the statue of a ram running at a man on horseback, a most incomparable expression of Fury cut in stone; and a table of Pietra Com'essa very curious. The next chamber was all painted *a fresca* by a rare hand, as was the carving in wood of the cieling wch as I remember was in cedar as the Italian mode is, and not poore plaster as ours are; some of them most richly gilt. In a third rome stood the famous Venus, and the child Hercules strangling a serpent of Corinthian brass antiq, on a very curious bass-relievo; the sacrifice to Priapus; the Egyptian Isis in the hard

black ophit stone taken out of the Pantheon, greately celebrated by the Antiquaries; likewise two tables of brasse containing divers old Roman laws. At another side of this chamber was the statue of a wounded Amazon falling from her horse, worthy the name of the excellent sculptor, whoever the artist was. Neere this was a bass relievo of a Bacchanalia wth a most curious Silenus. The 4th room was totally inviron'd with statues; especialy observable was that so renowned piece of a Venus looking backward over her shoulder, and divers other naked figures by the old Greeke masters. Over the doores are two *Venus's*, one of them looking on her face in a glasse by M. Angelo, the other is painted by Caracci. I never saw finer faces, especialy that under the masque whose beauty and art are not to be describ'd by words. The next chamber is also full of statues most of them ye heads of Philosophers, very antiq. One of the Cæsars and another of Hannibal cost 1200 crownes. Now I had a second view of that never to be sufficiently admired gallery painted in deepe relievo, the worke of 10 yeares study for a trifling reward. In the wardrobe above they shew'd us fine wrought plate, porcelan, mazers of beaten and solid gold set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds; a treasure, espebialy the workmanship consider'd, of inestimable value. This is all the Duke of Parma's. Nothing seem'd to be more curious and rare in its kind then the compleate service of the purest chrystal for ye altar of the Chapell, the very bell, cover of a book, sprinkler, &c. were all of the rock, incomparably sculptur'd with the holy story in deepe Levati; thus was also wrought the crucifix, chalice, vasas, flower-pots, the largest and purest chrystall that my eyes ever beheld. Truely I looked on this as one of the greatest curiosities I had seene in Rome. In another part were presses furnish'd with antiq armes, German clocks, perpetual motions, watches, and curiosities of Indian workes. A very ancient picture of Pope Eugenius; a St. Bernard, and a head of marble found long since, supposed to be a true portrait of our B: Saviour's face.

Hence we went to see Dr. Gibbs, a famous poet and countryman of ours, who had some intendency in an Hospital built on the Via Triumphalis, called Christ's Hospital, wch he shew'd us. The Infirmitory where the sick lay was paved with various colour'd marbles, and the

walls hung wth noble pieces; the beds are very faire; in the middle is a stately cupola, under wch is an altar decked wth divers marble statues, all in sight of the sick, who may both see and heare masse as they lye in their beds. The organs are very fine, and frequently play'd on to recreate the people in paine. To this joyns an apartiment destined for ye orphans; and there is a schoole: the children weare blew like ours in London at an Hospital of the same appellation. Here are 40 nurses who give suck to such children as are accidentaly found expos'd and abandon'd. In another quarter are children of bigger growth, 450 in number, who are taught letters. In another, 500 girles under the tuition of divers religious matrons, in a Monastry, as it were, by itselfe. I was assur'd there were at least 2000 more maintain'd in other places. I think one appartiment had in it neere 1000 beds; these are in a very long rome having an inner passage for those who attend, with as much care, sweetenesse, and conveniency as can be imagin'd, the Italians being generaly very neate. Under the portico the sick may walke out and take ye ayre. Opposite to this are other chambers for such as are sick of maladies of a more rare and difficult cure; and they have romes apart. At ye end of the long corridore is an apothecary's shop, fair and very well stor'd; neere which are chambers for persons of better quality who are yet necessitous. Whatever ye poore bring is at their coming in deliver'd to a treasurer, who makes an inventory and is accoumptable to them or their representatives if they dye. To this building joynes the house of the com'endator, who wth his officers attending the sick make up 90 persons; besides a convent and an ample church for the friers and priests who daily attend. The church is extreamely neate, and the sacristia very rich. Indeede 'tis altogether one of the most pious and worthy foundations I ever saw: nor is the benefit small wch diuers young physitians and chirurgeons reape by the experience they learne here amongst the sick, to whom those students have free accesse. Hence we ascended a very steepe hill neere ye Port St. Pancratio to y^t^ stately fountaine call'd Acqua Paula, being the aquæduct wch Augustus had brought to Rome, now re-edified by Paulus V.; a rare piece of architecture, and which serves the City after a journey of 35 miles, here pouring itselfe into divers ample lavors, out of y^e^

mouthes of swans and dragons, the armes of this Pope. Situate on a very high mount, it makes a most glorious shew to ye Citty, especialy when the sun darts on ye waters as it gusheth out. The inscriptions on it are:

Paulus V. Romanus Pontifex Opt. Max. Aquæductus ab Augusto Cæsare extructos, ævi longinquâ vetustate collapsos, in ampliorem formam restituit anno salutis M.D. CIX. Pont. V.

And towards the feilds,

Paulus V. Rom. Pontifex Optimus Maximus, priori ductu longissimi temporis injuriâ penè diruto, sublimiorem . . . . . .

[One or more leaves are here wanting in Mr. Evelyn's MS. descriptive of other parts of Rome, and of his leaving the City.]

Thence to Veletri, a towne heretofore of the Volsci, where is a publiq and faire statue of P. Urban VIII. in brasse, and a stately fountaine in the streete. Here we lay, and drank excellent wine.

Jan: 28. We dined at Sermoneta, descending all this morning downe a stony mountaine, unpleasant, yet full of olive-trees; and anon passe a towre built on a rock, kept by a small guard against ye Banditti who infest these parts, daily robbing and killing passengers, as my Lord Banbury and his company found to their cost a little before. To this guard we gave some mony, and so were suffer'd to passe, wch was still on ye Appian to the Tres Tabernæ (whither the breathren came from Rome to meete St. Paule, Acts, c. 28); the ruines whereof are yet very faire, resembling the remainder of some considerable edifice, as may be judged by the vast stones and fairenesse of ye arched worke. The country invironing this passage is hilly, but rich; on the right hand stretches an ample playne, being the Pomptini Campi. We repos'd this night at Piperno, in the Post-house without the towne; and here I was extreamely troubled with a sore hand from a mischance at Rome, wch now began to fester, upon my base, unlucky, stiff-necked, trotting, carrion mule, which are in the world the most wretched beasts. In this towne was ye Poet Virgil's Camilla borne.

The day following we were faine to hire a strong convey of about 30 firelocks to guard us through the Cork-woods (much infested wth ye Banditti) as far as Nova Fossa, where was ye Appii Forum, and now stands a Church with a greate Monastry, the place where Thomas

Aquinas both studied and lyes buried. Here we all alighted, and were most courteously received by the Monks, who shew'd us many reliques of their learned Saint, and at the high altar the print forsooth of the mule's hoofe wch he caused to kneele before the Host. The Church is old, built after the Gotiq manner; but the place is very agreeably melancholy. After this, pursuing the same noble [Appian] way (wch we had before left a little) we found it to stretch from Capua to Rome itselfe, and afterwards as far as Brundusium. It was built by that famous Consul, 25 foote broad, every 12 foote something ascending for the ease and firmer footing of horse and man; both the sides are also a little rais'd for those who travell on foote. The whole is paved with a kind of beach-stone, and, as I sayd, ever and anon adorn'd with some old ruine, sepulcher, or broken statue. In one of these monuments Pancirollus tells us that in the time of Paul III. there was found the body of a young lady swimming in a kind of bath of precious oyle or liquor, fresh and entire as if she had been living, neither her face discolour'd, nor her haire disorder'd; at her feete burnt a lamp which suddainely expir'd at ye opening of the vault; having flam'd, as was computed, now 1500 yeares, by the conjecture that she was Tulliola the daughter of Cicero whose body was thus found, and as the inscription testified. We din'd this day at Terracina, heretofore ye famous Anxur, wch stands upon a very eminent promontory, the Cercean by name. Whilst meate was preparing I went up into ye town, and view'd the fayre remainders of Jupiter's Temple, now converted into a Church, adorn'd with most stately columns; its architecture has been excellent, as may be deduc'd from the goodly cornices, mouldings, and huge white marbles of which 'tis built. Before the portico stands a pillar thus inscrib'd:

Inclyta Gothorum Regis monumenta vetusta
Anxuri hoc Oculos exposuere loco.

for it seemes Theodoric drayn'd their marches.

On another more ancient:

Imp. Cæsar Divi Nervæ Filius Nerva Trajanus Aug. Germanicus Dacicus. Pontif. Max. Trib. Pop. XVIII. Imp. VI. Cos. V. P.P. XVIII. Silices suâ pecuniâ stravit.

Meaning doubtlesse some part of the Via Appia. Then,

Tit. Upio. Aug. optato Pontano Procuratori et Præfect. Classis—Ti. Julius T. Fab. optatus II vir.

Here is likewise a Columna Miliaria with something engraven on it, but I could not stay to consider it. Coming down againe I went towards the sea side to contemplate that stupendious strange rock and promontory, cleft by hand, I suppose, for the better passage. Within this is the Cercean Cave, which I went into a good way; it makes a dreadfull noyse by reason of the roaring and impetuous waves continualy assaulting the beach, and that in an unusual manner. At the top at an excessive height stands an old and very greate castle. We ariv'd this night at Fundi, a most dangerous passage for robbing; and so we pass'd by Galba's Villa, and anon entred the kingdome of Naples, where at the gate this epigraph saluted us: "Hospes hic sunt fines Regni Neopolitani; si amicus advenis, pacatè omnia invenies, et malis moribus pulsis, bonas leges." The Via Appia is here a noble prospect; having before consider'd how it was carried through vast mountaines of rocks for many miles, by most stupendious labour: here it is infinitely pleasant, beset wth sepulchres and antiquities, full of sweete shrubbs in the invironing hedges. At Fundi we had orangès and citrons for nothing, the trees growing in every corner, charged with fruite.

29. We descried Mount Cæcubus, famous for the generous wine it heretofore produc'd, and so rid onward the Appian Way, beset with myrtils, lentiscus, bayes, pomegranads, and whole groves of orange-trees and most delicious shrubbs, till we came to Formiana, where they shew'd us Cicero's Tomb standing in an olive grove, now a rude heap of stones, without forme or beauty; for here that incomparable Orator was murther'd. I shall never forget how exceedingly I was delighted with the sweetenesse of this passage, the sepulcher mixed amongst all sorts of verdure; besides being now come within sight of the noble Citty Cajeta, wch gives a surprizing prospect along the Tyrrhen Sea in manner of a Theater: and here we beheld that strangely cleft rock, a frightfull spectacle, wch they say happen'd upon the passion of our Bl. Saviour; but the hast of o^r^ Procaccio did not suffer us to dwell so long on these objects, and the many antiquities of this towne, as we desired.

At Formia we saw Cicero's grott, dining at Mola, and passing Senuessa, Garigliano (once the Citty Minterna), and beheld the ruines of that vast amphitheatre and aquæduct yet standing; the river Liris, wch bounded the old Latium, Falernus, or Mons Massicus, celebrated for its wine, now named Garo; and this night we lodged at a little village called Agatha, in the Falernian Feilds neere to Aurunca and Sessa.

The next day, having passed [the river] Vulturnus, we come by the Torre di Francolesse, where Hannibal in danger from Fabius Maximus escaped by debauching his enemyes; and so at last we enter'd the most pleasant plaines of Campania, now call'd Terra di Lavoro; in very truth, I thinke, the most fertile spot that ever the sun shone upon. Here we saw the slender ruines of the once mighty Capua, contending at once both with Rome and Carthage, for splendor and empire, now nothing but a heape of rubbish, except shewing some vestige of its former magnificence in pieces of temples, arches, theaters, columns, ports, vaults, colossas, &c. confounded together by the barbarous Goths and Longobards; there is however a new Citty, neerer to ye road by two miles, fairely rays'd out of these heapes. The passage from this towne to Naples (wch is about 10 or 12 English post miles,) is as straight as a line, of great breadth, fuller of travellers than I remember any of our greatest and most frequented roads neere London; but what is extreamely pleasing, is the great fertility of the feilds, planted with fruit-trees, whose boles are serpented with excellent vines, and they so exuberant that 'tis commonly reported one vine will loade 5 mules with its grapes. What adds much to the pleasure of the sight is that the vines, climbing to the summit of the trees, reach in festoons and fruitages from one tree to another, planted at exact distances, forming a more delightful picture than painting can describe. Here grow rice, canes for suggar, olives, pomegranads, mulberrys, cittrons, oranges, figgs, and other sorts of rare fruits. About the middle of the way is the towne Aversa, whither came 3 or 4 coaches to meete our lady-travellers, of whom we now tooke leave, having ben very merry by the way with them and the capitano their gallant.

31 Jan. About noone we enter'd the Citty of Naples, alighting at the 3 Kings, where we found the most plentifull fare all the tyme we

were in Naples. Provisions are wonderfully cheape; we seldom sat downe to fewer than 18 or 20 dishes of exquisite meate and fruites.

The morrow after o^r arival, in the afternoone, we hired a coach to carry us about the towne. First we went to the Castle of St. Elmo, built on a very high rock, whence we had an intire prospect of ye whole Citty, which lyes in shape of a theatre upon the sea brinke, with all the circumjacent islands, as far as Capreæ, famous for the debauched recesses of Tiberius. This Fort is the bridle of the whole Citty, and was well stor'd and garrison'd with native Spanyards. The strangenesse of the precipice and rarenesse of the prospect of so many magnificent and stately Palaces, Churches, and Monasteries, wth the Arsenall, the Mole, and Mount Vesuvius in the distance, all in full com'and of ye eye, make it one of the richest landskips in the world.

Hence we descended to another strong Castle, cal'd Il Castello Nuovo, which protects the shore, but they would by no intreaty permit us to go in; the outward defence seemes to consist but in 4 towrs, very high, and an exceeding deepe graft with thick walls. Opposite to this is the Toure of St. Vincent, wch is also very strong.

Then we went to the very noble Palace of the Viceroy, partly old and part of a newer work, but we did not stay long here. Towards ye evening we tooke the ayre upon the Mole, which is a streete on the rampart or banke rays'd in ye Sea for security of their gallys in port, built as that of Genoa. Here I observed a rich fountaine in the middle of the Piazza, and adorn'd with divers rare statues of copper representing the Sirens or Deities of the Parthenope, spouting large streames of water into an ample shell, all of cast metall, and of great cost; this stands at the entrance of ye Mole, where wee mett many of the Nobility both on horseback and in their coaches to take the *fresco* from the Sea, as the manner is, it being in the most advantageous quarter for good ayre, delight, and prospect. Here we saw divers goodly horses who handsomly become their riders, the Neapolitan gentlemen. This Mole is about 500 paces in length, and paved with a square hewn stone. From the Mole we ascend to a Church, of greate antiquity, formerly sacred to Castor and Pollux, as the Greeke letters carv'd on the architrave and the busts of their two statues testify. It is now converted into a stately Oratory by the Theatines.

The Cathedrall is a most magnificent pile, and, except St. Peter's in Rome, Naples exceeds all Cittys for stately Churches and Monasteries. We were told that this day the blood of St. Genuarius and his head should be expos'd, and so we found it, but obtain'd not to see the miracle of the boiling of this blood, as was told us. The next we went to see was St. Peter's, richly adorned, the Chapel especialy, where that Apostle sayd masse, as is testified on the walle.

After dinner we went to St. Dominic, where they shew'd us the Crucifix that is reported to have sayd these words to St. Thomas, "Benè de me scripsisti Thoma." Hence to the Padri Olivetani, famous for the monument of the learned Alexand. ab Alexandro.

We went the next day to visite the Church of Sta Maria Maggiore, where we spent much tyme in surveying the Chapell of Joh. Jov. Pontanus, and in it the severall and excellent sentences and epitaphs on himselfe, wife, children, and friends, full of rare witt and worthy of recording as we find them in severall writers. In the same Chapell is shew'd an arme of Titus Livius wth this epigraph; "Titi Livij brachium quod Anton. Panormita a Patavinis impetravit, Jo. Jovianus Pontanus multos post annos hoc in loco ponendum curavit."

Climbing a steepe hill we came to the Monastery and Church of the Carthusians, from whence is a most goodly prospect towards the Sea and Citty, the one full of gallys and ships, the other of stately palaces, churches, monasteries, castles, gardens, delicious fields and meadows, Mount Vesuvius smoaking, the Promontory of Minerva and Misenum, Capreæ, Prochyta, Ischia, Pausilipe, Puteoli, and the rest, doubtlesse one of the most divertisant and considerable vistas in ye world. The Church is most elegantly built; the very pavements of the common cloyster being all layd wth variously polish'd marbles richly figur'd. They shew'd us a massie crosse of silver much celebrated for the workmanship and carving, and sayd to have been 14 yeares in perfecting. The Quire also is of rare arte; but above all to be admir'd is the yet unfinish'd Church of the Jesuites, certainly if accomplished not to be equal'd in Europe. Hence we pass'd by the Palazzo Caraffi, full of ancient and very noble statues: also the Palace of the Ursini. The next day we did little but visite some friends, English merchants resi-

dent for their negotiation; onely this morning at the Viceroy's Cavalerizzo I saw the noblest horses that I had ever beheld, one of his sonns riding the *menage* with that addresse and dexterity as I had never seene any thing approch it.

4 Feb. We were invited to the collection of exotic rarities in the Museum of Ferdinando Imperati, a Neapolitan nobleman, and one of the most observable palaces in the Citty, the repository of incomparable rarities. Amongst the naturall Herbals most remarkable was the *Byssus marina* and *Pinna marina;* the male and female Camelion; an *Onacratulus;* an extraordinary greate Crocodile; some of the *Orcades Anates*, held here for a great rarity; likewise a Salamander; the male and female *Manucodiata*, the male having an hollow in the back, in w^ch 'tis reported the female both layes and hatches her egg; the Mandragoras of both sexes; *Papyrus* made of severall reedes, and some of silke; tables of the rinds of trees written wth Japoniq characters; another of the branches of palme; many Indian fruites; a chrystal that had a quantity of uncongealed water within its cavity; a petrified fisher's net; divers sorts of Tarantulas, being a monstrous spider with lark-like clawes, and somewhat bigger.

5 Feb. The next day we beheld the Vice-king's procession, wch was very splendid for the reliques, banners, and musiq, which accompanied the B. Sacrament. The ceremony tooke up most of the morning.

6 Feb. We went by coach to take the ayre, and see ye diversions or rather maddnesse of the Carnival; the courtisans (who swarme in this Citty to the number, as we are told, of 30,000, registred and paying a tax to ye State) flinging eggs of sweete water into our coach as we passed by the houses and windows. Indeed the towne is so pester'd with these cattell, that there needes no small mortification to preserve from their enchantment, whilst they display all their naturall and artificiall beauty, play, sing, feigne compliment, and by a thousand studied devices seeke to inveigle foolish young men.

7. The next day being Saturday we went 4 miles out of towne on mules to see that famous Volcano Mount Vesuvius. Here we passe a faire fountaine cal'd Labulla, wch continually boyles, suppos'd to proceed from Vesuvius, and thence over a river and bridg, where on a

large upright stone is engraven a notable inscription relative to the memorable eruption in 1630*.

Approching the hill as we were able with our mules, we alighted crawling up the rest of the proclivity with great difficulty, now wth our feete, now with our hands, not without many untoward slipps which did much bruise us on the various colour'd cinders wth which the whole mountaine is cover'd, some like pitch, others full of perfect brimstone, others metaliq, interspers'd with innumerable pumices (of all wch I made a collection), we at the last gain'd the sum'it of an excessive altitude; turning o^r^ faces towards Naples, it presents one of the goodliest prospects in the world; all the Baiæ, Cuma, Elysian Fields, Capreæ, Ischia, Prochita, Misenus, Puteoli, that goodly Citty, with a great portion of the Tyrrhan Sea, offering themselves to your view at once, and at so agreeable a distance, as nothing can be more delightfull. The mountaine consists of a double top, the one pointed very sharp, and com'only appearing above any clouds, the other blunt. Here as we approch'd we met many large gaping clefts and chasms, out of which issued such sulphureous blasts and smoke that we durst not stand long neere them. Having gain'd the very summit, I layd myself downe to looke over and into that most frightfull and terrible vorago, a stupendious pit of neere three miles in circuit and halfe a mile in depth, by a perpendicular hollow cliffe (like that from the highest part of Dover Castle), with now and then a craggy prominency jetting out. The area at the bottom is plaine like an even'd floore, which seemes to be made by the winds circling the ashes by its eddy blasts. In the middle and center is a hill shaped like a greate browne loafe, appearing to consist of sulphurous matter, continualy vomiting a foggy exhalation, and ejecting huge stones with an impetuous noise and roaring like the report of many musquets discharging. This horrid Barathrum engaged our attention for some houres, both for the strangnesse of the spectacle and ye mention which the old histories make of it, as one of the most stupendious curiosities in nature, and which made the learned and inquisitive Pliny adventure his life to detect the causes,

* It may be seen at length in Wright's Travels, and in Misson's New Voyage to Italy, vol. I. p. 431.

and to loose it in too desperate an approch. It is likewise famous for the stratagem of the rebell Spartacus, who did so much mischiefe to the State, lurking amongst and protected by these horrid caverns, when it was more accessible and lesse dangerous than now it is; but especialy notorious it is for the last conflagration, when, in an° 1630, it burst out beyond what it had ever don in the memory of history, throwing out huge stones and fiery pumices in such quantity as not onely inviron'd the whole mountaine, but totaly buried and overwhelm'd divers townes and their inhabitants, scattering the ashes more than an hundred miles, and utterly devastating all those vineyards where formerly grew the most incomparable Greco; when bursting thro' the bowels of the earth it absorb'd the very Sea, and with its whirling waters drew in divers gallyes and other vessells to their destruction, as is faithfully recorded. We descended with more ease than we climb'd up, thro' a deepe vallie of pure ashes, wch at the late eruption was a flowing river of mealted and burning brimstone, and so came to our mules at the foote of the mountaine.

On Sunday we with our guide visited the so much celebrated Baiæ and natural rarities of the places adjacent. Here we enter the mountaine Pausilipo, at the left hand of which they shew'd us Virgil's sepulchre erected on a steepe rock, in forme of a small rotunda or cupolated columne, but almost overgrowne with bushes and wild baye trees. At the entrance is this inscription:

Stanisi Cencovius.
1589.
Qui cineres? Tumuli hæc vestigia, conditur olim
Ille hoc qui cecinit Pascua, Rura, Duces.
Can. Ree MDLIII.*

After we were advanc'd into this noble and altogether wonderfull crypt, consisting of a passage spacious enough for two coaches to go

* Such is the inscription, as copied by Mr. Evelyn; but as its sense is not very clear, and as the Diary contains instances of incorrectness in transcribing, the Editor has thought it desirable to subjoin the distich said by Keysler in his Travels, vol. II. p. 433, to be the only one in the whole mausoleum:

"Quæ cineris tumulo hæc vestigia? conditur olim
Ille hoc qui cecinit, pascua, rura, duces."

on breast, cut thro' a rocky mountaine neere three quarters of a mile, (by the ancient Cimmerii as reported, but as others say by L. Cocceius, who employ'd an hundred thousand men on it,) we came to the midway, where there is a well bor'd through the diameter of this vast mountaine, which admitts the light into a pretty chapel, hewn out of the natural rock, wherein hang divers lamps perpetualy burning. The way is pav'd under foote, but it does not hinder the dust, which rises so excessively in this much frequented passage that we were forc'd at mid-day to use a torch. At length we were deliver'd from the bowels of the earth into one of the most delicious plaines in the world: the oranges, lemons, pomegranads, and other fruites, blushing yet on the perpetualy greene trees; for the summer is here eternal, caus'd by the natural and adventitious heate of the earth, warm'd through the subterranean fires, as was shewn us by our guide, who alighted, and cutting up a turf wth his knife, and delivering it to me, was so hot I was hardly able to hold it in my hands. This mountaine is exceedingly fruitfull in vines, and exotics grow readily. We now came to a lake of about two miles in circumference, inviron'd with hills; the water of it is fresh and swete on the surface but salt at botome, some mineral salt conjectured to be the cause, and 'tis reported of that profunditude in the middle that it is botomelesse. The people call it Lago di Agnano from the multitude of serpents which involved together about the spring fall downe from the cliffy hills into it. It has no fish, nor will any live in it. We tried the old experiment on a dog in the Grotto del Cane, or Charon's Cave; it is not above three or four paces deepe, and about the height of a man, nor very broad. Whatever having life enters it presently expires. Of this we made tryal with two doggs, one of which we bound to a short pole to guide him the more directly into the further part of the den, where he was no sooner enter'd, but without the least noyse, or so much as a struggle, except that he panted for breath, lolling out his tongue, his eyes being fix'd; we drew him out dead to all appearance, but immediately plunging him into ye adjoyning lake, within lesse than halfe an houre he recover'd, and swimming to shore ran away from us. We tried the same on another dogg without the application of the

water, and left him quite dead. The experiment has been made on men, as on that poore creature whom Peter of Toledo caus'd to go in; likewise on some Turkish slaves; two souldiers, and other foole-hardy persons, who all perished, and could never be recover'd by the water of the lake as are doggs, for which many learned reasons have ben offer'd, as Simon Majolus in his booke of the Canicular-dayes has mention'd, colloq. 15. And certainely the most likely is, the effect of those hot and dry vapours which ascend out of the earth and are condensed by the ambient cold, as appeares by their converting into chrystaline drops on ye top, whilst at the botome 'tis so excessively hott that a torch being extinguished neere it, and lifted a little distance, was suddainely re-lighted. Neere to this cave are the natural stoves of St. Germain, of the nature of sudatories, in certaine chambers partition'd with stone for the sick to sweate in, the vapours here being exceedingly hot, and of admirable successe in the goute and other cold distempers of the nerves. Hence we climb'd up an hill, the very highway in several places even smoaking wth heate like a fournace. The mountaines were by the Greekes called Leucoyei, and the fields Phlægrean. Hercules here vanquished the Gyants assisted with lightning. We now came to the Court of Vulcan, consisting of a valley neere a quarter of a mile in breadth, the margent inviron'd with steepe cliffs, out of whose sides and foote break forth fire and smoke in aboundance, making a noyse like a tempest of water, and sometimes discharging in lowd reports like so many guns. The heate of this place is wonderfull, the earth itselfe being almost unsufferable, and which the subterranean fires have made so hollow, by having wasted the matter for so many yeares, that it sounds like a drum to those who walke upon it; and the water thus struggling with those fires bubbles and spoutes aloft into the ayre. The mouthes of these spiracles are bestrew'd with variously-colour'd cinders, which rise wth the vapour, as do many colour'd stones, according to the quality of the combustible matter, insomuch as 'tis no little adventure to approch them; they are however daily frequented both by sick and well, the former receiving the fumes have been recover'd of diseases esteem'd incurable. Here we found a greate deal of sulphure made, which they refine in certaine houses neere the place, casting it into canes, to a very

greate value. Neere this we were shew'd an hill of alume, where is one of the best mineries, yielding a considerable revenue. Some flowres of brasse are found here: but I could not but smile at those who perswade themselves that here are the Gates of Purgatory, (for which it may be they have erected very neere it a Convent and named it St. Januarius,) reporting to have often heard screeches and horrible lamentations proceeding from these caverns and vulcanos; with other legends of birds that are never seene save on Sundayes, which cast themselves into the lake at night, appearing no more all ye weeke after.

We now approch'd the ruines of a very stately Temple or Theater of 172 foote in length and about 80 in breadth, throwne downe by an earthquake not long since; it was consecrated to Vulcan, and under the ground are many strange meanders, from wch it is nam'd the Labyrinth; this place is so haunted with batts that their perpetual fluttering endanger'd the putting out our linkes.

Hence we passed againe those boiling and smoking hills till we came to Puzzolo, formerly the famous Puteoli, the landing-place of St. Paule when he came into Italy after the tempest described in the Acts of the Apostles. Here we made a good dinner, and bought divers medailes and other curiosities, antiquities, &c. of the country people, who daily find such things amongst the very old ruines of those places. This Towne was formerly a Greeke Colonie, built by the Samians, a reasonable commodious Port, and full of observable antiquities. We saw the ruines of Neptune's Temple, to whom this place was sacred, and neere it the stately palace and gardens of Peter de Toledo, formerly mentioned. Afterwards we visited that admirably built Temple of Augustus, seeming to have ben hewn out of an intire rock, tho' indeede consisting of several square stones. The inscription remaines thus, "L. Calphurnius L. E. Templum Augusto cum ornamentis D. D." and under it; "L. Coccejus L. C. Postumi L. Auctus Architectus." It is now converted into a Church, in which they shew'd us huge bones, wch they affirme to have ben of some gyant.

We went to see the ruines of the old Haven, so compact with that bituminous sand in which the materials are layd, as the like is hardly to be found, though all this has not ben sufficient to protect it from the

fatal concussions of several earthquakes (frequent here) which have almost demolish'd it, 13 vast piles of marble onely remaining, a stupendous worke in the bosome of Neptune! To this joynes the bridg of Caligula, by which (having now embarqu'd ourselves) we sail'd to the pleasant Baiæ, almost 4 miles in length, all which way that prowd Emperor would passe in triumph. Here we row'd along towards a villa of the orator Cicero's, where we were shew'd the ruines of his Academy, and at the foote of a rock his Bathes, the waters reciprocating their tides wth the neighbouring sea. Hard at hand rises Mount Gaurus, being, as I conceiv'd, nothing save an heape of pumices, which here floate in aboundance on the sea, exhausted of all inflammable matter by the fire, wch renders them light and porous, so as the beds of niter wch lye deepe under them having taken fire dos easily eject them. They dig much for fancied treasure said to be conceil'd about this place. From hence we coasted neere the ruines of Portus Julius, where we might see divers stately palaces y^t^ had ben swallow'd up by the sea after earthquakes. Coming to shore we passe by the Lucrine Lake, so famous heretofore for its delicious oysters, now producing few or none, being divided from ye sea by a banke of incredible labour, the suppos'd worke of Hercules; 'tis now halfe chock'd up wth rubbish, and by part of the new mountaine, which rose partly out of it, and partly out of the sea, and that in the space of one night and a day, to neere the altitude of a mile, on the 29th Sept. 1538, after many terrible earthquakes wch ruined divers places thereabout, when at midnight the sea retiring neere 200 paces, and yawning on ye sudaine, it continued to vomit forth flames and fiery stones in such quantity as produced this whole mountaine by their fall, making the inhabitants of Puzzole to leave their habitations, supposing the end of the world had ben come.

From the left part of this we walked to the Lake Avernus, of a round forme, and totaly inviron'd wth mountaines. This lake was fain'd by the Poete for the gates of Hell, by wch Æneas made his descent, and where they sacrificed to Pluto and the Manes. The waters are of a remarkable black colour, but I tasted of them without danger; hence they faigne y^t^ the river Styx has its sourse. At one side stand the handsome ruines of a Temple dedicated to Apollo, or

rather Pluto, but 'tis controverted. Opposite to this, having new lighted our torches, we enter a vast cave, in which having gon about two hundred paces, we passe a narrow entry which lead us into a roome of about 10 paces long, proportionable broad and high; the side walls and roofe retaine still the golden Mosaiq, though now exceedingly decay'd by time. Here is a short cell, or rather niche, cut out of ye solid rock, somewhat resembling a couch, in which they report that the Sibylla lay and utter'd her oracles; but is supposed by most to have been a bath onely. This subterranean grott leads quite through to Cuma, but is in some places obstructed by the earth wch has sunk in, so as we were constrain'd back againe & to creep on our bellys before we came to the light. 'Tis reported Nero had once resolved to cut a channel for two greate gallys y^t^ should have extended to Ostia, an 150 miles distant. The people now call it Licola.

From hence we ascended to y^t^ most ancient Citty of Italy, the renowned Cuma, built by ye Grecians. It stands on a very eminent promontory, but is now an heape of ruines. A little below stands the Arco Felice, heretofore part of Apollo's Temple, with the foundations of divers goodly buildings; amongst whose heapes are frequently found statues and other antiquities, by such as dig for them. Neere this is the Lake Acherutia and Acheron. Returning to the shore we came to the Bagnie de Tritoli and Diana, wch are onely long narrow passages cut through the maine rock, where the vapours ascend so hot that entring wth the body erect you will even faint wth excessive perspiration, but stooping lower as suddaine a cold surprizes. These sudatories are much in request for many infirmityes. Now we enter'd the haven of the Baiæ, where once stood that famous Towne, so call'd from the Companion of Ulysses here buried; not without greate reason celebrated for one of the most delicious places that the sunn shines on, according to that of Horace:

"Nullus in Orbe locus Baiis prælucet amœnis."

Though as to the stately fabrics there now remaine little save the ruines, whereof the most intire is that of Diana's Temple, and another of Venus. Here were those famous pooles of lampreys that would

come to hand when call'd by name, as Martial tells us. On the sum'ite of the rock stands a strong Castle garison'd to protect the shore from Turkish Pyrates. It was once the retyring place of Julius Cæsar.

Passing by ye shore againe we entered Bauli, observable from the monstrous murther of Nero com'itted on his mother Agrippina. Her sepulchre was yet shew'd us in the rock, wch we enter'd, being cover'd with sundry heads and figures of beasts. We saw there the rootes of a tree turn'd into stone, and are continualy dropping.

Thus having view'd the foundations of the old Cimeria, the palaces of Marius, Pompey, Nero, Hortensius, and other villas and antiquities, we proceeded towards the Promontory of Misenus, renown'd for ye sepulchre of Æneas's Trumpeter. 'Twas once a greate Citty, now hardly a ruine, sayd to have ben built from this place to the Promontory of Minerva, 50 miles distant, now discontinu'd and demolish'd by the frequent earthquakes. Here was the villa of Caius Marius, where Tiberius Cæsar died; and here runs the Aquæduct, thought to be dug by Nero, a stupendous passage, heretofore nobly arched wth marble, as the ruines testifie. Hence we walked to those receptacles of water cal'd *Piscina Mirabilis*, being a vault of 500 feet long, and 22 in breadth, the roofe prop'd up with 4 rankes of square pillars, 12 in a row; the walls are brick plaster'd over wth such a composition as for strength and politure resembles white marble. 'Tis conceiv'd to have ben built by Nero, as a conservatory for fresh water; as were also the Centi Camerelli, into which we were next led. All these Crypta being now almost sunke into ye earth, shew yet their former amplitude and magnificence.

Returning towards the Baiæ we againe passe the Elyssian Fields, so celebrated by the Poetes, nor unworthily, for their situation and verdure, being full of myrtils and sweete shrubs, and having a most delightful prospect towards the Tyrrhen Sea. Upon the verge of these remaine the ruines of the Mercato di Sabato, formerly a Circus; over the arches stand divers urnes full of Roman ashes.

Having well satisfied our curiosity among these Antiquities, we retir'd to our felucca, wch row'd us back againe towards Puzzolo, at the very place of St. Paule's landing. Keeping along the shore

they shew'd us a place where the sea-water and sands did exceedingly boyle. Thence to ye Island Nesis, once the fabulous Nymph; and thus we leave the Baiæ, so renowned for the sweete retirements of the most opulent and voluptuous Romans. They certainly were places of uncommon amœnitie, as their yet tempting site and other circumstances of natural curiosities easily invite me to believe, since there is not in the world so many stupendious rarities to be met with as in the circle of a few miles which inviron these blissfull aboades.

8 Feb. We went to see the Arsenal, well furnish'd with gallies and other vessells. The Citty is crowded with inhabitants, gentlemen and merchants. The Government is held of the Pope by an annual tribute of 40,000 ducats and a white Genet; but the Spanyard trusts more to the power of those his natural subjects there; Apulia and Calabria yielding him neere 4 millions of crownes yearely to maintaine it. The country is divided into 13 Provinces, 20 Archbishops, and 107 Bishops. The estates of the Nobility, in default of the male line, reverting to the King. Besides the Vice-Roy there is amongst the Chiefe Magistrates an High Constable, Admiral, Chiefe Justice, Greate Chamberlaine, and Chancelor, with a Secretary; these being prodigiously avaricious, do wonderfully inrich themselves out of the miserable people's labour, silks, manna, sugar, oyle, wine, rice, sulphur, and alome, for wth all these riches is this delicious country blest. The manna falls at certain seasons on the adjoyning hills in forme of a thick deuw. The very Winter here is a Summer, ever fruitefull, so that in the middle of February we had melons, cheries, abricots, and many other sorts of fruite.

The building of the Citty is for the size the most magnificent of any in Europe, the streetes exceeding large, well paved, having many vaults and conveyances under them for the sullage, wch renders them very sweete and cleane even in the midst of winter. To it belongeth more than 3000 Churches and Monasteries, and those the best built and adorn'd of any in Italy. They greately affect the Spanish gravity in their habite; delight in good horses; the streetes are full of gallants on horseback, in coaches and sedans, from hence brought first into England by Sir Sanders Duncomb. The women are generaly well

featur'd; but excessively libidinous. The country-people so jovial and addicted to musick, that the very husbandmen almost universaly play on the guitarr, singing and composing songs in prayse of their sweetehearts, and wil commonly goe to the field wth their fiddle; they are merry, witty, and genial, all wch I much attribute to the excellent quality of the ayre. They have a deadly hatred to the French, so that some of our company were flouted at for wearing red cloakes, as the mode then was.

This I made the *non ultra* of my travels, sufficiently sated with rolling up and downe, and resolving within myselfe to be no longer an *individuum vagum* if ever I got home againe, since from the report of divers experienc'd and curious persons I had ben assur'd there was little more to be seene in the rest of the civil world, after Italy, France, Flanders, and the Low Country, but plaine and prodigious barbarisme.

Thus about the 7th of Feb. we sat out on our return to Rome by the same way we came, not daring to adventure by Sea, as some of our company were inclin'd to do, for fear of Turkish pirates hovering on that coast; nor made we any stay save at Albano, to view the celebrated place and sepulchre of the famous Duelists who decided the ancient quarrell betweene their imperious neighbours wth the loss of their lives. These brothers, the Horatij and Curiatij, lye buried neere the high-way, under two ancient pyramids of stone, now somewhat decay'd and overgrowne with rubbish. We tooke the opportunity of tasting the wine here, which is famous.

Being arived at Rome on the 13th Feb. we were againe invited to Sign^r^. Angeloni's study *, where wth greater leysure we survey'd the rarities, as his cabinet and medaills especialy, esteem'd one of the best collections of them in Europe. He also shew'd us two antiq lamps, one of them dedicated to *Palas*, the other *Laribus Sacru'*, as appeared by their inscriptions; some old Roman rings and keyes; the Ægyptian Isis cast in yron; sundry rare bass-relievos; good pieces of paynting, principally the *Christ* of Corregio, wth this painter's owne face admirably don by himselfe; divers of both ye Bassanos; a greate number

* See p. 99.

of pieces by Titian, particularly the *Triumphs;* an infinity of naturall rarities, dry'd animals, Indian habits and weapons, shells, &c.; divers very antiq statues of brasse; some lamps of so fine an earth that they resembled cornelians for transparency and colour; hinges of Corinthian brasse, and one greate nayle of the same mettal found in the ruines of Nero's golden house.

In the afternoone we ferried over to Transtevere, to the Palace of Gichi *, to review the works of Raphael: and returning by St. Angelo, we saw the Castle as far as was permitted, and on the other side considered those admirable pilasters suppos'd to be of the foundation of the Pons Sublicius, over which Hor. Coclès pass'd; here ankor 3 or 4 water-mills invented by Belizarius: and thence had another sight of the Farnesi's gardens †, and of the tarrace where is that admirable paynting of Raphael, being a *Cupid playing with a Dolphin*, wrought *à fresca*, preserv'd in shutters of wainscott, as well it merites, being certainely one of the most wonderful pieces of worke in the world.

14 Feb. I went to Sta Cecilia, a church built and endow'd by Card^l^. Sfrondæti, who has erected a stately altar neere the body of this martyr, not long before found in a vesture of silk girt about, a veile on her head, and the bloody scarrs of 3 wounds on the neck; the body is now in a silver chest, wth her statue over it in snow-white marble. Other Saints lie here decorated with splendid ornaments, lamps, and incensories of greate cost. A little farther they shew us the Bathe of St. Cecilia, to wch joynes a Convent of Friers, where is the picture of the *Flagellation* by Vanni, and the columns of the Portico taken from the Bathes of Septimius Severus.

15 Feb. Mr. Henshaw and I walked by the Tyber and visited the Stola Tybertina (now St. Bartholomew's), formerly cut in the shape of a ship, and wharfed with marble, in which a lofty obelisq represented the mast. In the Church of St. Bartholomew is the body of the Apostle. Here are the ruines of the Temple of Æsculapius, now converted into a stately Hospital and a pretty Convent. Opposite to it is the Convent and Church of St. John Calabita, where I saw nothing

* See p. 123. † See p. 91.

remarkable save an old broken altar. Here was the Temple of Fortuna Virilis. Hence we went to a cupola, now a Church, formerly dedicated to the Sun. Opposite to it Sta Maria Schola Græca, where formerly that tongue was taught, said to be the second Church dedicated in Rome to the Bl. Virgin, bearing also the title of a Cardinalat. Behind this stands the greate altar of Hercules, much demolish'd. Neere this, being at the foote of Mount Aventine, are the Pope's salt-houses. Ascending the hill we came to St. Sabina, an ancient fabric, formerly sacred to Diana; there in a Chapel is an admirable picture, the work of Livia Fontana, set about with columns of alabaster, and in the middle of the Church is a stone, cast as they report, by the Devil at St. Dominic whilst he was at masse. Hence we travelled towards an heape of rubbish called the *Marmorata* on the bank of the Tyber, a magazine of stones, and neere which formerly stood a triumphal arch in honor of Horatius vanquishing the Tuscans. The ruines of the bridg. yet appeare.

We were now got to Mons Testæceus, an heape of potshards almost 200 foote high, thought to have ben amassed and thrown there by the subjects of the Commonwealth bringing their tribute in earthen vessells, others (more probably) that it was a quarter of the towne where potters lived; at the sum'it Rome affords a noble prospect. Before it is a spacious greene called the Hippodrom, where Olympic games were celebrated, and the people muster'd, as in our London Artillerie-ground. Going hence to the old wall of the Citty, we much admir'd the pyramid or tomb of C. Cestius, of white marble, one of the most ancient intire monuments, inserted in the wall, with this inscription:

"C. Cestius L. F. Pob. Epulo (an order of priests) Pr. Tr. pl. VII. Vir. Epulonum."

And a little beneath:

"Opus absolutum ex testamento diebus CCCXXX. arbitratu. Ponti P. F. Cla. Melæ Heredis et Pothi L."

At the left hand is the Port of St. Paule, once Tergemina, out of which the 3 Horatii pass'd to encounter the Curiatii of Albano. Hence bending homewards by St. Saba, by Antoninus's Bathes (which

we enter'd) is the marble Sepulchre of Vespasian. The thickness of the walls and stately ruines shew the enormous magnitude of these Bathes. Passing by a corner of the Circus Maximus, we view'd the place where stood the Septizonium, demolish'd by Sixtus V. for feare of its falling. Going by M. Cœlius, we beheld the devotions of St. Maria in Navicula, so nam'd from a ship carv'd out in white marble standing on a pedestal before it, suppos'd to be the vowe of one escaped from shipwreck. It has a glorious front to the streete. Adjoining to this are the Horti Mathæi, which only of all the places about ye Citty I omitted visiting, tho' I was told inferiour to no garden in Rome for statues, ancient monûments, aviaries, fountaines, groves, and especialy a noble obelisq; and maintain'd in beauty at the expense of 6000 crownes yearely, which if not expended to keepe up its beauty forfeits the possession of a greater revenue to another family; so curious are they in their villas and places of pleasure, even to excesse.

The next day we went to the once famous Circus Caracalla, in the midst of which there now lay prostrate one of the most stately and ancient Obelisks, full of Ægyptian hieroglyphics. It was broken into 4 pieces when o'rethrowne by the Barbarians, and would have ben purchas'd and transported into England by the magnificent Thomas Earle of Arundel, could it have ben well removed to the sea. This is since set together and placed on the stupenduous artificial rock made by Innocent X. and serving for a fountaine in Piazza Navona, the worke of Bernini, the Pope's Architect. Neere this is the Sepulchre of Metellus, of massy stone, pretty entire, now cal'd Capo di Bove. Hence to a small Oratorie nam'd *Domine quo vadis*, where the tradition is, that our B. Saviour met St. Peter as he fled, and turn'd him back againe.

St. Sebastians was the next, a meane structure (the faciata excepted) but is venerable especialy for the reliques and grotts in wch lie the ashes of many holy men. Here is kept the pontifical chaire sprinkled wth the blood of Pope Stephen, to wch greate devotion is paid; also a well full of Martyrs' bones, and the sepulchre of St. Sebastian, with one of the arrowes [used in shooting him]; these are preserved by the Fulgentine Monks, who have here their Monasterie, and who led us down into a grotto which they affirm'd went divers furlongs under ground; the sides

or walls wch we passed were fill'd with bones and dead bodies, laid as it were on shelfes, whereof some were shut up wth broad stones, and now and then a crosse or a palme cut in them. At the end of some of these subterranean passages were square roomes with altars in them, said to have ben the receptacles of primitive Christians in the times of persecution, nor seems it improbable.

17 Feb. I was invited after dinner to the Academie of the Humorists, kept in a spacious hall belonging to Sign^r^. Mancini, where the Witts of the towne meete on certaine daies to recite poems, and debate on severall subjects. The first y^t^ speakes is cal'd the Lord, and stands in an eminent place, and then the rest of the Virtuosi recite in order. By these ingenious exercises, besides the learn'd discourses, is the purity of the Italian tongue daily improv'd. The roome is hung round with devises or emblemes, wth mottos under them. There are severall other Academies of this nature, bearing like fantastical titles. In this of the Humorists is the picture of Guarini, the famous author of the Pastor Fido, once of this society. The cheife part of the day we spent in hearing the academic exercises.

18 Feb. We walked to St. Nicholas in Carcere; it has a faire front, and within are parts of ye bodys of St. Mark and Marcellino; on the Tribuna is a painting of Gentileschi, and the altar of Caval. Baglioni, with some other rare paintings. Coming round from hence we passed by the Circus Flaminius, formerly very large, now totaly in ruines. In the afternoon we visited the English Jesuites, with whose Superior, P. Stafford, I was well acquainted; who received us courteously. They call their Church and College *St. Thomasso de gli Inglesi*, and is a Seminarie. Amongst other trifles they shew the relicq of Beckett, their reputed Martyr. Of paintings there is one of Durante, and many representing the sufferings of severall of their society executed in England, especialy F. Champion.

In the Hospital of the Pelerini della S. Trinita I had seen the feete of many pilgrims wash'd by Princes, Cardinals, and Noble Romans, and serv'd at table, as the Ladys and Noble Women did to other poore creatures in another roome. 'Twas told us that no lesse than four hundred fourty-foure thousand men had ben thus treated in the Jubilee

of 1600, and 25,500 women, as appeares by the Register, wch brings store of money.

Returning homeward I saw the Palace of Cardinal Spada, where is a most magnificent hall painted by Daniel da Volterra and Giulio Piacentino; who made the fret in the little Court; but the rare perspectives are of Bolognesi. Neere this is the Monte Pieta, instituted as a Bank for the Poore, who, if the sum be not greate, may have mony upon pawns, &c. To this joynes St. Martino, to wch belongs a *Schola* or Corporation that do many works of charity. Hence we came through *Campo di Fiori*, or Herb Market, in the midst of which is a fountaine casting water out of a dolphin in coper; and in this Piazza is common execution don.

I went this afternoone to visite my Lord John Somerset, brother to the Marques of Worcester, who had his appartment in Palazzo della Cancellaria, belonging to Cardinal Francesco Barberini as Vice-chancelor of the Church of Rome and Protector of the English. The building is of the famous Architect Bramante, of incrusted marble, with 4 ranks of noble lights; the principal enterance is of Fontana's designe, and all of marble; the portico within sustain'd by massie columns; on the second peristyle above, the chambers are rarely painted by Salviati and Vasari; and so ample is this Palace that 6 Princes with their families have ben receiv'd in it at one time, without incommoding each other.

20 Feb. I went (as was my usual costome) and spent an afternoone in Piazza Navona, as well to see what antiquities I could purchase among the people who hold mercat there for medaills, pictures, and such curiosities, as to heare the Montebanks prate and distribute their medicines. This was formerly the Circus or *Agonales*, dedicated to sports and pastimes, and is now the greatest mercat of ye Citty, having three most noble fountaines, and the stately Palaces of the Pamfilij, St. Giacomo de Spagnoli belonging to that nation, to which add two Convents for Friers and Nuns, all Spanish. In this Church was erected a most stately Catafalco, or *Capella ardente*, for the death of the Queene of Spaine; the Church was hung with black, and heare I heard a Spanish sermon or funebral oration, and observed the statues,

devises, and impreses hung about the walls, the Church and Pyramid stuck with thousands of lights and tapers, which made a glorious shew. The statue of St. James is by Sansovino; there are also some good pictures of Caracci. The facciata too is faire. Returning home I pass'd by the stumps of old Pasquin at the corner of a streete call'd Strada Pontificia; here they still past up their drolling lampoons and scurrilous papers. This had formerly ben one of the best statues for workmanship and art in all the Citty, as the remaining bust does still shew.

21 Feb. I walked in the morning up the hill towards the Capuchins, where was then Cardinal Onufrio (brother to the late Pope Urban VIII.) of the same order. He built them a pretty Church, full of rare pictures, and there lies the body of St. Felix, that they say still does miracles. The piece at ye great altar is by Lanfranc. 'Tis a lofty edifice, with a beautifull avenue of trees, and in a good aire. After dinner passing along the Strada del Carso, I observed the column of Antoninus, passing under Arco Portugallo, which is but a relic, heretofore erected in honor of Domitian, cal'd now Portugallo from a Cardinal living neere it. A little further on the right hand stands the column, in a small piazza, heretofore set up in honor of M. Aurelius Antoninus, comprehending in a basse-relievo of white marble his hostil acts against the Parthians, Armenians, Germans, &c. but it is now somewhat decay'd. On the su'mit has been placed the image of St. Paule of gilded coper. The pillar is said to be 161 foote high, ascended by 207 steps, receiving light by 56 apertures, without defacing the sculpture.

At a little distance are the relicques of the Emperors Palace, the heads of whose pillars shew them to have ben Corinthian.

Turning a little down we came to another piazza, in which stands a sumptuous vase of porphyrie, and a faire fountaine; but the grace of this merket, and indeede the admiration of the whole world, is the Pantheon, now called S. Maria della Rotonda, formerly sacred to all the Gods, and still remaining the most entire antiquitie of the Citty. It was built by Marcus Agrippa, as testifies the architrave of the portico sustain'd by 13 pillars of Theban marble, 6 foote thick and 53 in height, of one intire stone. In this porch is an old inscription.

Entring the Church we admire the fabric, wholly cover'd with one cupola, seemingly suspended in the aire, and receiving light by a hole in the middle onely. The structure is neere as high as broad, viz. 144 foote, not counting the thicknesse of the walls, wch is 22 more to the top, all of white marble, and til Urban VIII. converted part of the metall into ordnance to warr against the Duke of Parma, and part to make the high altar in St. Peters, it was all over cover'd with Corinthian brasse, ascending by 40 degrees within the roof or convex of the cupola, richly carved with octagons in the stone. There are niches in the walls, in wch stood heretofore the statues of Jupiter and the other Gods and Goddesses; for here was that Venus which had hung in her ear the other Union * that Cleopatra was about to dissolve and drink up as she had done its fellow. There are severall of these niches one above another for the celestial, terrestrial, and subterranean deities, but the place is now converted into a Church dedicated to the B. Virgin and all the Saints. The pavement is excellent, and the vast folding gates of Corinthian brasse. In a word, 'tis of all the Roman antiquities the most worthy of notice. There lie interr'd in this Temple the famous Raphael da Urbino, Perino del Vaga, F. Zuccharo, and other painters.

Returning home we passe by Cardinal Cajetan's Palace, a noble piece of architecture of Vincenzo Ammanatti, wch is the grace of the whole Corso.

22 Feb. I went to Trinita del Monte, a monasterie of French, a noble Church built by Lewis XI. and Charles VIII. the Chapells well painted, especialy that by Zuccari, Volterra, and the cloyster wth the miracles of their St. Francis di Paulo and the heads of the French

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* And in the cup an *union* shall he throw,
Richer than that which four successive kings
In Denmark's crown have worn.
Shakespeare, Hamlet, Act V. Sc. 2; ed. Johnson and Steevens.

Theobald says, an *union* is the finest sort of pearl, and has its place in all crowns and coronets. Steevens cites from Soliman and Perseda—"Ay, were it Cleopatra's *union*"—adding the following elucidation of the term from P. Holland's Translation of Pliny's Natural History: "And hereupon it is that our dainties and delicates here at Rome, &c. call them *unions*, as a man would say singular and by themselves alone." EDIT.

Kings. In ye pergolo above, the walls are wrought with excellent perspective, especialy the St. John; there are the Babylonish dials invented by Kircher the Jesuite. This Convent so eminently situated on Mons Pincius, has the intire prospect of Campus Martius, and has a faire garden which joynes to the Palazzo di Medici.

23d. I went to heare a sermon at St. Giacomo de gli Incurabili, a faire Church built by F. Volaterra, of good architecture, and so is the Hospital, where only desperate patients are brought. I pass'd the evening at St. Maria del Popolo, heretofore Nero's sepulchre, where his ashes lay many yeares in a marble chest. To this Church joynes the Monasterie of St. Augustine, wch has pretty gardens on Mons Pincius, and in the Church is the miraculous shrine of the Madona wch Pope Paul III. brought barefooted to the place, supplicating for a victory over the Turks in 1464. In a Chapell of the Ghisi are some rare paintings of Raphael and noble sculptures. Those two in the Choire are by Sansovino, and in the Chapel de Cerasii a piece of Caravaggio. Here lie buried many greate scholars and artists, of which I tooke notice of this inscription:

Hospes, disce novum mortis genus; improba felis,
Dum trahitur, digitum mordet, et intereo.

Opposite to the faciata of the Church is a superb obelisc full of hieroglyphics, the same that Sennesertus K. of Egypt dedicated to the Sun, brought to Rome by Augustus, erected in the Circus Maximus, and since placed here by Pope Sixtus V. It is 88 foote high, of one intire stone, and placed wth greate art and engines by the famous Domenico Fontana.

Hence turning on the right out of the Porto del Popolo, we came to Justinian's gardens neere the Muro torto, so prominently built as threatning every moment to fall, yet standing so for these thousand yeares. Under this is the burying-place for the com'on prostitutes, where they are put into the ground *sans ceremonie.*

24 Feb. We walked to St. Roches and Martines neere the brink of the Tyber, a large Hospital for both sexes. Hence to the Mausolæum Augusti 'twixt the Tyber and the Via Flaminia, now much ruin'd,

which had formerly contended for its sumptuous architecture. It was intended as a cemeterie for the Roman Emperors, had twelve ports, and was cover'd with a cupola of white marble, inviron'd with stately trees and innumerable statues, all of it now converted into a garden. We pass'd the afternoone at the Sapienza, a very stately building full of good marbles, especialy the Portico, of admirable architecture. These are properly the Universitie Scholes, where lectures are read on law, medicine, and anatomie, and students perform their exercises.

Hence we walk'd to St. Andrea della Valle neere the former Theater of Pompey, and the famous Piccolomini, but given to this Church and the Order who are Theatines. The Barberini have in this place a Chapell, of curious incrusted marbles of severall sorts, and rare paintings. Under it is the place where St. Sebastian is said to have ben beaten with rods before he was shot with darts. The cupola is paynted by Lanfranc, an inestimable work, and the whole fabric and Monastery adjoining are admirable.

25 Feb. I was invited by a Dominican Frier, whom we usually heard preach to a number of Jewes, to be god-father to a converted Turk and Jew. The ceremonie was perform'd in the Church of Sta Maria sopra la Minerva, neere the Capitol. They were clad in white, then exorcis'd at their entering the Church with aboundance of ceremonies, and when led into the Choir were baptiz'd by a Bishop *in pontificalibus*. The Turk lived afterwards in Rome, sold hot waters, and would bring us presents when he met us, kneeling and kissing the hems of our cloaks; but the Jew was believ'd to be a counterfeit. This Church, situate on a spacious rising, was formerly consecrated to Minerva. 'Tis well built and richly adorn'd, and the body of St. Catherine di Sienna lies buried here. The paintings of ye Chapel are by Marcello Venuti; the *Madona* over the altar is by Giov. di Fiesole, cal'd the Angelic Painter, who was of the Order of these Monks. There are many charities dealt publiqly here, especialy at the Procession on the Annunciation, when I saw his Holinesse, with all the Cardinals, Prelates, &c. *in pontificalibus*; dowries being given to 300 poore girls all clad in white. The Pope had his tiara on his head, and was carried on mens shoulders in an open arm-chaire, blessing the

people as he pass'd. The statue of Christ at the Columna is esteem'd one of the master-pieces of M. Angelo: innumerable are the paintings by the best artists, and the organ is accounted one of ye sweetest in Rome. Cardinal Bembo is interred here. We return'd by St. Marcs, a stately Church, with an excellent pavement, and a fine piece by Perugino, of the *two Martyrs*. Adjoyning to this is a noble Palace built by the famous Bramanti.

26 Feb. Ascending the hill we came to the Forum Trajanum, where his column stands yet intire, wrought with admirable bass-relievo recording the Dacian war, the figures at the upper part appearing of the same proportion with those below. 'Tis ascended by 192 steps, enlightened with 44 apertures or windows, artificialy dispos'd; in height from the pedestal 140 foote.

It had once the ashes of Trajan and his statue, where now stands St. Peter's of gilt brasse, erected by Pope Sixtus V. The sculpture of this stupendious pillar is thought to be the work of Apollodorus; but what is very observable is the descent to the plinth of the pedestale, shewing how this ancient Cittie lies now buried in her ruines, this monument being at first set up on a rising ground. After dinner we took the aire in Cardinal Bentivoglio's delicious gardens, now but newly deceas'd. He had a faire Palace built by several good masters on part of the ruines of Constantine's Bathes: well adorn'd wth columns and paintings, especialy those of Guido Rheni.

27 Feb. In the morning Mr. Henshaw and my selfe walked to the Trophies of Marius, erected in honour of his victorie over the Cimbrians, but these now taken out of their niches are plac'd on the balusters of the Capitol, so that their ancient station is now a ruine. Keeping on our way we came to St. Crosse of Jerusalem, built by Constantine over the demolition of the Temple of Venus and Cupid, which he threw down; and 'twas here they report he deposited the wood of the true Crosse found by his mother Helena in honour whereof this Church was built, and in memory of his victory over Maxentius when that holy signe appear'd to him. The edifice without is Gotiq, but very glorious within, especialy the roofe, and one tribune well painted. Here is a Chapel dedicated to St. Helena, the floore whereoff is of earth

brought from Jerusalem; the walls are of faire Mosaic, in which they suffer no women to enter it save once a yeare. Under the high altar of the Church is buried St. Anastasius, in Lydian marble, and Benedict VII. and they shew a number of reliques, expos'd at our request, with a phial of our B. Saviour's blood; two thornes of his Crowne; three chips of the real Crosse; one of the nailes, wanting a point; St. Thomas's doubting finger; and a fragment of the title [put on the Cross], being part of a thin board; some of Judas's pieces of silver, and many more, if one had faith to believe it. To this venerable Church joynes a Monasterie, the gardens taking up the space of an ancient amphitheater. Hence we pass'd beyond the walls out at the Port of St. Laurence to that Saint's Church, and where his ashes are enshrin'd. This was also built by the same great Constantine, famous for the Coronation of Pietro Altisiodorensis, Emperor of Constantinople, by Honorius the Second. 'Tis sayd the corps of St. Stephen the protomartyr was deposited here by that of St. Sebastian, which it had no sooner touch'd but Sebastian gave it place of its own accord. The Church has no lesse than 7 privileg'd altars and excellent pictures. About the walls are painted this martyr's sufferings, and when they built them, the bones of divers Saints were translated to other Churches. The front is Gotic. In our return we saw a small ruine of an aquæduct built by Q. Marcius the prætor; and so pass'd thro' that incomparable strait streete leading to Sta Maria Maggiore, to our lodging, sufficiently tired.

We were taken up next morning in seeing the impertinences of the Carnival, when all the world are as mad at Rome as at other places; but the most remarkable were the 3 races of the Barbarie horses, that run in the Strada del Corso without riders, onely having spurrs so placed on their backs, and hanging downe by their sides, as by their motion to stimulate them; then of mares, then of asses, of buffalos, naked men, old and young, and boys, and aboundance of idle ridiculous passetime. One thing is remarkable, their acting comedies on a stage placed on a cart, or *plaustrum*, where the scene or tiring-place is made of boughs in a rural manner, which they drive from streete to streete

with a yoake or two of oxen, after the ancient guise. The streetes swarm wth prostitutes, buffoones, and all man'er of rabble.

1 March. At the Greeke Church we saw ye Eastern ceremonies perform'd by a Bishop, &c. in that tongue. Here the unfortunate Duke and Dutchess of Bullion received their ashes, it being the first day of Lent; there was now as much trudging up and downe of devotees as the day before of licentious people, all Saints alike to appearance.

The gardens of Justinian, which we next visited, are very full of statues and antiquities, especialy urnes, amongst which is that of Min. Felix; a Terminus that formerly stood in the Appian Way, and a huge colosse of the Emperor Justinian. There is a delicate aviarie on the hill; the whole gardens furnish'd with rare collections, fresh, shady, and adorn'd wth noble fountaines. Continuing our walke a mile farther, we came to Pons Milvius, now Mela, where Constantine overthrew Maxentius, and saw the miraculous signe of the Crosse, "*in hoc signo vinces.*" It was a sweete morning, and the bushes were full of nightingals. Hence to Aqua Claudia againe, an aqueduct finish'd by that Emperor at the expence of 8 millions. In the afternoone to Farneze's gardens, neere the Campo Vaccino; and upon the Palatine Mount to survey the ruines of Juno's Temple in the Piscina, a Piazza so call'd neere the famous bridg built by Antoninus Pius and re-edified by Pope Sixtus IV.

The rest of this weeke we went to the Vatican, to heare the sermons at St. Peter's of the most famous preachers, who discourse on the same subjects and texts yearely, full of Italian eloquence and action. On our Lady-day, 25 March, we saw the Pope and Cardinals ride in pomp to the Minerva, the greate guns of the Castle St. Angelo being fired, when he gives portions to 500 *zitelle* [young women], who kisse his feete in procession, some destin'd to marry, some to be nunns. The scholars of the Colledge celebrating the B. Virgin with their compositions. The next day his Holinesse was busied in blessing golden roses, to be sent to severall greate Princes; the Procurator of the Carmelites preaching on our Savior's feeding the multitude with 5 loaves, the ceremony ends. The Sacrament being this day expos'd and the reliques of the Holy

Crosse, the concourse about the streetes is extraordinarie. On Palm Sunday there was a greate procession after a papal masse.

11 April. St. Veronica's handkercheif [with the impression of our Saviour's face] was expos'd, and the next day the speare, with a world of ceremonie. On Holy Thursday the Pope said masse, and afterwards carried the Host in procession about the Chapell, with an infinitie of tapers; this finish'd, his Holinesse was carried in his open chaire on men's shoulders to the place where, reading the Bull *in Cœna Domini*, he both curses and blesses all in a breath; then the guns are againe fired. Hence he went to the Ducal hall of the Vatican, where he wash'd the feete of 12 poore men, with almost the same ceremonie as 'tis don at Whitehall; they have clothes, a dinner, and almes, wch he gives with his owne hands, and serves at their table; they have also gold and silver medailles, but their garments are of white wollen long robes, as we paint the Apostles. The same ceremonies are don by ye Conservators and other Officers of State at St. John de Lateran; and now the table on wch they say our Blessed Lord celebrated his last supper, is set out, and the heads of the Apostles. In every famous Church they are busy in dressing up their pageantries to represent the Holy Sepulchre, of which we went to visite divers.

On Good Friday we went againe to St. Peter's, where the Handkerchief, Launce, and Crosse were all expos'd and worshipp'd together. All the confession-seates were fill'd with devout people, and at night was a procession of several who most lamentably whipped themselves till the blood stained their clothes, for some had shirts, others upon the bare back, having vizors and masks on their faces; at every 3 or 4 steps dashing the knotted and ravelled whipcord over their shoulders, as hard as they could lay it on, whilst some of the religious orders and fraternities sung in a dismal tone, the lights and crosses going before, making altogether a horrible and indeede heathenish pompe.

The next day there was much ceremony at St. John de Lateran, so as the whole weeke was spent in running from Church to Church, all the towne in buisy devotion, greate silence, and unimaginable superstition.

Easter-day I was awaken'd by the guns from St. Angelo: we went to

St. Peter's, where the Pope himselfe celebrated masse, shew'd the reliques before named, and gave a publiq benediction.

Monday we went to heare music in the Chiesa Nova, and tho' there were aboundance of ceremonies at the other greate Churches, and greate exposure of reliques, yet being wearied with sights of this nature, and the season of the yeare, summer, at Rome being very dangerous by reason of the heates, minding us of returning Northwards, we spent the rest of our time in visiting such places as we had not yet sufficiently seene; onely I do not forget the Pope's benediction of the *Confalone*, or Standard, and giving the hallowed palmes; and on May-day the greate procession of the Universitie and the Mulatiers at St. Antonie's, and their setting up a foolish May-pole in the Capitol, very ridiculous. We therefore now tooke coach a little out of towne, to visite the famous Roma soterranea, being much like what we had seen at St. Sebastian's. Here in a cornfield, guided by two torches, we crept on our bellies into a little hole, about 20 paces, which delivered us into a large entrie that led us into several streetes or allies, a good depth in the bowells of the earth, a strange and fearefull passage for divers miles, as Bosio has measured and described them in his book*. We ever and anon came into pretty square roomes, that seem'd to be Chapells with altars, and some adorn'd with very ordinary ancient painting. Many skeletons and bodies are plac'd on the sides one above the other in degrees like shelves, whereof some are shut up with a coarse flat stone, having ingraven on them *Pro Christo*, or a Cross and Palmes, wch are supposed to have been martyrs. Here, in all likelyhood, were the meetings of the primitive Christians during the persecutions, as Pliny the younger describes them. As I was prying about, I found a glasse phiale, fill'd as was conjectur'd with dried blood, and 2 lachrymatories. Many of the bodies, or rather bones (for there appear'd nothing else) lay so intire as if plac'd by the art of the chirurgeon, but being only touched fell all to dust. Thus after wandering two or three miles in this subterranean meander, we return'd almost blind when we came into the day-light, and even choked by the smoake of the torches.

* Intituled *Roma Sotteranea*, folio, Rom. 1632.

It is said that a French Bishop and his retinue adventuring too far in these denns, their lights going out, were never heard of more.

We were entertain'd at night with an English play at the Jesuites, where we before had dined; and the next at Prince Galicano's, who himself composed the musiq to a magnificent opera, where were present Cardinal Pamphilio the Pope's nephew, the Governors of Rome, the Cardinals, ambassadors, ladies, and a number of nobility and strangers. There had been in the morning a Just and Tournament of severall young gentlemen on a formal defy, to which we had been invited; the prizes being distributed by the ladies after the knight-errantry way. The launcers and swordsmen running at tilt against the barriers, with a greate deale of clatter, but without any bloodshed, giving much diversion to the spectators, and was new to us travellers.

The next day Mr. Henshaw and I spent the morning in attending the entrance and cavalcade of Card. Medici, the Ambass^r from the Grand Duke of Florence, by the Via Flaminia. After dinner we went again to see the Villa Borghesi, about a mile without the Cittie; the garden is rather a park or paradise, contriv'd and planted with walkes and shades of myrtils, cypresse and other trees and groves, with aboundance of fountaines, statues, and bass-relievos, and several pretty murmuring rivulets. Here they had hung large netts to catch woodcocks. There was also a *Vivarie*, where amongst other exotic fowles was an ostridge; besides a most capacious aviarie; and in another inclosed part, an herd of deere. Before the palace (which might become the courte of a great prince) stands a noble fountaine of white marble, inrich'd with statues. The outer walls of the house are incrusted with excellent antique basse-relievos of the same marble, incornish'd with festoons and niches set with statues from the foundation to the roofe. A stately Portico joynes the palace, full of statues and columns of marble, urnes and other curiosities of sculpture. In the first hall were the 12 Cæsars of antiq marble, and the whole apartments furnish'd with pictures of the most celebrated masters, and two rare tables of porphyrie of greate value. But of this already *, for I often visited this delicious place.

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* See p. 106.

This night were glorious fire-works at the palace of Card. Medici before the gate, and lights of severall colours all about the windows through the Cittie, which they contrive by setting the candles in little paper lanterns died with various colours, placing hundreds of them from storie to storie, which renders a gallant shew.

4 May. Having seen the entrie of ye Ambass^r^ of Lucca, I went to the Vatican, where, by favour of our Cardinal Protector, Fran. Barberini, I was admitted into the Consistorie, heard the Ambass^r^ make his oration in Latine to the Pope, sitting on an elevated state or throne, and changing two pontifical miters; after which I was presented to kisse his toe, that is, his embroder'd slipper, two Cardinals holding up his vest and surplice, and then being sufficiently bless'd with his thumb and two fingers for that day, I return'd home to dinner.

We went againe to see the medails of Sig^r^ Gotefredi, which are absolutely the best collection in Rome.

Passing the Ludovisia Villa, where the petrified human figure lies, found on the snowy Alps; I measured the Hidra, and found it not a foot long; the three necks and 15 heads seeme to be but patch'd up with several pieces of serpents skins.

5 May. We tooke coach, and went 15 miles out of the Cittie to Frascati, formerly Tusculanum, a villa of Card^l^ Aldobrandini, built for a country-house, but surpassing, in my opinion, the most delicious places I ever beheld for its situation, elegance, plentifull water, groves, ascents, and prospects. Just behind the palace (wch is of excellent architecture) in the center of ye inclosure rises an high hill or mountaine all over clad with tall wood, and so form'd by nature as if it had been cut out by art, from the sum'it whereof falls a cascade, seeming rather a greate river than a streame precipitating into a large theater of water, representing an exact and perfect rainebow when the sun shines out. Under this is made an artificiall grott, wherein are curious rocks, hydraulic organs, and all sorts of singing birds moving and chirping by force of the water, with severall other pageants and surprising inventions. In the center of one of these roomes rises a coper ball that continually daunces about 3 foote above the pavement by virtue of a wind conveyed secretely to a hole beneath it; with many other devices

to wett the unwary spectators, so that one can hardly step without wetting to the skin. In one of these theaters of water is an Atlas spouting up the streame to a very great height; and another monster makes a terrible roaring with an horn; but above all, the representation of a storm is most naturall, with such fury of raine, wind, and thunder, as one would imagine ones self in some extreame tempest. The garden has excellent walkes and shady groves, abundance of rare fruit, oranges, lemons, &c. and the goodly prospect of Rome, above all description, so as I do not wonder that Cicero and others have celebrated this place with such encomiums. The palace is indeed built more like a cabinet than any thing compos'd of stone and mortar; it has in the middle a hall furnish'd with excellent marbles and rare pictures, especially those of Gioseppi d'Arpino; the moveables are princely and rich. This was the last piece of architecture finish'd by Giacomo de la Porta, who built it for Pietro Card^{l} Aldobrandini in the time of Clement VIII. *

We went hence to another house and garden not far distant, on the side of a hill called Mondragone, finish'd by Card^{l} Scipio Borghese, an ample and kingly edifice. It has a very long galerie, and at the end a theater for pastimes, spacious courts, rare grotts, vineyards, olive grounds, groves, and solitudes. The aire is so fresh and sweete, as few parts of Italy exceed it; nor is it inferior to any palace in the cittie itselfe for statues, pictures, and furniture; but it growing late we could not take such particular notice of these things as they deserv'd.

6 May. We rested ourselves; and next day in a coach tooke our last farewell of visiting the circumjacent places, going to Tivoli or the old Tyburtine. At about 6 miles from Rome we passe the Teverone, a bridge built by Mammea ye mother of Severus, and so by divers ancient sepulchres, amongst others that of Valerius Volusi; and neere it passe the stinking sulphurous river over the Ponte Lucano, where we found an heape or turret full of inscriptions, now call'd the Tomb of Plautius. Arriv'd at Tivoli we went first to see the Palace d'Esté erected on a plaine, but where was formerly an hill. The palace is very

* Cardinal Hippolito Aldobrandini was elected Pope in January 1592 by the name of Clement VIII. and died in March 1605.

ample and stately. In the garden on the right hand are 16 vast conchas of marble jetting out waters; in the midst of these stands a Janus quadrifrons, y^t^ cast forth 4 girandolas, call'd from the resemblance [to a particular exhibition in fireworks so named] the Fontana di Speccho [looking-glass.] Neere this is a place for tilting. Before the ascent of ye palace is the famous fountaine of Leda, and not far from that 4 sweete and delicious gardens. Descending thence are two pyramids of water, and in a grove of trees neere it the fountaines of Tethys, Esculapius, Arethusa, Pandora, Pomona, and Flora; then the prancing Pegasus, Bacchus, the Grott of Venus, the two Colosses of Melicerta, and Sibylla Tibertina, all of exquisite marble, coper, and other suitable adornements. The Cupids pouring out water are especialy most rare, and the urnes on which are plac'd the 10 nymphs. The Grotts are richly pav'd wth Pietra Commessa, shells, corall, &c.

Towards Roma Triumphans leades a long and spacious walk, full of fountaines, under which is historized the whole Ovidian Metamorphosis in rarely sculptur'd *mezzo relievo*. At the end of this, next the wall, is ye Cittie of Rome as it was in its beauty, of small models, representing that Cittie, with its Amphitheaters, Naumachia, Thermæ, Temples, Arches, Aqueducts, Streetes, and other magnificences, with a little streame running thro' it for the Tyber, gushing out of an urne next the statue of ye river. In another garden is a noble aviarie, the birds artificial, and singing till an owle appeares, on which they suddainly change their notes. Near this is the fountaine of Dragons casting out large streames of water with great noises. In another Grotto called *Grotto di Natura*, is an hydraulic organ; and below this are divers stews and fish-pounds, in one of which is the statue of Neptune in his chariot on a sea-horse, in another a Triton; and lastly a garden of simples. There are besides in the palace many rare statues and pictures, bedsteds richly inlaied, and sundry other precious moveables; the whole is said to have cost the best part of a million. Having gratified our curiositie with these artificial miracles, and din'd, we went to see the so famous natural precipice and cascade of the river Anio, rushing down from the mountaines of Tivoli, with that fury that, what with the mist it perpetualy casts up by the breaking of the water against the rocks, and what with

the sun shining on it and forming a natural Iris, the prodigious depth of the gulph below, it is enough to astonish one that lookes on it. Upon the sum'ite of this rock stand the ruines and some pillars and cornishes of the temple of Sibylla Tybertina, or Albunea, a round fabric, still discovering some of its pristine beauty. Here was a greate deal of gunpowder drying in the sun, and a little beneath, mills belonging to the Pope.

And now we returned to Rome. By the way we were shew'd at some distance the citty Prænestе, and the Hadrian Villa, now onely an heape of ruines, and so came late to our lodging.

We now determined to desist from visiting any more curiosities, except what should happen to come in our way when my companion Mr. Henshaw and myself should go to take the aire: onely I may not omit that one afternoone, diverting ourselves in the Piazza Navona, a Montebank there to allure curious strangers, taking off a ring from his finger, wch seemed set with a dull, darke stone, a little swelling out, like w^t^ we call (tho' untruly) a toadstone, and wetting his finger a little in his mouth and then touching it, it emitted a luculent flame as bright and large as a small wax candle; then blowing it out, he repeated this several times. I have much regretted that I did not purchase the receipt of him for making that composition at what price soever; for tho' there is a processe in Jo. Baptista Porta and others how to do it, yet on severall trials they none of them have succeeded.

Amongst other observations I made in Rome are these: As to Coins and Medails, 10 *Asses* make the Roman *Denarius*, 5 the *Quinarius*, 10 *Denarii* an *Aureus;* which accompt runs almost exactly wth what is now in use of *Quatrini*, *Baiocs*, *Julios*, and *Scudi*, each exceeding the other in the proportion of ten. The *Sestertius* was a small silver coyne marked H. S. or rather LL^s^, valu'd 2 pound and half of silver, *viz:* 250 *Denarii*, about 25 golden *Ducati*. The stamp of the Roman *Denarius* varied, having sometimes a Janus bifrons, the head of Roma armed, or with a charriot and two horses, which were call'd *Bigi;* if with 4, *Quadrigi;* if with a Victoria, so nam'd. The marke of the *Denarius* was distinguish'd ⋊⋉ thus, or X; the *Quinarius* of halfe value, had on one side ye head of Rome and V, the reverse Castor and Pollux on horseback, inscribed *Roma*, &c.

I observ'd that in the Greek Church they made the signe of the Crosse from the right hand to the left; contrary to the Latines and the Schismatic Greekes; gave the benediction with the first, second, and little finger stretched out, retaining the third bent down, expressing a distance of the third Person of the Holy Trinity from the first two.

For sculptors and architects we found Bernini and Algardi were in the greatest esteeme; Fiamingo as a statuary, who made the Andrea in St. Peter's, and is said to have died madd because it was placed in an ill light. Amongst the painters, Antonio de la Cornea, who has such an addresse of counterfeiting the hands of the ancient masters so well as to make his copies passe for originals; Pietro de Cortone, Monsr Poussine a Frenchman, and innumerable more. Fioravanti for armour, plate, dead life, tapistry, &c. The chiefe masters of music, after Marc Antonio the best trebble, is Cavalier Lauretto an eunuch; the next Card. Bichi's eunuch, Bianchi tenor, and Nicholai base. The Jewes in Rome wore red hatts til the Card. of Lions, being short-sighted, lately saluted one of them thinking him to be a Cardinal as he pass'd by his coach; on which an order was made that they should use only the yellow colour. There was now at Rome one Mrs. Ward, an English devotee, who much solicited for an Order of Jesuitesses.

At executions I saw one, a gentleman, hang'd in his cloak and hatt for murder. They struck the malefactor wth a club y^{t} first stunn'd him, and then cut his throat. At Naples they use a frame, like ours at Halifax (a guillotine).

It is reported that Rome has ben once no lesse than 50 miles in compass, now not 13, containing in it 3000 Churches and Chapells, Monasteries, &c. It is divided into 14 Regions or Wards; has 7 Mountaines, and as many Campi or Vally's; in these are faire Parks or Gardens call'd Villas, being onely places of recesse and pleasure, at some distance from the streetes, yet within the walls.

The Bills of Exchange I tooke up from my first entering Italy till I went from Rome amounted but to 616 *ducati di Banco*, though I purchas'd many books, pictures, and curiosities.

18 May. I intended to have seen Loretto, but being disappointed of monies long expected, I was forc'd to returne by the same way I

came, desiring, if possible, to be at Venice by the Ascension, and therefore I diverted to take Legorne in the way, as well to furnish me wth credit by a merchant there, as to take order for transporting such collections as I had made at Rome. When on my way, turning about to behold this once and yet glorious Citty, from an eminence, I did not without some regret give it my last farewell.

Having taken leave of our friends at Rome, where I had sojourn'd now about 7 moneths, Autumn, Winter, and Spring, I tooke coach in company with two courteous Italian Gentlemen. In the afternoone we ariv'd at an house, or rather castle, belonging to the Duke of Parma, called Caprarola*, situate on the brow of an hill that overlooks a little town, or rather a naturall and stupendous rock; witnesse those vast caves serving now for cellarage, where we were entertain'd wth most generous wine of severall sorts, being just under the foundation. The Palace was built by ye famous Architect Vignola at the cost of Card^l^ Alex^r^ Farnese, in forme of an octagone, the court in the middle being exactly round, so as rather to resemble a fort or castle; yet the chambers within are all of them square, which makes the walls exceeding thick. One of these rooms is so artificialy contriv'd that from the two opposite angles one may hear the least whisper; they say any perfect square dos it. Most of the paintings are by Zuccari. It has a stately entrie, on which spouts an artificiall fountaine within the porch. The hall, chapell, and great number of lodging chambers are remarkable, but most of all the pictures and witty inventions of Hannibal Caracci; the dead Christ is incomparable. Behind are the gardens full of statues and noble fountaines, especialy that of the Shepherds. After din'er we tooke horse, and lay that night at Montrosso, 20 miles from Rome.

19 May. We dined at Viterbo, and lay at St. Laurenzo. Next day at Radicofani, and slept at Turnera.

21. We dined at Sienna, where we could not passe admiring the greate Church † built intirely both within and without with white and black marble in polish'd squares, by Macarino, shewing so beautifull

* Caprarola. There is a large descriptive account published of this Palace, with magnificent plates of the buildings, pictures, and statues.

† See p. 86.

after a showre has fall'n. The floore within is of various colour'd marbles, representing the storie of both Testaments admirably wrought. Here lies Pius the Second. The Bibliothec is painted by P. Perugino and Raphael. The life of Æneas Sylvius is in *fresco;* in the middle are the 3 Graces of antiq marble, very curious, and the front of this building, tho' Gotic, is yet very fine. Amongst other things they shew St. Catharine's disciplining Cell, the doore whereof is half cut out into chipps by the pilgrimes and devotees, being of deale wood.

Setting out hence for Pisa, we went againe to see the Domo in which the Emperor Henry VII. lies buried, poyson'd by a Monk in the Eucharist. The bending Tower was built by Busqueto Delichio, a Grecian architect, and is a stupendious piece of art*. In the gallery of curiosities is a faire mummy; the taile of a sea-horse; corall growing on a man's skull; a chariot automaton; two pieces of rock chrystall, in one of which is a drop of water, in the other three or foure small wormes; two embalm'd children; divers petrifactions, &c. The garden of simples is well furnish'd, and has in it the deadly yew or *taxus* of the ancients; wch Dr. Bellueccio, the superintendant, affirmes that his workmen cannot endure to clip for above the space of halfe an houre at a time, from the paine of the head which surprizes them.

We went hence for Ligorne by coach, where I took up 90 crownes for the rest of my journey, wth letters of credit for Venice, after I had sufficiently complain'd of my defeate of correspondence at Rome.

The next day I came to Lucca, a small but pretty territorie and state of itselfe.—The Citty is neate and well fortified, with noble and pleasant walkes of trees on the workes, where the gentry and ladies use to take the aire. 'Tis situate on an ample plaine by the river Serchio, yet the country about it is hilly. The Senat-house is magnificent. The Church of St. Michael is a noble piece, as is also St. Fredian, more remarkable to us for the corpse of St. Richard, an English King†, who died here in his pilgrimage towards Rome. This epitaph is on his tomb:

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* See pp. 78, 82, for other bending towers at Pisa and Florence.

† Who this Richard King of England was, it is impossible to say; the tomb still exists, and has long been a *crux* to Antiquaries and Travellers.—EDITOR.

Hic rex Richardus requiescit, sceptifer, almus:
Rex fuit Anglorum, regnum tenet iste polorum.
Regnum demisit pro Christo cuncta reliquit.
Ergo Richardum nobis dedit Anglia sanctum.
Hic genitor Sanctæ Wulburgæ Virginis almæ
Est Vrillebaldi sancti simul et Vinebaldi,
Suffragium quorum nobis det regna Polorum.

Next this we visited St. Crosses, an excellent structure, all of marble both without and within, and so adorn'd as may vie with many of the fairest even in Rome; witness the huge Crosse valued at £.15,000, above all venerable for that sacred volto which (as tradition goes) was miraculously put on the image of Christ, and made by Nicodemus, whilst the artist, finishing the rest of the body, was meditating what face to set on it. The inhabitants are exceedingly civill to strangers, above all places in Italy, and they speake ye purest Italian. 'Tis also cheape living, which causes travellers to set up their rest here more than in Florence, tho' a more celebrated Citty; besides, the ladys here are very conversable, and the religious women not at all reserv'd; of these we bought gloves and embroidred stomachers generaly worn by gentlemen in these countries. The circuit of this state is but two easy days journey, and lies mixed with the Duke of Tuscany's, but having Spain for a Protector (tho' the least bigotted of all Roman Catholics), and being one of the best fortify'd Citties in Italy, it remains in peace. This whole country abounds in excellent olives, &c.

Going hence for Florence, we dined at Pistoia, where besides one church there was little observable: onely in the highway we crossed a rivulet of salt water tho' many miles from the sea. The country is extreamly pleasant, full of gardens, and the roads straight as a line for the best part of that whole day, the hedges planted with trees at equal distances, watered with cleare and plentifull streames.

Rising early the next morning we alighted at Poggio Imperiale, being a Palace of the Greate Duke, not far from ye Citty, having omitted it in my passage to Rome. The ascent to the house is by a stately gallery as it were of talle and overgrown cypresse trees for neere half a mile. At the enterance of these ranges are placed statues of the Tyber and Arno, of marble; those also of Virgil, Ovid, Petrarch, and Dante,

The building is sumptuous and curiously furnish'd within with cabinets of Pietra Commessa in tables, pavements, &c. which is a magnificence or work particularly affected at Florence. The larger pictures are, *Adam and Eve* by Albert Durer, very excellent; as is y^t^ piece of carving in wood by the same hand standing in a cupboard. Here is painted the whole Austrian line; the Duke's Mother, sister to the Emperor, the foundresse of this Palace, than which there is none in Italy that I had seene more magnificently adorn'd or furnish'd.

We could not omit in our passage to revisit the same and other curiosities which we had omitted at our first being at Florence. We went therefore to see the famous piece of Andrea del Sarto in ye Annunciata; the storie is, that the Painter in a time of dearth borrow'd a sack of corne of the religious of that convent, and repayment being demanded, he wrought it out in this picture, which represents Joseph sitting on a sack of corn and reading to the B. Virgin; a piece infinitely valued. There fell down in the Cloister an old man's face painted on the wall in fresco, greately esteem'd, and brake into crumbs; the Duke sent his best painters to make another instead of it, but none of them would presume to touch a pencil where Andrea had wrought, like another Apelles; but one of them was so industrious and patient, that, picking up the fragments, he laied and fastned them so artificialy together, that the injury it had received was hardly discernable. Andrea del Sarto lies buried in the same place. Here is also that picture of Bartolomeo, who having spent his utmost skill in ye face of ye Angel Gabriel, and being troubl'd that he could nót exceede it in the Virgin, he began the body and to finish the clothes, and so left it, minding in ye morning to work on the face; but when he came, no sooner had he drawn away the cloth that was hung before it to preserve it from ye dust, than an admirable and ravishing face was found ready painted, at which miracle all the Citty came in to worship; 'tis now kept in ye Chapell of ye Salutation, a place so enrich'd by the devotees that none in Italy save Loretto is said to exceede it. This picture is always cover'd with 3 shutters, one of which is of massie silver; methinks it is very brown, the forehead and cheekes whiter, as if it had ben scraped. They report that those who have the honour of seeing it never lose their sight—

happy then we! There is belonging to this Church a world of plate, some whole statues of it, and lamps innumerable, besides the costly vowes hung up, some of gold, and a cabinet of precious stones.

Visiting the Duke's repository againe, we told at least 40 ranks of porphyry and other statues, and 28 whole figures, many rare paintiugs and relievo's, 2 square columns wth trophies. In one of ye galleries 24 figures and 50 antiq heads; a Bacchus of M. Angelo, and one of Bandinelli; a head of Bernini, and a most lovely Cupid of Parian marble; at the further end, two admirable women sitting, and a man fighting wth a Centaur; 3 figures in little of Andrea; an huge candlestick of amber; a table of Titian's painting, and another representing God ye Father sitting in the aire on the 4 Evangelists; animals; divers smaller pieces of Raphael; a piece of pure virgin gold as big as an egg. In the third chamber of rarities is the square cabinet valued at 80,000 crownes, shewing on every front a variety of curious work; one of birds and flowers of Pietra Commessa; one, a descent from the crosse, of M. Angelo; on the third our Bl. Saviour and the Apostles, of amber; and on the 4th a crucifix of ye same. 'Twixt the pictures two *naked Venus's* by Titian; *Adam and Eve* by Durer; and severall pieces of Pordenone and del Frate. There is a globe of 6 foote diameter. In the Armourie were an entire elk, a crocodile, and amongst ye harnesse several targets and antiq horse armes, as that of Cha. V. Two set with turcoises and other precious stones; a horse's taile of a wonderfull length. Then passing the Old Palace, which has a very greate hall for feasts and comedies, the roofe rarely painted, and the side walls with 6 very large pictures representing batailes, the worke of Gio. Vassari. Here is a magazine full of plate; a harnesse of emeralds; the furnitures of an altar 4 foote high and six in length, of massy gold; in the middle is placed the statue of Cosmo II. the bass relievo's of precious stones, his breeches cover'd wth diamonds; the mouldings of this statue, and other ornaments, festoons, &c. are garnish'd with jewells and great pearls, dedicated to St. Charles, with this inscription in rubies:

Cosimus Secundus Dei gratia Magnus Dux Etruriæ, ex voto.

There is also a King on horseback of massy gold 2 foote high, and an infinity of such like rarities. Looking at the Justice in copper, set up

on a column by Cosmo in 1555 after ye victory over Sienna, we were told that when the Duke asking a Gentleman how he liked the piece, he answered that he liked it very well, but that it stood too high for poore men to come at it.

Prince Leopold has in this Citty a very excellent collection of paintings, especialy a *St. Catharine* of P. Veroneze; a Venus of marble, veiled from the middle to ye feete, esteem'd to be of y^t Greeke workman who made the Venus at the Medici's Palace in Rome, altogether as good, and better preserved, an inestimable statue, not long since found about Bologna.

Sig^r Gaddi is a letter'd person, and has divers rarities, statues and pictures of the best masters, and one bust of marble as much esteem'd as the most antiq in Italy, and many curious manuscripts; his best paintings are, a *Virgin* of del Sarto, mention'd by Vassari, a *St. John* by Raphael, and an *Ecce Homo* by Titian.

The Hall of the Academie de la Crusca is hung about with impresses and devices painted, all of them relating to corne sifted from the brann; the seates are made like bread baskets and other rustic instruments us'd about wheate, and the cushions of satin, like sacks.

We took our farewell of St. Laurence, more particularly noticing that piece of the *Resurrection*, which consists of a prodigious number of naked figures, the work of Pontarno. On the left hand is the *Martyrdom of St. Laurence* by Bronzini, rarely painted indeed. In a Chapell is the tomb of Pietro di Medici and his brother John, of coper, excellently designed, standing on 2 lions' feete which end in foliage, the work of M. Angelo. Over against this are sepulchers of all the ducal family. The altar has a statue of the Virgin giving suck, and two Apostles. Paulus Jovius has the honour to be buried in the cloister. Behind the quire is the superb chapell of Ferdinand I. consisting of eight faces, foure plaine, foure a little hollow'd, in the other are to be ye sepulchres and a niche of paragon for the statue of the Prince now living, all of coper gilt; above is a large table of porphyrie for an inscription for the Duke in letters of jasper. The whole Chapell, walls, pavement, and roofe are full of precious stones united with ye mouldings, which are also of gilded coper, and so are the bases and capitals of the

columns. The tabernacle with ye whole altar is inlaid with cornelians, lazuli, serpentine, achats, onyxes, &c. On the other side are 6 very large columns of rock chrystal, 8 figures of precious stones of several colours, inlayed in natural figures not inferior to ye best paintings, amongst which are many pearls, diamonds, amethysts, topazes, sumptuous and sparkling beyond description. The windows without side are of white marble. The library is the architecture of Raphael; before ye port is a square vestibule of excellent art, of all ye orders without confusion; the ascent to it from the library is excellent. We number'd 88 shelves, all MSS. and bound in red, chain'd; in all about 3500 volumes, as they told us.

The Arsenal has sufficient to arme 70,000 men, accurately preserv'd and kept, with divers lusty pieces of ordinance, whereof one is for a ball of 300 pounds weight, and another for 160 which weighs 72,500 pounds.

When I was at Florence the celebrated masters were, for Pietra Commessa (a kind of mosaiq or inlaying of various colour'd marble, and other more precious stones) Dominico Benetti and Mazzotti; the best statuarie, Vincentio Brochi; painter, Pietro Beretino di Cortona. This statuary makes those small statues in plaster and pasteboard wch so resemble coper, that till one handles them they cannot be distinguish'd, he has so rare an art of bronzing them. I bought 4 of him.

This Duke has a daily tribute for every courtezan or prostitute allowed to practice that infamous trade in his dominions, and so has his holinesse ye Pope, but not so much in value.

Taking leave of our two jolly companions Sig^r^ Giovanni and his fellow, we tooke horses for Bologna, and by the way alighted at a villa of the Grand Duke's called Pratoline. The house is a square of 4 pavilions, with a faire platform about it, balustred with stone, situate in a large meadow, ascending like an amphitheater, having at the bottom a huge rock with water running in a small channell like a cascade; on ye other side are ye gardens. The whole place seems consecrated to pleasure and summer retirement. The inside of the palace may compare with any in Italy for furniture of tapissry, beds, &c. and the gardens are delicious and full of fountaines. In the grove sits Pan feeding

his flock, the water making a melodious sound through his pipe; and an Hercules whose club yields a shower of water which falling into a greate shell has a naked woman riding on the backs of dolphins. In another grotto is Vulcan and his family, the walls richly compos'd of corals, shells, coper, and marble figures, with the hunting of severall beasts, moving by ye force of water. Here, having ben well washed for our curiosity, we went down a large walke, at the sides whereof several slender streams of water gush out of pipes concealed underneath, that interchangeably fall into each others channells, making a lofty and perfect arch, so that a man on horseback may ride under it and not receive one drop of wet. This canopy or arch of water, I thought one of the most surprising magnificencies I had ever seene, and very refreshing in the heate of the sum'er. At the end of this very long walk stands a woman in white marble, in posture of a laundress wringing water out of a piece of linen, very naturally formed, into a vast lavor the work and invention of M. Angelo Buonarotti. Hence we ascended Mount Parnassus, where the Muses plaied to us on hydraulic organs: Neere this is a greate aviarie. All these waters came from the rock in ye garden, on which is the statue of a gyant representing the Apennines, at the foote of which stands this villa. Last of all we came to ye labyrinth in which a huge colosse of Jupiter throws out a streame over the garden. This is 50 foote in height, having in his body a square chamber, his eyes and mouth serving for windows and dore.

We tooke horse and supped that night at Il Ponte, passing a dreadfull ridge of the Apennines, in many places capped wth snow, which covers them the whole sum'er. We then descended into a luxurious and rich plaine. The next day we passed through Scarperia, mounting the hills againe where the passage is so strait and precipitous towards the right hand that we climbed them with much care and danger; lodging at Fiorenzuolo, which is a fort built amongst the rocks and defending the confines of the greate Duke's territories.

The next day we passèd by the Pietra Mala, a burning mountaine. At the sum'it of this prodigious masse of hills we had an unpleasant way to Pianura, where we slept that night and were entertain'd wth excellent wine. Hence to Scargalasino, and to bed at Loiano. This plaine begins about six miles from Bologna.

This towne belongs to the Pope, and is a famous University, situate in one of the richest spots of Europe for all sorts of provisions. 'Tis built like a ship, whereof the Torre d'Asinello may go for the main-mast. The Citty is of no greate strength, having a trifling wall about it, in circuit neere 5 miles, and 2 in length. This Torre d'Asinello, ascended by 447 steps of a foote rise, seems exceedingly high, is very narrow, and the more conspicuous from another tower call'd Garisenda so artificially built of brick (which increases the wonder) that it seems ready to fall: 'tis not now so high as the other, but they say the upper part was formerly taken down for feare it should really fall and do mischief.

Next we went to see an imperfect Church cal'd St. Petronius, shewing ye intent of the founder had he gon on. From this our guide led us to ye Schooles, which indeede are very magnificent. Thence to St. Dominic's, where that saint's body lies richly inshrin'd. The stalls, or seates of this goodly church have the historie of the Bible inlaied wth severall woods very curiously don, the work of one Fr. Damiano di Bergomo and a frier of that order. Amongst other reliques they shew the two bookes of Esdras written with his own hand. Here lie buried Jac. Andreas and divers other learn'd persons. To the Church joynes the Convent, in ye quadrangle whereof are old cypresses, said to have been planted by their Saint.

Then we went to the Palace of the Legat, a faire brick building, as are most of the houses and buildings for the whole towne, full of excellent carving and mouldings, so as nothing in stone seemes to be better finish'd or more ornamentall; witnesse those excellent columns to be seene in many of their churches, convents, and publiq buildings, for the whole towne is so cloyster'd that one may passe from house to house through the streetes without being expos'd either to raine or sun.

Before ye stately hall of this Palace stands the statue of Paule IV. and divers others; also ye monument of the coronation of Charles V. The Piazza before it is the most stately in Italy, St. Mark's at Venice onely excepted. In the center of it is a fountain of Neptune, a noble figure in coper. Here I saw a Persian walking about in a very rich vest of cloth of tissue, and severall other ornaments, according to the

fashion of his country, which much pleased me; he was a young handsom person, of the most stately mien.

I would faine have seene the Library of St. Saviour's, famous for ye number of rare manuscripts, but could not, so we went to St. Francis's, a glorious pile and exceedingly adorn'd within.

After dinner I enquired out a priest and Dr. Montalbano, to whom I brought recom'endations from Rome; this was he who invented or found out the composition of the *lapis illuminabilis*, or phosphorus. He shew'd me their property (for he had severall), being to retaine ye light of the sun for some competent time, by a kind of imbibition, by a particular way of calcination. Some of these presented a blew colour like the flame of brimstone, others like coals of a kitchen fire. The rest of the afternoone was taken up in St. Michael in Bosco, built on a steepe hill on the edge of ye Citty, for its fabrick, pleasant shade and groves, cellars, dormitory, and prospects, one of the most delicious retirements I ever saw, art and nature contending which shall exceede; so as till now I never envied the life of a frier. The whole towne and country to a vast extent are under com'and of their eyes, almost as far as Venice itselfe. In this Convent there are many excellent paintings of Guido Rheni, above all, the little cloister of 8 faces painted by Carracci in *fresco*. The carvings in wood in the sacristy are admirable, as is the inlay'd work about ye Chapell, which even emulates the best paintings, the work is so delicate and tender. The paintings of St. Saviour are of Carracci and Leonardo, and there are excellent things of Raphael which we could not see.

In the Church of St. John is a fine piece of *St. Cecilia* by Raphael. As to other paintings, there is in the Church of St. Gregorie an excellent picture of a Bishop giving the habit of St. Bernard to an arm'd souldier, with severall other figures in the piece, the work of Guerchino. Indeede this Citty is full of rare pieces, especialy of Guido, Domenico, and a virgin named Isabella Sirani, now living, who has painted many excellent pieces, and imitates Guido so well that many skilfull artists have been deceiv'd.

At the Mendicants are the *Miracles of St. Eloy* by Rheni, after the manner of Caravagio, but better; and here they shew'd us that famous

piece of *Christ calling St. Matthew*, by Hannibal Carracci. The Marques Magniani has ye whole freeze of his Hall painted in fresco by the same hand.

Many of the religious men here nourish those lap-dogs which the ladies are so fond of, and which they here sell. They are a pigmy sort of spaniels, whose noses they break when puppies, which in my opinion deforms them.

At the end of the turning in one of the wings of the dormitorie of St. Michael I found a paper pasted neere the window, containing the dimensions of most of the famous Churches in Italy compar'd with their Toures here, and the length of this Gallery, a copy whereof I tooke.

	Braccia*.	Piedi di Bolognia.	Cana di Roma.
St. Pietro di Roma, longo —	284	473	84
Cupola del murro, alta —	210	350	60
Torre d'Asinello, alto —	208$\frac{4}{7}$	348	59pr.^{mi} 6
Dormitorio de St. Mich. a Bologn. longo — — —	254	423	72$\frac{1}{2}$

From hence being brought to a subterranean territorie of cellars, the courteous Friars made us taste a variety of excellent wines, and so we departed to our Inn.

This Citty is famous also for sausages; and here is sold greate quantities of Parmegiano cheese, with Botargo, Caviare, &c. which makes some of their shops perfume ye streetes with no agreeable smell. We furnish'd ourselves with wash-balls, the best being made here, and being a considerable commodity. This place has also been famous for lutes made by the old masters, Mollen, Hans Frey, and Nicholas Sconvelt, which were of extraordinary price; the workmen were cheifly Germans. The cattle used for draught in this country (which is very rich and fertile, especialy in pasturage) are cover'd with housings of linnen fring'd at the bottome, that dangle about them, preserving them from flyes, wch in sum'er are very troublesome.

From this pleasant Citty we went now towards Ferrara, carrying with us a bulletino or bill of health, (customary in all these parts of

* A measure of half an ell.

Italy, especialy in the State of Venice,) and so put ourselves into a boate that was tow'd with horses, often interrupted by the sluices (inventions there to raise the water for the use of mills, and to fill the artificial canalls) at every of which we stayed till passage was made. We went by ye Castle Bentivoglio, and about night ariv'd at an ugly inn call'd Mal Albergo, agreeable to its name, whence, after we had supp'd, we embark'd and pass'd that night thro' the Fenns, where we were so pestered with those flying glow-worms called *Luccioli*, that one who had never heard of them would think the Country full of sparks of fire; beating some of them downe, and applying them to a book, I could reade in the dark by ye light they afforded.

Quitting our boate we took coach, and by morning got to Ferrara; where, before we could gain entrance, our gunns and armes were taken from us of custom, the lock being taken off before as we were advis'd. The Citty is in a low marshy country, and therefore well fortified. The houses and streetes have nothing of beauty, except the Palace and Church of St. Benedict, where Ariosto lies buried; and there are some good statues, the Palazzo del Diamante, Citadel, Church of St. Dominico. The Market-place is very spacious, having in its center the figure of Nicholao Oläo, once Duke of Ferrara, on horseback, in coper. It is in a word a dirty towne, and tho' the streetes be large they remaine ill pav'd; yet it is an University, and now belongs to the Pope. Tho' there are not many fine houses in ye Citty, the inn where we lodg'd was a very noble palace, having an Angel for its sign.

We parted from hence about 3 in ye afternoone, and went some of our way on ye Chanell, and then imbark'd on the Po, or Padus, by the poets called Eridanus, where they faine Phaeton to have fallen after his rash attempt, and where Io was metamorphos'd into a cow. There was in our company, amongst others, a Polonian Bishop, who was exceeding civill to me in this passage, and afterwards did me many kindnesses at Venice. We supp'd this night at a place called Corbua, neere the ruines of the ancient Citty Adria, which gives name to ye Gulph, or Sea. After 3 miles, having passed 30 on the Po, we imbarked in a stout vessell, and thro' an artificial chanell, very strait, we entred the Adice, which carried us by breake of day into ye Adriatic,

and so sailing prosperously by Chioza, (a towne upon an island in this Sea,) and Palestina, we came over against Malamocco, (the cheife port and ankerage where our English merchantmen lie that trade to Venice,) about 7 at night, after we had stayed at least 2 houres for permission to land, our bill of health being deliver'd according to costome. So soone as we came on shore we were conducted to the Dogana, where our portmanteaus were visited, and then we got to our lodging, which was at honest Sig^r. Paulo Rhodomante's at the Black Eagle near the Rialto, one of the best quarters of the towne. This journey from Rome to Venice cost me 7 pistoles and 13 julios.

June. The next morning, finding myself extreamly weary and beaten with my journey, I went to one of their bagnios, where you are treated after the Eastern manner, washing with hot and cold water, with oyles, and being rubbed wth a kind of strigil of seal's-skin, put on the operator's hand like a glove. This bath did so open my pores that it cost me one of the greatest colds I ever had in my life, for want of necessary caution in keeping myselfe warme for some time after; for coming out I im'ediately began to visit the famous places of the Citty; and Travellers who come into Italy do nothing but run up and downe to see sights, and this Citty well deserved our admiration, being the most wonderfully placed of any in the world, built on so many hundred islands, in the very Sea, and at good distance from ye Continent. It has no fresh water except what is reserv'd in cisterns from raine, and such as is daily brought from *terra firma* in boates, yet there was no want of it, and all sorts of excellent provisions were very cheape.

'Tis said that when the Huns overran Italy some meane fishermen and others left the maine land and fled for shelter to these despicable and muddy islands, which in processe of time, by industry, are growne to the greatnesse of one of the most considerable States, considered as a Republic, and having now subsisted longer than any of the foure ancient Monarchies, flourishing in greate state, wealth, and glory, by the conquest of greate territories in Italy, Dacia, Greece, Candy, Rhodes, and Sclavonia, and at present challenging the empire of all the Adriatiq Sea, which they yearly espouse by casting a gold ring into it wth greate pomp and ceremony on Ascension Day: the desire of seeing this was one of the reasons that hastened us from Rome.

The Doge, having heard masse in his robes of state (which are very particular, after the Eastern fashion,) together with ye Senat in their gownes, imbark'd in their gloriously painted, carved, and gilded Bucentora, inviron'd and follow'd by innumerable gallys, gondolas, and boates, filled wth spectators, some dressed in masquerade, trumpets, musiq, and canons; having rowed about a league into ye Gulph, the Duke at the prow casts a gold ring and cup into the Sea, at which a loud acclamation is ecchoed from the greate guns of the Arsenal and at the Liddo. We then return'd.

Two days after, taking a gondola, which is their water-coach (for land-ones there are many old men in this Citty who never saw one, or rarely a horse), we rowed up and downe the Channells, which answer to our streetes. These vessells are built very long and narrow, having necks and tailes of steele, somewhat spreading at the beake like a fishe's taile, and kept so exceedingly polish'd as to give a greate lustre; some are adorn'd with carving, others lined with velvet (commonly black), with curtains and tassells, and the seates like couches, to lie stretch'd on, while he who rowes stands upright on the very edge of the boate, and with one oare bending forward as if he would fall into the Sea, rows and turnes with incredible dexterity; thus passing from channell to channell, landing his fare or patron at what house he pleases. The beakes of these vessells are not unlike the ancient Roman rostrums.

The first publiq building I went to see was the Rialto, a bridge of one arch over the grand Canall, so large as to admit a gally to row under it, built of good marble, and having on it, besides many pretty shops, three ample and stately passages for people without any inconvenience, the two outmost nobly balustred with the same stone; a piece of Architecture much to be admir'd. It was evening, and the Canall where the Noblesse go to take the air, as in our Hide-park, was full of ladys and gentlemen. There are many times dangerous stops by reason of the multitude of gondolas ready to sink one another; and indeede they affect to leane them on one side, that one who is not accostom'd to it would be afraid of over-setting. Here they were singing, playing on harpsicords and other musick, and serenading their mistresses; in

another place racing and other pastimes on ye water, it being now exceeding hot.

Next day I went to their Exchange, a place like ours frequented by merchants, but nothing so magnificent: from thence my guide led me to the Fondigo di Todeschi, which is their magazine, and here many of the merchants, especialy Germans, have their lodging and diet as in a college. The outside of this stately fabric is painted by Giorgione da Castelfranco, and Titian himselfe.

Hence I pass'd thro' the Merceria, which is one of the most delicious streetes in the world for the sweetnesse of it, and is all the way on both sides tapistred as it were with cloth of gold, rich damasks and other silks, which the shops expose and hang before their houses from ye first floore, and with that variety that for neere halfe ye yeare spent cheifly in this Citty I hardly remember to have seene ye same piece twice expos'd; to this add the perfumes, apothecaries shops, and the innumerable cages of nightingales which they keepe, that entertaine you with their melody from shop to shop, so that shutting your eyes you would imagine yourselfe in the country, when indeede you are in the middle of the Sea. It is almost as silent as the middle of a field, there being neither rattling of coaches nor trampling of horses. This streete, pav'd with brick and exceedingly cleane, brought us thro' an arch into the famous Piazza of St. Marc.

Over this Porch stands that admirable Clock, celebrated next to that of Strasburg for its many movements; amongst which, about 12 and 6, which are their houres of Ave Maria when all the towne are on their knees, come forth the 3 Kings led by a starr, and passing by ye image of Christ in his Mother's armes do their reverence, and enter into ye clock by another doore. At the top of this turret another automaton strikes ye quarters; an honest merchant told me that one day walking in the Piazza, he saw the fellow who kept the Clock struck with this hammer so forceably, as he was stooping his head neere the bell to mend something amisse at the instant of striking, that being stunn'd he reel'd over the battlements and broke his neck. The buildings in this Piazza are all arch'd, on pillars, pav'd within with black and white polish'd marble even to the shops, the rest of the fabric as

stately as any in Europ, being not only marble but the architecture is of ye famous Sansovini, who lies buried in St. Jacomo at the end of the Piazza. The battlements of this noble range of building are rail'd with stone, and thick set with excellent statues, which add a great ornament. One of ye sides is yet much more Roman-like than the other which reguards the Sea, and where the Church is plac'd. The other range is plainly Gotiq: and so we entred into St. Marc's Church, before which stand two brasse piedestals exquisitely cast and figur'd, which beare as many tall masts painted red, on which upon greate festivals they hang flags and streamers. The Church is also Gotic; yet for the preciousnese of the materials being of severall rich marbles, aboundance of porphyrie, serpentine, &c. far exceeding any in Rome, St. Peter's hardly excepted. I much admired the splendid historie of our B. Saviour compos'd all of Mosaic over the faciata, below which and over the cheife gate are four horses cast in coper as big as the life, the same that formerly were transported from Rome by Constantine to Byzantium, and thence by the Venetians hither *. They are supported by 8 porphyrie columns of very great size and value. Being come into ye Church, you see nothing, and tread on nothing, but what is precious. The floore is all inlayed with achats, lazuli's, calcedons, jaspers, porphyries and other rich marbles, admirable also for the work; the walls sumptuously incrusted and presenting to ye imagination ye shapes of men, birds, houses, flowers, and a thousand varieties. The roofe is of most excellent Mosaic; but what most persons admire is the new work of the emblematic tree at the other passage out of the Church. In the midst of this rich volto rise five cupolas, the middle very large and sustayn'd by 36 marble columns, eight of which are of precious marbles: under these cupolas is ye high altar, on which is a reliquarie of severall sorts of jewells, engraven with figures after the Greeke maner, and set together wth plates of pure gold. The altar is cover'd with a canopy of ophit, on which is sculptur'd the storie of the Bible, and so on the pillars, wch are of Parian marble, that support it. Behind these are four other columns of transparent and true Oriental alabaster, brought hither

* They were taken away by Buonaparte to Paris, but in 1815 were sent back to Venice. EDIT.

out of the mines of Solomon's Temple as they report. There are many chapells and notable monuments of illustrious persons, Dukes, Cardinals, &c. as Zeno, Jo. Soranzi, and others: there is likewise a vast baptisterie of coper. Among other venerable reliques is a stone on which they say our Blessed Lord stood preaching to those of Tyre and Sidon, and neere the doore is an image of Christ, much ador'd, esteeming it very sacred, for that a rude fellow striking it, they say, there gush'd out a torrent of blood. In one of the corners lies the body of St. Isidore, brought hither 500 years since from ye island of Chios. A little farther they shew the picture of St. Dominic and Francis, affirm'd to have ben made by the Abbot Joachim (many yeares before any of them were born.) Going out of the Church they shew'd us the stone where Alexander III. trod on ye neck of ye Emperor Fred. Barbarossa, pronouncing that verse of the psalm, "*super basiliscum*," &c. The dores of ye Church are of massie coper. There are neere 500 pillars in this building, most of them porphyrie and serpentine, and brought cheifly from Athens and other parts of Greece formerly in their power. At the corner of the Church are inserted into the maine wall four figures as big as life cut in porphyrie, which they say are the images of four brothers who poysoned one another, by which meanes there escheated to ye Republiq that vast treasury of relicques now belonging to the Church. At the other entrance that looks towards the Sea, stands in a small chapell that statue of our Lady, made (as they affirme) of the same stone or rock out of which Moses brought water to the murmuring Israelites at Horeb or Meriba.

After all that is said, this Church is in my opinion much too dark and dismal, and of heavy work; the fabric, as is much of Venice both for buildings and other fashions and circumstances, after the Greekes, their next neighboures.

The next day, by favour of the French Ambassador I had admittance with him to see the Reliquary call'd here Tresoro di San Marco, which very few even of travellers are admitted to see. It is a large chamber full of presses. There are twelve breast-plates, or pieces of pure golden armour studded with precious stones, and as many crownes dedicated to St. Mark by so many noble Venetians who had recovered their wives

taken at sea by the Saracens; many curious vases of achats; the cap or cornet of the Dukes of Venice, one of which had a rubie set on it esteemed worth 200,000 crownes; two unicorns hornes; numerous vasas and dishes of achat set thick with precious stones and vast pearles; divers heads of Saints inchas'd in gold; a small ampulla or glasse with our Saviour's blood; a greate morcell of the real crosse; one of the nailes; a thorn; a fragment of ye column to which our Lord was bound when scourged; the standard or ensigne of Constantine; a piece of St. Luke's arme; a rib of St. Stephen; a finger of Mary Magdalene; numerous other things which I could not remember; but a priest, first vesting himselfe in his sacerdotals with the stole about his neck, shew'd us the Gospel of St. Mark (their tutelar patron) written by his own hand, and whose body they shew buried in the Church, brought hither from Alexandria many years ago.

The Religious de li Servi have fine paintings of P. Veroneze, especialy the *Magdalen*.

A French Gentleman and myself went to the Courts of Justice, the Senate-house, and Ducal Palace. The first Court neere this Church is almost wholly built of several colour'd sorts of marble, like chequer work on the outside; this is sustain'd by vast pillars, not very shapely, but observable for their capitals, and that out of thirty-three no two are alike. Under this fabrick is the Cloyster where Merchants meete morning and evening, as also the grave Senators and Gentlemen, to confer of state affaires in their gownes and caps like so many Philosophers; 'tis a very noble and solemn spectacle. In another quadrangle stood two square columns of white marble, carved, which they said had ben erected to hang one of their Dukes on who design'd to make himselfe Soveraigne. Going through a stately arch there were standing in niches divers statues of greate value, amongst which is the so celebrated Eve, esteem'd worth its weight in gold; it is just opposite to ye staires where are two Colossus's of Mars and Neptune by Sansovino. We went up into a Coridore built with several Tribunals and Courts of Justice; and by a well-contriv'd stair-case were landed in the Senate-hall, which appears to be one of the most noble and spacious rooms in Europ, being 76 paces long and 32 in breadth. At the upper end are the Tribunals of

the Doge, Council of Ten, and Assistants; in the body of the hall are lower ranks of seates capable of containing 1500 Senators, for they consist of no fewer on grand debates. Over the Duke's throne are the paintings of the *Final Judgment* by Tintoret, esteem'd amongst the best pieces in Europe. On the roofe are the famous Acts of the Republick painted by severall excellent masters, especialy Bassano; next them are the Effigies of the several Dukes, with their Elogies. Then we turned into a great Court painted with the *Battail of Lepanto*, an excellent piece; thence into the Chamber of the Council of Ten, painted by the most celebrated masters. From hence, by the special favour of an *Illustrissimo*, we were carried to see the private Armorie of the Palace, and so to the same Court we first enter'd, nobly built of polish'd white marble, part of which is the Duke's Court *pro tempore;* there are two wells adorn'd with excellent work in coper. This led us to the sea-side, where stand those two columns of ophite stone in the intire piece, of a greate height, one bearing St. Mark's Lion, the other St. Theodorus; these pillars were brought from Greece, and set up by Nic. Baraterius the architect; betweene them publique executions are performed.

Having fed our eyes with the noble prospect of ye Island St. George, the gallies, gondolas, and other vessells passing to and fro, we walked under the Cloyster on the other side of this goodly Piazza, being a most magnificent building, the design of Sansovino. Here we went into the Zecca, or Mint; at the entrance stand two prodigious Giants or Hercules of white marble: we saw them melt, beate, and coyne silver, gold, and coper. We then went up into the Procuratorie, and a Library of excellent MSS. and books belonging to it and the Publiq. After this we climb'd up the Toure of St. Mark, which we might have don on horseback, as 'tis said one of the French Kings did, there being no stayres or steps, but returnes that take up an entire square on the arches 40 foote, broad enough for a coach. This Steeple stands by itselfe without any Church neere it, and is rather a watch toure in the corner of ye greate Piazza, 230 foote in height, the foundation exceeding deepe; on the top is an Angel y^t^ turns wth ye wind, and from hence is a prospect down the Adriatic as far as Istria and the Dalmatian side, with the surprizing sight of this miraculous Citty, which lies in the

bosome of the sea, in the shape of a lute, the numberless Islands tacked together by no fewer than 450 bridges. At the foote of this Toure is a public Tribunal of excellent work in white marble polish'd, adorn'd with several brasse statues and figures of stone in mezzo relievo, the worke of some rare artist.

It was now Ascension Weeke, and the greate Mart or Faire of ye whole yeare was now kept, every body at liberty and jollie. The noblemen stalking with their ladys on *choppines;* these are high-heel'd shoes, particularly affected by these proude dames, or, as some say, invented to keepe them at home, it being very difficult to walke with them; whence one being asked how he liked the Venetian dames, replied, that they were *mezzo carne, mezzo ligno,* half flesh, half wood, and he would have none of them. The truth is, their garb is very odd, as seeming allwayes in masquerade; their other habits also totaly different from all nations. They weare very long crisped haire, of severall strakes and colours, which they make so by a wash, dischevelling it on the brims of a broade hat that has no head, but an hole to put out their heads by; they drie them in the sunn, as one may see them at their windows. In their tire they set silk flowers and sparkling stones, their peticoates coming from their very arme-pits, so that they are neere three quarters and an half apron; their sleeves are made exceeding wide, under which their shift sleeves as wide, and commonly tucked up to the shoulder, shewing their naked armes, thro' false sleeves of tiffany, girt with a bracelet or two, with knots of points richly tagged about their shoulders and other places of their body, which they usually cover with a kind of yellow vaile of lawn very transparent. Thus attir'd they set their hands on the heads of two matron-like servants or old women, to support them, who are mumbling their beades. 'Tis ridiculous to see how these ladys crawle in and out of their *gondolas* by reason of their *choppines,* and what dwarfs they appeare when taken down from their wooden scaffolds; of these I saw near thirty together, stalking halfe as high again as the rest of the world, for courtezans or the citizens may not weare *choppines,* but cover their bodies and faces with a vaile of a certaine glittering taffeta or lustree, out of which they now and then dart a glaunce of their eye, the whole face being otherwise

entirely hid with it; nor may the com'on misses take this habit, but go abroad barefac'd. To the corners of these virgin-vailes hang broad but flat tossells of curious Point de Venize; the married women go in black vailes. The nobility weare the same colour, but of fine cloth lin'd wth taffeta in Summer, with fur of the bellies of squirrells in ye Winter, which all put on at a certaine day girt with a girdle emboss'd with silver; the vest not much different from what our Bachelors of Arts weare in Oxford, and a hood of cloth made like a sack, cast over their left shoulder, and a round cloth black cap fring'd with wool which is not so comely; they also weare their collar open to shew the diamond button of the stock of their shirt. I have never seene pearle for colour and bignesse comparable to what the ladys wear, most of the noble families being very rich in jewells, especialy pearles, which are always left to the son or brother who is destined to marry, which the eldest seldome do. The Doge's vest is of crimson velvet, the Procurator's, &c. of damasc, very stately. Nor was I lesse surprised with the strange variety of ye severall nations which were seen every day in the streetes and piazzas; Jews, Turks, Armenians, Persians, Moores, Greekes, Sclavonians, some with their targets and boucklers, and all in their native fashions, negotiating in this famous Emporium, which is allways crowded with strangers.

This night, having with my Lord Bruce taken our places before, we went to the Opera where comedies and other plays are represented in recitative musiq by the most excellent musicians vocal and instrumental, with variety of sceanes painted and contrived with no lesse art of perspective, and machines for flying in the aire, and other wonderfull motions; taken together it is one of the most magnificent and expensive diversions the wit of man can invent. The history was, Hercules in Lydia; the sceanes changed thirteen times. The famous voices, Anna Rencia, a Roman, and reputed the best treble of women; but there was an eunuch who in my opinion surpass'd her; also a Genoeze that sung an incomparable base. This held us by ye eyes and eares till two in the morning, when we went to the Chetto de san Felice, to see the noblemen and their ladies at *Basset*, a game at cards which is much used, but they play not in public, and all that have inclination to it are in

masquerade, without speaking one word, and so they come in, play, loose or gaine, and go away as they please. This time of licence is onely in Carnival and this Ascension Weeke; neither are their Theaters open for that other magnificence or for ordinary comedians save on these solemnities, they being a frugal and wise people and exact observers of all sumptuarie laws.

There being at this time a ship bound for the Holy Land, I had resolved to imbark, intending to see Jerusalem and other parts of Syria, Egypt, and Turkey; but after I had provided all necessaries, laid in snow to coole our drink, bought some sheepe, poultry, biscuit, spirits, and a little cabinet of drouggs in case of sickness, our vessell (whereoff Capt. Powell was master) happen'd to be press'd for the service of the State to carry provisions to Candia, now newly attacqued by the Turkes, which altogether frustrated my designe, to my greate mortification.

On the . . . June we went to Padua, to the Faire of their St. Anthony, in company of divers passengers. The first *terra firma* we landed at was Fusina, being onely an inn, where we changed our barge and were then drawne up by horses thro' the river Brenta, a strait chanell as even as a line for 20 miles, the country on both sides deliciously adorned with country villas and gentlemen's retirements, gardens planted with oranges, figs, and other fruit, belonging to ye Venetians. At one of these villas we went ashore to see a pretty contriv'd Palace. Observable in this passage was buying their water of those who farme the sluices, for this artificial river is in some places so shallow that reserves of water are kept with sluices, which they open and shut with a most ingenious invention or engine, govern'd even by a child. Thus they keep up the water, or let it go, till the next channell be either filled by the stop, or abated to the levell, of the other, for which every boate pays a certaine dutie. Thus we stay'd neere halfe an houre and more at three severall places, so as it was evening before we got to Padoa. This is a very ancient Cittie if the tradition of Antenor's being the founder be not a fiction; but thus speakes the inscription over a stately gate:

Hanc antiquissimam urbem literarum omnium asylum, cujus agrum fertilitatis Lumen Natura esse voluit, Antenor condidit an'o ante Christum natum M.Cxviii, Senatus autem Venetus his belli propugnandis ornavit.

The towne stands on the river Padus, whence its name, and is generally built like Bologna on arches and on brick, so that one may walk all round it, dry, and in the shade, wch is very convenient in these hot countries, and I think I was never sensible of so burning a heate as I was this season, especialy the next day, which was that of ye Faire, fill'd with noble Venetians by reason of a greate and solemn procession to their famous Cathedral. Passing by St. Lorenzo I met with this inscription:

Inclytus Antenor patriam vox nisa quietem*
Transtulit huc Henetum Dardanidumq; fuga,
Expulit Euganeos, Patavinam condidit urbem,
Quem tegit hic humili marmore cæsa domus.

Under the tomb was a cobler at his work. Being now come to St. Antonies (the streete most of ye way strait, well built, and outsides excellently painted in *fresco*) we survey'd the spacious piazza, in which is erected a noble statue of coper of a man on horseback, in memorie of one Catta Malata †, a renowned captaine. The Church *a la Greça* consists of five handsome cupolas leaded. At the left hand within is the tomb of St. Anthony and his altar, about wch a mezzo relievo of the miracles ascrib'd to him is exquisitely wrought in white marble by the three famous sculptors Tullius Lombardus, Jacobus Sansovinus, and Hieron. Compagno. A little higher is the quire, wall'd parapet fashion with sundry colour'd stone halfe relievo, the work of Andrea Reccij. The altar within is of the same metall, which with the candlestick and bases is in my opinion as magnificent as any in Italy. The wainscot of the quire is rarely inlayed and carved. Here are the sepulchres of many famous persons, as of Rodolphus Fulgosi, &c. and among the rest one that for an exploit at sea has a gally exquisitely carved thereon. The Procession bore the banners with all the treasure of the cloyster, which was a very fine sight.

Hence walking over the Prato delle Valle, I went to see ye Convent of St. Justina's, than wch I never beheld one more magnificent. The

* Keysler very justly observes that the first line of this inscription conveys no meaning Vol. III. p. 220.

† Lassells calls him Gatta Mela, the Venetian General, nicknamed Gata, because of his watchfulness. p. 429.

Church is an excellent piece of architecture of Andrea Palladio, richly pav'd, with a stately cupola that covers the high altar inshrining the ashes of y^t^ Saint. It is of Pietra Commessa, consisting of flowers very naturally don. The quire is inlay'd with severall sorts of wood representing the holy history, finish'd with exceeding industry. At the far end is that rare painting of *St. Justina's martyrdom* by P. Veronese; and a stone on wch they told us divers primitive Christians had ben decapitated. In another place (to wch leads a small cloister well painted) is a dry well cover'd with a brasse-work grate wherein are the bones of divers martyrs. They shew also the bones of St. Luke in an old alabaster coffin; three of the Holy Innocents; and ye bodys of St. Maximus and Prosdocimus*. The Dormitory above is exceeding commodious and stately, but what most pleas'd me was the old cloyster so well painted with the legendarie Saints, mingled with many ancient inscriptions, and pieces of urnes dug up it seemes at the foundation of the Church. Thus having spent the day in rambles, I return'd the next day to Venice.

The Arsenal is thought to be one of ye best furnish'd in ye world. We entred by a strong port always guarded, and ascending a spacious gallery saw armes of back, breast, and head, for many thousands; in another were saddles, over them ensignes taken from the Turks. Another Hall is for the meeting of the Senat; passing a graff are the smiths forges, where they are continualy at work on ankers and iron work. Neere it is a well of fresh water, which they impute to two rhinoceros's horns which they say lie in it and will preserve it from ever being empoison'd. Then we came to where the carpenters were building their magazines of oares, masts, &c. for an hundred gallys and ships, which have all their aparell and furniture neere them. Then the founderie, where they cast ordinance; the forge is 450 paces long, and one of them has thirteen furnaces. There is one cannon weighing 16,573 lbs. cast whilst Henry the Third dined, and put into a gally built, rigg'd, and fitted for launching within that time. They have also armes for 12 galeasses, wch are vessells to rowe, of almost 150

* St. Peter's disciple, first Bishop of Padua. Lassells, p. 430.

foote long and 30 wide, not counting prow or poop, and contain 28 banks of oares, each 7 men, and to carry 1300 men, with 3 masts. In another a magazin for 50 gallys, and place for some hundreds more. Here stands the Bucentaur, with a most ample deck, and so contriv'd that the slaves are not seene, having on the poop a throne for the Doge to sit, when he gos in triumph to espouse the Adriatic. Here is also a gallery of 200 yards long for cables, and over that a magazine of hemp. Over against these are their saltpetre houses, and a large row of cells or houses to protect their gallies from ye weather. Over the gate as we go out, is a roome full of greate and small guns, some of which discharge six times at once. Then there is a court full of can'on, bullets, chaines, grapples, granados, &c. and over that armes for 800,000 men, and by themselves armes for 400 taken from some that were in a plot against the State; together with weapons of offence and defence for 62 ships; 32 pieces of ordnance on carriages taken from the Turks, and one prodigious mortar-piece. In a word, 'tis not to be reckoned up what this large place containes of this sort. There were now 23 gallys, and 4 gally-grossi of 100 oares of a side. The whole Arsenal is wall'd about and may be in compasse about 3 miles, with 12 towres for ye watch, besides y^t^ the sea invirons it. The workmen, who are ordinarily 500, march out in military order, and every evening receive their pay thro' a small hole in ye gate where the Governor lives.

The next day I saw a wretch executed who had murther'd his master, for wch he had his head chop'd off by an axe y^t^ slid down a frame of timber *, between the two tall columns in St. Mark's Piazza at the sea brink; the executioner striking on the axe with a beatle, and so the head fell off the block.

Hence by Gudala we went to see Grimani's Palace, the portico whereof is excellent work. Indeed the world cannot shew a Citty of more stately buildings considering the extent of it, all of square stone, and as chargeable in their foundations, as superstructure, being all built on piles at an immense cost. We return'd home by the Church of St. Johanne and Paulo, before which is in coper the statue of Bartolomeo

* The maiden at Halifax, in Yorkshire, and the guillotine in France.

Colone on horseback, double gilt, on a stately pedestal, the work of And. Verrochio, a Florentine. This is a very fine Church, and has in it many rare altar pieces of ye best masters, especialy that on the left hand of y^e^ *Two Friers slaine*, which is of Titian.

The day after, being Sunday, I went over to St. George's to ye ceremonie of ye schismatic Greekes, who are permitted to have their Church, tho' they are at defiance with Rome. They allow no carved images, but many painted, especialy the story of their patron and his dragon. Their rites differ not much from the Latines, save that of communicating in both species, and distribution of the holy bread. We afterwards fell into dispute with a Candiot concerning the procession of ye Holy Ghost. The Church is a noble fabric.

The Church of St. Zachary is of Greeke building, by Leo ye 4th Emp. and has in it the bones of that prophet with divers other Saints. Neere this we visited St. Luke's, famous for the tomb of Aretine *.

Tuesday we visited severall other Churches, as Sta Maria, newly incrusted with marble on the outside, and adorned wth porphyrie, ophit, and Spartan stone. Neere the altar and under ye organ are sculptures, that are said to be of the famous artist Praxiteles. To that of St. Paul I went purposely to see the tomb of Titian. Then to St. John the Evangelist, where amongst other heroes lies Andr. Baldarius, the inventor of oares applied to greate vessells for fighting.

We also saw St. Roch, the roofe whereof is, with the school or hall of that rich confraternity, admirably painted by Tintoret, especialy the *Crucifix* in ye sacristia. We saw also ye Church of St. Sebastian, and Carmelites monasterie.

Next day taking our gondola at St. Mark's, I pass'd to ye Island of St. George Maggiore, where is a Convent of Benedictines, and a well built Church by Andrea Palladio, the greate architect. The pavement, cupola, choire, and pictures, very rich and sumptuous. The

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* This epitaph has been made for this Satyrist and Atheist:

Here lies the man who no man spared,
When the angry fit was on him;
Nor God himself had better fared,
If Aretine had known him.

cloyster has a fine garden to it, which is a rare thing at Venice, tho' this is an island a little distant from ye Cittie; it has also an olive orchard all inviron'd by the sea. The new cloyster now building has a noble stayrecase pav'd wth white and black marble.

From hence we visited St. Spirito and St. Laurence, faire Churches in severall islands; but most remarkable is that of ye Padri Olivetani in St. Helen's island, for the rare paintings and carvings, wth inlay'd work, &c.

The next morning we went againe to Padoa, where next day we visited ye market, which is plentifully furnish'd and exceedingly cheape. Here we saw ye greate hall, built in a spacious piazza, and one of ye most magnificent in Europe; its ascent is by steps a good height, of a reddish marble polish'd, much us'd in these parts and happly found not far off; 'tis almost 200 paces long and 40 in breadth, all cover'd wth lead, without any support of columns. At ye farther end stands the bust in white marble of Titus Livius the historian. In this town is the house wherein he was borne, full of inscriptions and pretty faire.

Neere to the monument of Speron Speronii, is painted on ye cieling the celestial zodiaq and other astronomical figures; without side there is a corridor in manner of a balcony, of the same stone; and at the entrie of each of the three gates is the head of some famous person, as Albert Eremitano, Jul. Paullo (lawyers), and Peter Aponius. In the piazza is the Podesta and Capitano Grande's Palace, well built; but above all the Monte Pietà, the front whereof is of most excellent architecture; this is a foundation of which there is one in most of the Citties in Italy, where there is a continual banq of mony to assist ye poorer sort, on any pawn, and at reasonable interest, together wth magazines for deposit of goods till redeemed.

Hence to ye Scholes of this flourishing and ancient University, especialy for ye studie of physic and anatomie. They are fairly built in quadrangle, with cloysters beneath, and above wth columns. Over the greate gate are the armes of ye Venetian State, and under ye lion of St. Marc:

"Sic ingredere ut teipso quotidie doctior; sic egredere ut indies Patriæ Christianæq; Reipublicæ utilior evadas; ita demùm Gymnasium a te felicitèr ornatum existimabit. CIↃ.IX."

About ye court walls are carv'd in stone and painted the blazons of the Consuls of all the nations that from time to time have had that charge and honor in the Universitie, which at my being there was my worthy friend Dr. Rogers, who here tooke that degree.

The scholes for ye lectures of the severall sciences are above, but none of them comparable, or so much frequented as the theatre for anatomie, which is excellently contriv'd both for the dissector and spectators. I was this day invited to dinner, and in the afternoone (being 30 July) received my *Matricula*, being resolved to spend some moneths here at study, especialy physic and anatomie, of both which there was now the most famous professors in Europe. My *Matricula* contained a clause, that I, my goods, servants, and messengers, should be free from all toll and reprises, and that we might come, pass, return, buy or sell, without any toll, &c.

The next morning I went to see ye Garden of Simples, rarely furnish'd wth plants, and gave order to ye gardener to make me a collection of them for an *hortus hyemalis*, by permission of ye Cavalier Dr. Vestlingius, then Prefect and Botanic Professor as well as of Anatomie.

Next morning the Earle of Arundel*, now in this Citty, a famous collector of paintings and antiquities, invited me to go with him to see ye Garden of Mantua, where as one enters stands a huge colosse of Hercules. From hence to a place where was a roome cover'd wth a noble cupola, built purposely for musiq; the fillings up, or cove 'twixt the walls were of urnes and earthen pots for ye better sounding; it was also well painted. After dinner we walked to ye Palace of Foscari all' Arena, there remaining yet some appearances of an ancient theater, tho' serving now for a court onely before ye house. There were now kept in it two eagles, a crane, a Mauritanian sheepe, a stag, and sundry foules, as in a vivarie.

Three days after, I return'd to Venice, and pass'd over to Murano, famous for ye best glasses of the world, where having viewed their furnaces and seene their work, I made a collection of divers curiosities

* The celebrated Thomas Earl of Arundel, part of whose collection was eventually procured for the University of Oxford by Mr. Evelyn, and is distinguished by the name of *Marmora Arundeliana.*

and glasses, which I sent for England by long sea. 'Tis the white flints wch they have from Pavia, which they pound and sift exceedingly small and mix with ashes made of a sea-weede brought out of Syria, and a white sand, that causes this manufacture to excell. The Towne is a *Podestaria* by itselfe, at some miles distant on ye sea from Venice, and like it built upon severall small islands. In this place are excellent oysters, small and well tasted like our Colchester, and they were the first, as I remember, that I ever could eate, for I had naturally an aversion to them.

At our returne to Venice we met several gondolas full of Venetian ladys, who come thus far in fine weather to take the aire, with musiq and other refreshments. Besides that Murano is itselfe a very nobly built Towne, and has divers noblemen's palaces in it and handsome gardens.

In coming back we saw ye Ilands of St. Christopher and St. Michael, the last of which has a Church inrich'd and incrusted with marbles and other architectonic ornaments, which the Monkes very courteously shew'd us. It was built and founded by Margaret Æmiliana of Verona, a famous courtezan, who purchased a greate estate, and by this foundation hoped to commute for her sins. We then rowed by ye Iles of St. Nicholas, whose Church with the monuments of the Justinian family entertain'd us awhile; and then got home.

The next morning Capt. Powell, in whose ship I was to embark towards Turkey, invited me on board, lying about 10 miles from Venice, where we had a dinner of English pouder'd beefe and other good meate with store of wine and greate gunns, as the manner is. After dinner the Captaine presented me with a stone he lately brought from Grand Cairo, which he tooke from the Mummy-pitts, full of hieroglyphics; I drew it on paper with the true dimensions, and sent it in a letter to Mr. Henshaw to com'unicate to Father Kircher, who was then setting forth his greate work *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, where it is described, but without mentioning my name. The stone was afterwards brought for me into England and landed at Wapping, where before I could heare of it, it was broken into severall fragments and utterly defaced, to my no small disappointment.

The boatswaine of ye ship also gave me a hand and foote of a mummy, the nailes whereof had been overlaid with thin plates of gold, and the whole body was perfect when he brought it out of Egypt, but ye avarice of ye ship's crue broke it to pieces and divided the body among them. He presented me also with two Egyptian idols, and some loaves of ye bread which the Coptics use in ye Holy Sacrament, with other curiosities.

8 August. I had newes from Padoa of my election to be *Syndicus Artistarum*, which caused me after two days idling in a country villa with ye Consul of Venice, to hasten thither, that I might discharge my selfe of that honour, because it was not only chargeable, but would have hindred my progresse, and they chose a Dutch gentleman in my place, which did not well please my countrymen, who had labour'd not a little to do me the greatest honour a stranger is capable of in that Universitie. Being freed from this impediment, and having taken leave of Dr. Janicius, a Polonian, who was going physician in ye Venetian gallys to Candy, I went againe to Venice, and made a collection of severall books and some toys. Three days after, I return'd to Padoa, where I studied hard till the arival of Mr. Henshaw, Bramstone, and some other English gentlemen whom I had left at Rome, and who made me go back with them to Venice, where I spent some time in shewing them what I had seene there.

26 Sept. My dear friend, and till now my constant fellow traveller, Mr. Thicknesse, being obliged to returne to England upon his particular concerne, and who had served his Ma^ty^ in the warrs, I accompanied him part of his way, and on the 28th returned to Venice.

29. Michaelmas day, I went with my Lord Mowbray (eldest son to the Earle of Arundell and a most worthy person) to see the collection of a noble Venetian, Sign. Rugini. He has a stately Palace richly furnish'd with statues and heads of Roman Emperors, all plac'd in an ample roome. In the next was a cabinet of medals, both Latin and Greek, with divers curious shells and two faire pearles in two of them; but above all he abounded in things petrified, wallnuts, eggs in which ye yealk rattl'd, a peare, a piece of beefe with ye bones in it, an whole hedge-hog, a plaice on a wooden trencher turn'd into stone and very

perfect, charcoale, a morsel of cork yet retaining its levitie, sponges, and a piece of taffety part roll'd up, with innumerable more. In another cabinet supported by twelve pillars of Oriental achat and rail'd about with chrystal, he shew'd us severall noble intaglias of achat, especialy a head of Tiberius, a woman in a bath wth her dog, some rare cornelians, onixes, chrystals, &c. in one of which was a drop of water not congeal'd, but moving up and down when shaken; above all, a diamond which had a very faire rubie growing in it; divers pieces of amber wherein were several insects, in particular one cut like an heart that contained in it a salamander without the least defect, and many pieces of Mosaic. The fabriq of this cabinet was very ingenious, set thick with achats, turquoises, and other precious stones, in the midst of wch was an antiq of a dog in stone scratching his eare, very rarely cut and comparable to the greatest curiositie I had ever seene of that kind for ye accuratenesse of the work. The next chamber had a bedstead all inlay'd wth achats, chrystals, cornelians, lazuli, &c. esteemed worth 16,000 crownes; but for ye most part ye bedsteads in Italy are of forged iron gilded, since it is impossible to keepe the wooden ones from ye chimices.

From hence I returned to Padoa, when that towne was so infested wth souldiers that many houses were broken open in the night, some murders comitted, and the nunns next our lodging disturb'd, so as we were forc'd to be on our guard with pistols and other fire-armes to defend our doores; and indeede the students themselves take a barbarous liberty in the evenings when they go to their strumpets, to stop all that passe by the house where any of their companions in folly are with them; this costome they call *Chi vali*, so as the streetes are very dangerous when the evenings grow dark; nor is it easy to reforme this intollerable usage where there are so many strangers of severall nations.

Using to drink my wine cool'd wth snow and ice, as the manner here is, I was so afflicted with an angina and soare-throat that it had almost cost me my life. After all the remedies Cavalier Vestlingius, cheife professor here, could apply, old Salvatico (that famous physician) being call'd made me be cupp'd and scarified in the back in foure places, which began to give me breath, and consequently life, for I was

in ye utmost danger; but God being mercifull to me, I was after a fortnight abroad againe, when changing my lodging I went over against Pozzo Pinto, where I bought for winter provision 3000 weight of excellent grapes, and pressed my owne wine, which proved incomparable liquor.

This was on 10 Oct. Soon after came to visite me from Venice Mr. Henry Howard, grandchild to ye Earle of Arundel, Mr. Bramstone, son to ye Lord Cheif Justice, and Mr. Henshaw, with whom I went to another part of ye Citty to lodge neere St. Catherine's, over against the Monasterie of Nunns, where we hired the whole house and lived very nobly. Here I learned to play on ye theorba, taught by Sig. Dominico Bassano, who had a daughter married to a Doctor of Laws, that played and sung to nine severall instruments, with that skill and addresse as few masters in Italy exceeded her; she likewise compos'd divers excellent pieces. I had never seene any play on the Naples viol before. She presented me afterwards with two recitativos of hers, both words and musiq.

31 Oct. Being my birth-day, the Nunns of St. Catharine's sent me flowers of silk-work. We were very studious all this winter till Christmas, when on twelfth day we invited all the English and Scotts in towne to a feast, which sunk our excellent wine considerably.

1646. In January Sign. Molino was chosen Doge of Venice, but the extreame snow that fell, and the cold, hindered my going to see the solemnity, so as I stirred not from Padoa till Shrovetide, when all the world repaire to Venice to see the folly and madnesse of the Carnevall; the women, men, and persons of all conditions disguising themselves in antiq dresses, with extravagant musiq and a thousand gambols, traversing the streetes from house to house, all places being then accessible and free to enter. Abroad, they fling eggs fill'd with sweete water, but sometimes not over sweete. They also have a barbarous costome of hunting bulls about ye streetes and piazzas, which is very dangerous, the passages being generally narrow. The youth of the severall wards and parishes contend in other masteries and pastimes, so that 'tis impossible to recount the universal madnesse of this place during this time of licence. The greate banks are set up for those who

will play at bassett; the comedians have liberty, and the operas are open; witty pasquils are thrown about, and the mountebanks have their stages at every corner. The diversion which cheifely tooke me up was three noble operas, where were excellent voices and musiq, the most celebrated of which was the famous Anna Rencha, whom we invited to a fish dinner after foure daies in Lent, when they had given over at the theater. Accompanied with an eunuch whom she brought with her, she entertain'd us with rare musiq, both of them singing to an harpsichord. It growing late, a gentleman of Venice came for her to shew her ye gallys, now ready to sayle for Candia. This entertainment produced a second, given us by ye English Consul of ye merchants, inviting us to his house, where he had the Genoeze, the most celebrated base in Italy, who was one of the late opera band. This diversion held us so late at night, that conveying a gentlewoman who had supped with us to her gondola at the usual place of landing, we were shot at by two carbines from out another gondola in which was a noble Venetian and his courtezan unwilling to be disturb'd, which made us run in and fetch other weapons, not knowing what the matter was, till we were informed of the danger we might incur by pursuing it farther. Three days after this I tooke my leave of Venice, and went to Padoa to be present at the famous Anatomie Lecture, which is here celebrated with extraordinary apparatus, lasting almost a whole moneth. During this time I saw a woman, a child, and a man dissected with all the manual operations of ye chirurgeon on the humane body. The one was performed by Cavalier Vestlingius and Dr. Jo Athelsteinus Leonænas, of whom I purchased those rare Tables of Veines and Nerves, and caus'd him to prepare a third of ye Lungs, Liver, and Nervi sexti par: wth ye Gastric Veines, which I sent into England, and afterwards presented to the Royall Society, being the first of that kind that had been seen there, and for aught I know in ye world, tho' afterwards there were others. When ye Anatomie Lectures, which were in ye mornings, were ended, I went to see cures don in the Hospitals; and certainly as there are ye greatest helps and the most skilfull physitians, so there are the most miserable and deplorable objects to exercise upon. Nor is there any, I should think, so power-

full an argum^t^ against ye vice reigning in this licentious Country, as to be spectator of the miserie these poore creatures undergo. They are indeede very carefully attended, and with extraordinary charity.

20 March. I return'd to Venice, where I tooke leave of my friends.

22. I was invited to excellent English potted venison at Mr. Hobbson's, a worthy merchant.

23. I tooke my leave of the Patriarche and ye Prince of Wirtemburg, and Mon^s^. Grotius (son of the learned Hugo) now going a comander to Candia, and in the afternoone receiv'd of Vandervoort my merchant, my bills of exchange of 300 ducats for my journey. He shew'd me his rare collection of Italian books, esteem'd very curious and of good value.

The next day I was conducted to the Ghetta, where the Jewes dwell together as in a tribe or ward, where I was present at a marriage. The bride was clad in white, sitting in a lofty chaire, and cover'd with a white vaile; then two old Rabbies joyned them together, one of them holding a glasse of wine in his hand, which in the midst of the ceremony, pretending to deliver to ye woman, he let fall, the breaking whereof was to signify the frailty of our nature, and that we must expect disasters and crosses amidst all enjoyments. This don, we had a fine banquet, and were brought into ye bride-chamber, where the bed was dress'd up wth flowers, and the counterpan strewed in workes. At this ceremony we saw divers very beautifull Portuguez Jewesses, with whom we had some conversation.

I went to ye Spanish Ambassador with Bonifacio his confessor, and obtained his passe to serve me in the Spanish dominions, without which I was not to travel, in this pompous form:

"Don Gaspar de Teves y Guzman, Marques de la Fuente, Senor Le Lerena y Verazuza, Comendador de Colos, en la Orden de Sant Yago, Alcalde Mayor perpetuo y Escrivano Mayor de la Civdad de Sevilla, Gentilhombre de la Camara de S. M. su Azemilero Mayor, de su Consejo, su Embaxador extraordinario a los Principes de Italia, y Alemania, y a esta serenissima Republica de Venetia, &c. Haviendo de partir de esta Ciudad para La Milan el Sig^r^ Cavallero Evelyn Ingles, con un Criado, mi han pedido Passa-porte para los Estatos de su M. Le he mandado dar el presente, firmado de mi mano,

y sellado con el sello de mis armas, por el qual encargo a todos los menestros de S. M. antes quien le presentase y a los que no lo son, supplico les dare passar libramente sin permitir que se le haya vexacion alguna antes mandar le las favor para continuar su viage. Fecho en Venecia a 24 del mes de Marzo dell an'o 1646. Mar. de la Fuentes, &c."

Having pack'd up my purchases of books, pictures, castes, treacle, &c. (the making and extraordinary ceremonie whereof I had ben curious to observe, for 'tis extremely pompous and worth seeing) I departed from Venice, accompanied with Mr. Waller (the celebrated Poet), now newly gotten out of England, after ye Parliament had extreamely worried him for attempting to put in execution ye Commission of Aray, and for which the rest of his Collegues were hanged by ye Rebells.

The next day I tooke leave of my comrades at Padoa, and receiving some directions from Dr. Salvatico as to ye care of my health, I prepared for my journey towards Milan.

It was Easter-Monday that I was invited to breakfast at the Earle of Arundel's *. I tooke my leave of him in his bed, where I left that greate and excellent man in teares on some private discourse of crosses that had befall'n his illustrious family, particularly the undutifullnesse of his Grandson Philip's turning Dominican Frier (since Cardinal of Norfolk), and the miserie of his Countrie now embroil'd in civil war. He caus'd his Gentleman to give me directions, all written with his owne hand, what curiosities I should enquire after in my journey; and so, enjoyning me to write sometimes to him, I departed. There stayed for me below, Mr. Henry Howard (afterwards Duke of Norfolk), Mr. J. Digby son of Sir Kenelm Digby, and other gentlemen, who conducted me to the coach.

The famous Lapidaries of Venice for false stones and pastes so as to emulate the best diamonds, rubies, &c. were Marco Terrasso and Gilbert.

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* Lassells, who travelled a short time after Mr. Evelyn, says, that the Earl died here, and that his bowels are buried under a black marble stone, inscribed "Interiora Thomæ Howard Comitis Arondeliæ." p. 439.

An Accompt of what Bills of Exchange I tooke up at Venice since my coming from Rome, till my departure from Padoa:

11 Augt 1645	200
7 Sept.	135
1 Oct^{r}	100
15 Jan. 1646	100
23 Aprill	300
	835 Ducati di Banco.

In company then with Mr. Waller, one Capt. Wray (son of Sr Christ^{r}. whose father had ben in armes against his Ma^{ty}, and therefore by no meanes wellcome to us), with Mr. Abdy, a modest and learned man, we got that night to Vincenza, passing by ye Euganéan hills, celebrated for the prospects and furniture of rare simples, which we found growing about them. The wayes were something deepe, the whole country flat and even as a bowling greene. The comon fields lie square, and are orderly planted wth fruite trees which the vines run upon and embrace for many miles, with delicious streames creeping along the ranges.

Vincenza is a Citty in ye Marquisate of Treviso, yet appertaining to ye Venetians, full of gentlemen and splendid palaces, to which ye famous Palladio, borne here, has exceedingly contributed, as having ben the architect. Most conspicuous is the Hall of Justice; it has a toure of excellent work; the lower pillars are of the first order; those in the three upper corridors are Doric; under them are shops in a spacious piazza. The hall was built in imitation of that at Padoa, but of a nobler designe, *a la moderna*. The next morning we visited ye Theater, as being of that kind the most perfect now standing, and built by Palladio, in exact imitation of the ancient Romans, and capable of containing 5000 spectators. The sceane, wch is all of stone, represents an imperial citty, ye order Corinthian, decorated with statues. Over ye Scenario is inscribed, "Virtuti ac Genio Olympior: Academia Theatrum hoc a fundamentis erexit Palladio Architect:

1584." The sceane declines 11 foote, the suffito painted with cloudes. To this there joynes a spacious Hall for sollemn days to ballot in, and a second for the Academics. In ye Piazza is also the Podesta, or Governor's house, the faciata being of ye Corinthian order, very noble. The Piazza itselfe is so large as to be capable of justs and tournaments, the Nobility of this Citty being exceedingly addicted to this knight errantry and other martial diversions. In this place are two pillars in imitation of those at St. Marc's at Venice, bearing one of them a winged lion, the other the statue of St. Jo. Baptist.

In a word, this sweete Towne has more well-built Palaces than any of its dimensions in all Italy, besides a number begun and not yet finished (but of stately designe) by reason of the domestic dissentions 'twixt them and those of Brescia, fomented by ye sage Venetians least by combining they might think of recovering their ancient liberty. For this reason also are permitted those dissorders and insolences committed at Padoa among the youth of these two territories. It is no dishonor in this country to be some generations in finishing their palaces, that without exhausting themselves by a vast expence at once, they may at last erect a sumptuous pile. Count Oleine's Palace is neere perfected in this manner. Count Ulmarini * is more famous for his gardens, being without ye walls, especialy his Cedrario or Conserve of Oranges eleaven score of my paces long, set in order and ranges, making a canopy all the way by their intermixing branches for more than 200 of my single paces, and which being full of fruite and blossoms was a most delicious sight. In the middle of this garden was a cupola made of wyre, supported by slender pillars of brick, so closely cover'd with ivy, both without and within, that nothing was to be perceived but greene; 'twixt the arches there dangled festoones of the same. Here is likewise a most inextricable labyrinth.

I had in this towne recommendation to a very civil and ingenious apothecarie call'd Angelico, who had a pretty collection of paintings. I would faine have visited a palace call'd the Rotunda, which was a mile out of towne belonging to Count Martio Capra, but one of our

* Lassells calls him Valmerana, p. 435.

companions hasting to be gone, and little minding any thing save drinking and folly, caus'd us to take coach sooner than we should have done.

A little from the towne we pass'd ye Campo Martio, set out in imitation of ancient Rome, wherein ye noblesse exercise their horses, and the ladys make the Corso; it is entred by a stately triumphal arch, ye invention of Palladio.

Being now set out for Verona, about midway we din'd at Ostaria Nova, and came late to our resting-place, which was the Cavaletto, just over the monument of the Scaligeri *, formerly Princes of Verona, adorn'd with many devices in stone of ladders, alluding to ye name.

Early next morning we went about ye Citty, which is built on ye gentle declivity and bottome of an hill, inviron'd in part with some considerable mountaines and downes of fine grass like some places in ye South of England, and on the other side having the rich plaine where Caius Marius overthrew ye Cimbrians. The Citty is divided in ye midst by ye river Athesis, over which are divers stately bridges, and on its banks are many goodly palaces, whereof one is well painted in *chiaro oscuro* on the outside, as are divers in this drie climate of Italy.

The first thing y^t^ engaged our attention and wonder too, was the amphitheater, which is the most entire of ancient remaines now extant. The inhabitants call it the *Arena*: it has two portico's, one within ye other, and is 34 rods long, 22 in bredth, with 42 ranks of stone benches or seates which reach to ye top. The vastnesse of ye marble stones is stupendious. "L. V. Flaminia Consul. ano. urb. con. LIII." This I esteeme to be one of the noblest antiquities in Europ, it is so vast and intire, having escaped the ruines of so many other public buildings for above 1400 yeares.

There are other arches, as that of ye victorie of Marius; temples, aquæducts, &c. shewing still considerable remaines in severall places of the towne, and how magnificent it has formerly ben. It has three strong castles, and a large and noble wall. Indeede, the whole Citty is bravely built, especialy ye Senate house, where we saw those cele-

* Or della Scala.

brated statues of Cornelius Nepos, Emilius Marcus, Plinius, and Vitruvius, all having honoured Verona by their birth, and of later date Julius Cæsar Scaliger, that prodigie of learning.

In ye evening we saw ye garden of Count Giusti's villa, where are walkes cut out of the maine rock, from whence we had ye pleasant prospect of Mantua and Parma, though at greate distance. At the entrance of this garden growes the goodliest cypresse I fancy in Europ, cut in pyramid; 'tis a prodigious tree both for breadth and height, entirely cover'd and thick to ye base.

Dr. Cortone, a Civilian, shew'd us amongst other rarities a *St. Dorothea* of Raphael. We could not see the rare drawings, especialy of Parmensis, belonging to Dr. Marcello, another advocate, on account of his absence.

This Citty deserv'd all those elogies Scaliger has honoured it with, for in my opinion the situation is the most delightfull I ever saw, it is so sweetly mixed with rising ground and vallies, so elegantly planted with trees on which Bacchus seems riding as it were in triumph every autumn, for the vines reach from tree to tree; here of all places I have seene in Italy would I fix a residence. Well has that learn'd man given it the name of ye very eye of the world;—

> Ocelle mundi, Sidus Itali cœli,
> Flos Urbium, flos corniculumq' amœnum,
> Quot sunt, eruntve, quot fuere, Verona.

The next morning we travell'd over the downes where Marius fought, and fancied ourselves about Winchester and the country towards Dorsetshire. We dined at an inn call'd Cavalli Caschieri, neere Peschiera, a very strong fort of the Venetian Republic, and neere the Lago di Garda, which disembogues into that of Mantua, neere 40 miles in length, highly spoken of by my Lord Arundel to me, as the most pleasant spot in Italy, for which reason I observ'd it with the more diligence, alighting out of the coach and going up to a grove of cypresses growing about a gentleman's country house, from whence indeede it presents a most surprizing prospect. The hills and gentle risings about it produce oranges, citrons, olives, figs, and other tempting fruits, and the waters abound in excellent fish, especialy

troutts. In ye middle of this lake stands Sermonea on an island; here Capt. Wray bought a pretty nag of the master of our inn where we dined, for eight pistoles, which his wife, our hostesse, was so unwilling to part with, that she did nothing but kisse and weepe and hang about the horse's neck till the captaine rid away.

We came this evening to Brescia, which next morning we traverst according to our custom in search of antiquities and new sights. Here I purchas'd of old Lazarino Cominazzo my fine carabine, which cost me 9 pistoles, this Citty being famous for these fire-armes, and that workman, with Jo. Bap. Franco, the best esteem'd. This Citty consists most in artists, every shop abounding in gunns, swords, armorers, &c. Most of the workmen come out of Germanie. The Citty stands in a fertile plaine, yet ye Castle is built on an hill. The streetes abound in faire fountaines. The Torre della Pallada is of a noble Tuscan Order, and the Senate-house is inferior to few. The Piazza is but indifferent; some of the houses arched as at Padoa. The Cathedrall was under repaire. We would from hence have visited Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, &c. but the banditti and other dangerous parties being abroad, committing many enormities, we were content with a Pisgah sight of them.

We din'd next day at Ursa Vecchia, and after dinner pass'd by an exceeding strong fort of ye Venetians cal'd Ursa Nova, on their frontier. Then by the river Oglio and so by Sonano, where we enter the Spanish dominions, and that night ariv'd at Crema, which belongs to Venice, and is well defended. The Podesta's Palace is finely built, and so is ye Domo or Cathedral and the Tower to it, with an ample Piazza.

Early next day, after 4 miles riding, we enter'd into the State of Milan, and pass'd by Lodi *, a greate Citty famous for cheese little short of the best Parmeggiano. We din'd at Marignano, 10 miles before coming to Milan, where we met halfe a dozen suspicious Cavaliers, who yet did us no harme. Then passing as through a continual garden, we went on with exceeding pleasure, for it is the paradise of

* Famous for the victory gained by Buonaparte over the Austrians in 1796.

Lombardy, the highways as even and straite as a line, the fields to a vast extent planted with fruit about the inclosures, vines to every tree at equal distances, and water'd with frequent streames. There was likewise much corne, and olives in aboundance. At approch of ye Citty some of our company, in dread of ye Inquisition (severer here than in all Spain), thought of throwing away some Protestant books and papers. We arived about 3 in the afternoone, when the officers search'd us thoroughly for prohibited goods, but finding we were onely gentlemen travellers, dismiss'd us for a small reward, and we went quietly to our inn, the Three Kings, where for that day we refreshed ourselves, as we had neede. The next morning we delivered our letters of recommendation to ye learned and courteous Ferrarius, a Doctor of the Ambrosian College, who conducted us to all the remarkable places of the towne, the first of which was the famous Cathedral. We enter'd by a portico so little inferior to y^t^ of Rome, that when it is finish'd it will be hard to say which is ye fairest; the materials are all of white and black marble, with columns of great height of Egyptian granite. The outside of the Church is so full of sculpture, that you may number 4000 statutes all of white marble, amongst wch that of St. Bartholomew is esteemed a masterpiece. The Church is very spacious, almost as long as St. Peter's at Rome, but not so large. About the Quire the sacred storie is finely sculptured in snow-white marble, nor know I where it is exceeded. About ye body of the Church are the miracles of St. Char. Boromeo, and in the vault beneath is his body before the high altar, grated, and inclos'd in one of ye largest chrystals in Europe. To this also belongs a rich treasure. The cupola is all of marble within and without, and even cover'd with great planks of marble, in the Gotick designe. The windows are most beautifully painted. Here are two very faire and excellent organs. The fabriq is erected in the midst of a faire Piazza, and in the center of the Citty.

Hence we went to the Palace of the Archbishop, which is a quadrangle, the architecture of Theobaldi, who design'd much for Philip II. in the Escurial, and has built much in Milan. Hence I went into ye Governor's Palace, who was Constable of Castile; tempted by the glorious tapissries and pictures, I adventur'd so far alone, that peeping

into a chamber where the greate man was under the barber's hands, he sent one of his Negro's (a slave) to know what I was; I made the best excuse I could, and that I was only admiring the pictures, which he returning and telling his lord, I heard the Governor reply that I was a spie, on which I retir'd with all the speede I could, pass'd the guard of Swisse, got into the streete, and in a moment to my company, who were gone to the Jesuites Church, which in truth is a noble structure, the front especialy, after ye moderne. After dinner we were conducted to St. Celso, a church of rare architecture, built by Bramante; the carvings of the marble faciata are by Hannibal Fontana, whom they esteeme at Milan equal to the best of the ancients. In a roome joyning to the Church is a marble Madona like a Colosse, of the same sculptor's work, wch they will not expose to the aire. There are two Sacristias, in one of which is a fine *Virgin* of Leonardo da Vinci, in the other is one by Raphael d'Urbino, a piece which all the world admires. The Sacristan shew'd us a world of rich plate, jewells, and embroder'd copes; which are kept in presses.

Next we went to see ye Greate Hospital, a quadrangular Cloyster of a vast compasse, a truly royal fabric, with an annual endowment of 50,000 crowns of gold. There is in the middle of it a crosse building for the sick, and just under it an altar so plac'd as to be seene in all places of ye Infirmarie.

There are divers Colleges built in this quarter, richly provided for by ye same Borromeo and his nephew ye last Card^{l} Frederico, some not yet finish'd, but of excellent designe.

In St. Eustorgio, they tell us, formerly lay the bodyes of the 3 Magi, since translated to Colin (Cologne) in Germany; they however preserve ye tomb, which is a square stone, on which is engraven a star, and under it, "Sepulchrum trium Magorum."

Passing by St. Laurence we saw 16 columns of marble, and ye ruins of a Temple of Hercules, with this inscription yet standing:

Imp. Cæsari L. Aurelio Vero Aug. Arminiaco Medico Parthico Max. Trib. Pot. VII. Imp. IIII. Cos. III. P. P. Divi Antonini Pij Divi Hadriani Nepoti Divi Trajani Parthici Pro Nepoti Divi Nervæ Abnepoti Dec. Dec.

We concluded this day's wandring at the Monasterie of Madona della Gratia, and in the Refectorie admir'd that celebrated *Cœna Domini* of Leonardo da Vinci, which takes up the intire wall at the end, and is the same that the greate Virtuoso Francis the First of France was so enamour'd of, that he consulted to remove the whole wall by binding it about with ribs of iron and timber to convey it into France. It is indeede one of the rarest paintings that was ever executed by Leonardo, who was long in ye service of that Prince, and so deare to him that ye King coming to visite him in his old age and sicknesse, he expired in his armes. But this incomparable piece is now exceedingly impair'd*.

Early next morning came the learned Dr. Ferarius to visite us, and took us in his coach to see the Ambrosian Librarie, where Card^l^. Fred. Borromeo has expended so vast a sum on this building and in furnishing with curiosities, especialy paintings and drawings of inestimable value amongst painters. It is a schole fit to make the ablest artists. There are many rare things of Hans Breugill, and amongst them y^e^ *Four Elements*. In this room stands the glorious [boasting] inscription of Cavaliero Galeazzo Arconati, valueing his gift to the librarie of severall drawings by Da Vinci, but these we could not see, the keeper of them being out of towne and he always carrying the keys with him; but my Lord Martial, who had seene them, told me all but one booke are small, that an huge folio contain'd 400 leaves full of scratches of Indians, &c. but whereas the inscription pretends that our King Charles had offer'd £.1,000. for them, the truth is, and my Lord himselfe told me, that it was he who treated with Galeazzo for himselfe in the name and by permission of the King, and that the Duke of Feria, who was then Governour, should make the bargain: but my Lord having seene them since, did not think them of so much worth.

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* It is not noticed in the Painter's Voyage of Italy, published 1679, probably from its decay. The painting is still there, but having been often retouched, on account of the dampness of the wall, is certainly not what it once was. The picture has been again drawn into notice in England from the magnificent print of it lately engraved in Italy by Raphael Morghen, which is esteemed one of the finest works of art in this kind that has ever been executed. There is also an old engraving from it by Peter Soutman, but which by no means exhibits a true delineation of the characters of the piece, as designed by Leonardo.

In the great roome, where is a goodly librarie, on ye right hand of ye doore is a small wainscot closset furnish'd wth rare manuscripts. Two original letters of ye Grand Signor were shew'd us, sent to two Popes, one of which was (as I remember) to Alex^r^ VI. (Borgia), and the other mentioning the head of the launce wch pierc'd our B. Saviour's side sent as a present to ye Pope: 'I would faine have gotten a copy of them, but could not; I hear, however, that they are since translated into Italian, and that therein is a most honourable mention of Christ.

We revisited St. Ambrose's Church. The high altar is supported by 4 porphyrie columns, and under it lie the remaines of that holy man. Neere it they shew'd us a pit or well (an obscure place it is) where they say St. Ambrose baptized St. Augustine and recited y^e^ *Te Deum*, for so imports the inscription. The place is also famous for some Councils that have ben held here, and for the coronation of divers Italian Kings and Emperors, receiving the Iron Crown from the Archbishop of this see *. They shew the History by Josephus written on the bark of trees. The high altar is wonderfully rich.

Milan is one of the most princely Citties in Europe: it has no suburbs, but is circled wth a stately wall for 10 miles, in ye center of a country that seemes to flow with milk and hony. The aire is excellent; the fields fruitfull to admiration, the market abounding with all sorts of provisions. In the Citty are neere 100 Churches, 71 Monasteries, 40,000 inhabitants; it is of a circular figure, fortified with bastions, full of sumptuous palaces and rare artists, especialy for works in chrystal, which is here cheape, being found among the Alpes. They are curious straw worke among the nunns, even to admiration. It has a good river, and a citadell at some small distance from ye Citty, commanding it, of greate strength for its works and munition of all kinds. It was built by Galeatius the Second, and consists of 4 bastions, and works at ye angles and fronts; the graff is fac'd with brick to a very great depth; has 2 strong towres as one enters, and within is another fort and spacious lodgings for ye souldiers and for exercising them. No accommodation for strength is wanting, and all exactly uniforme.

* Buonaparte took it and put it on his own head.

They have here also all sorts of work and tradesmen, a greate magazine of armes and provisions. The fosse is of spring water with a mill for grinding corn, and the ramparts vaulted underneath. Don Juan Vasquez Coronada was now Governor; the garrison Spaniards onely.

There is nothing better worth seeing than the collection of Sig^r. Septalla *, a canon of St. Ambrose, famous over Christendome for his learning and virtues. Amongst other things he shew'd us an Indian wood that has the perfect scent of civet; a flint or pebble, that has a quantity of water in it, wch is plainly to be seen, it being cleare as achat; divers chrystals that have water moving in them, some of them having plants, leaves, and hogs bristles in them; much amber full of insects, &c. and divers things of woven amianthus †.

Milan is a sweete place, and tho' the streetes are narrow they abound in rich coaches, and are full of noblesse, who frequent the course every night. Walking a turn in the Portico before ye Dome, a cavaliero who pass'd by hearing some of us speaking English, looked a good while earnestly on us, and by and by sending his servant desir'd we would honour him the next day at dinner. We looked on this as an odd invitation, he not speaking to us himselfe, but we returned his civilitie with thanks, tho' not fully resolv'd what to do, or indeed what might be the meaning of it in this jealous place; but on enquirie 'twas told us he was a Scots Colonel who had an honorable command in the Citty, so that we agreed to go. This afternoone we were wholly taken up in seeing an opera represented by some Neapolitans, performed all in excellent music with rare sceanes, in which there acted a celebrated beauty.

Next morning we went to the Colonel's, who had sent his servant

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* The Painter's Voyage particularizes 85 pictures in this Collection, but few of them by great Masters.

† There are two descriptive Catalogues of the Museum; in its day, one of the most celebrated in all Italy; both are in small quarto, the one in Latin, the later and most complete one in Italian. To this is prefixed a large inside view of the Museum, exhibiting its curious contents, of busts, statues, pictures, urns, and every kind of rarity natural and artificial.

Keysler in his Travels laments the not being able to see it, on account of a law-suit then depending, and it has been long since dispersed, probably in consequence of it.

againe to conduct us to his house, which we found to be a noble palace richly furnish'd. There were other guests, all souldiers, one of them a Scotchman, but we could not learn one of their names. At dinner he excus'd his rudenesse that he had not himselfe spoken to us, telling us it was his custome when he heard of any English travellers (who but rarely would be knowne to passe thro' that Citty for feare of the Inquisition) to invite them to his house, where they might be free. We had a sumptuous dinner, and the wine was so tempting that after some healths had gon about, and we had risen from table, the Colonel led us into his hall, where there hung up divers colours, saddles, bridles, pistols, and other armes, being trophies which he had taken with his owne hands from the enemy; amongst them he would needs bestow a paire of pistols on Capt. Wray, one of our fellow-travellers and a good drinking gentleman, and on me a Turkish bridle woven with silk and very curiously emboss'd, with other silk trappings, to which hung a halfe moone finely wrought, which he had taken from a basshaw whom he had slaine. With this glorious spoile I rid the rest of my journey as far as Paris, and brought it afterwards into England. He then shew'd us a stable of brave horses, with his menage and cavalerizzo. Some of the horses he caus'd to be brought out, which he mounted, and performed all the motions of an excellent horseman. When this was don, and he had alighted, contrary to the advice of his groome and page, who knew ye nature of ye beast and that their master was a little spirited with wine, he would have a fiery horse that had not yet been menaged and was very ungovernable, but was otherwise a very beautifull creature; this he mounting, ye horse getting ye reines in a full carriere, rose so desperately that he fell quite back, crushing the Colonell so forceably against the wall of the menage, that tho' he sat on him like a Centaure, yet recovering the jade on all foure againe, he desir'd to be taken down and so led in, where he cast himself on a pallet, and with infinite lamentations, after some time we tooke leave of him being now speechlesse. The next morning going to visite him, we found before the doore the canopie which they usually carry over ye host, and some with lighted tapers, which made us suspect he was in very sad condition, and so indeede we found him,

an Irish Frier standing by his bed side as confessing him, or at least disguising a confession, and other ceremonies us'd *in extremis*, for we afterwards learn'd that the gentleman was a Protestant and had this Frier his confidant, which was a dangerous thing at Milan, had it ben but suspected. At our enterance he sighed grievously and held up his hands, but was not able to speake. After vomiting some blood, he kindly tooke us all by the hand, and made signes that he should see us no more, which made us take our leave of him with extreame reluctancy and affliction for the accident. This sad disaster made us consult about our departure as soon as we could, not knowing how we might be enquir'd after or engag'd, the Inquisition being so cruelly formidable and inevitable on the least suspicion. The next morning, therefore, discharging our lodgings, we agreed for a coach to carry us to the foote of ye Alpes, not a little concern'd for the death of ye Colonell, which we now heard of, and who had so courteously entertain'd us.

The first day we got as far as Castellanza, by which runs a considerable river into Lago Maggiore; here at dinner were two or three Jesuites, who were very pragmatical and inquisitive, whom we declin'd conversation with as decently as we could: so we pursu'd our journey thro' a most fruitfull plaine, but the weather was wet and uncomfortable. At night we lay at Sesto.

The next morning leaving our coach we embarked in a boate to carry us over ye Lake (being one of the largest in Europe) and whence we could see the touring Alps, and amongst them the greate San Bernardo, esteemed ye highest mountaine in Europe, appearing to be some miles above the clouds. Thro' this vast water passes the river Ticinus, wch discharges itselfe into ye Po, by which meanes Helvetia transports her merchandizes into Italy, which we now begin to leave behind us.

Having now sailed about two leagues, we were hal'd ashore at Arona, a strong towne belonging to the Dutchy of Milan, where being examin'd by the Governor and paying a small duty, we were dismiss'd. Opposite to this fort is Angiera, another small towne, the passage very pleasant with the prospect of the Alps cover'd with pine and fir trees, and above them snow. We pass'd the pretty Island

Isabella*, about the middle of the Lake, on which is a faire house built on a mount, indeede the whole island is a mount ascended by several terraces and walks all set about with orange and citron trees.

The next we saw was Isola †, and we left on our right hand the Isle of St. Jovanni ‡, and so sailing by another small towne built also on an island, we ariv'd at night at Margazzo, an obscure village at the end of the Lake, and at the very foote of the Alpes, which now rise as it were suddenly after some hundreds of miles of the most even country in the world, and where there is hardly a stone to be found, as if Nature had here swept up the rubbish of the Earth in the Alpes to forme and cleare the Plaines of Lombardy, which we had hitherto pass'd since our coming from Venice. In this wretched place I lay on a bed stuff'd with leaves, which made such a crackling, and did so prick my skin thro' the tick, that I could not sleepe. The next morning I was furnish'd with an asse, for we could not get horses; instead of stirrups we had ropes tied with a loope to put our feete in, which supplied the place of other trappings. Thus with my gallant steed, bridled with my Turkish present, we pass'd thro' a reasonably pleasant but very narrow valley till we came to Duomo, where we rested, and having shew'd the Spanish Passe, ye Governor would presse another on us that his Secretary might get a croune. Here we exchang'd our asses for mules, sure footed on the hills and precipices, being accustom'd to passe them; hiring a guide, we were brought that night thro' very steepe, craggy and dangerous passages to a village called Vedra, being the last of the King of Spain's dominions in ye Dutchy of Milan. We had a very infamous wretched lodging.

The next morning we mounted again thro' strange, horrid and fearfull craggs and tracts, abounding in pine trees, and onely inhabited by beares, wolves, and wild goates; nor could we any where see above a pistol shoote before us, the horizon being terminated with rocks and mountaines, whose tops cover'd with snow seem'd to touch ye skies, and in many places pierced the clowdes. Some of these vast mountaines were but one entire stone, 'twixt whose clefts now and then precipitated

* † ‡ These are called "the Borromean Islands in the Lago Maggiore, belonging to the great Milanese family of Borromeo."

greate cataracts of mealted snow and other waters, which made a terrible roaring, echoing from ye rocks and cavities; and these waters in some places breaking in the fall wett us as if we had pass'd thro' a mist, so as we could neither see nor heare one another, but trusting to our honest mules we jogged on our way. The narrow bridges in some places made onely by felling huge fir trees and laying them athwart from mountaine to mountaine over cataracts of stupendious depth, are very dangerous, and so are the passages and edges made by cutting away the maine rock; others in steps; and in some places we passe betweene mountains that have ben broken and fallen on one another, which is very terrible, and one had neede of a sure foote and steady head to climb some of these precipices, besides that they are harbours for beares and wolves who have sometimes assaulted travellers. In these straights we frequently alighted, now freezing in the snow, and anon frying by the reverberation of the sun against the cliffs as we descend lower, when we meete now and then a few miserable cottages so built upon the declining of the rocks as one would expect their sliding down. Amongst these inhabite a goodly sort of people having monstrous gullets or wenns of fleshe growing to their throats, some of which I have seene as big as an hundred pound bag of silver hanging under their chinns, among the women especialy, and that so ponderous as that to ease them many wear linen cloth bound about their head and coming under the chin to support it; but *quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus?* Their drinking so much snow-water is thought to be the cause of it; the men using more wine are not so strumous as the women. The truth is, they are a peculiar race of people, and many greate water drinkers here have not these prodigious tumours; it runs as we say in the bloud, and is a vice in the race, and renders them so ugly, shrivel'd and deform'd by its drawing the skin of the face downe, that nothing can be more fritefull; to this add a strange puffing dress, furrs, and ye barbarous language, being a mixture of corrupt High German, French and Italian. The people are of greate stature, extreamely fierce and rude, yet very honest and trustie.

This night thro' almost unaccessible heights we came in prospect of Mons Sempronius, now Mount Sampion, which has on its sum'it a

few huts and a chapell. Approching this, Captaine Wray's water-spaniel (a huge filthy cur that had follow'd him out of England) hunted an heard of goates downe the rocks into a river made by the melting of the snow. Ariv'd at our cold harbour (tho' the house had a stove in every roome) and supping on cheese and milk with wretched wine, we went to bed in cupbords * so high from the floore that we climb'd them by a ladder; we were covered with feathers, that is we lay between two ticks stuff'd with them, and all little enough to keepe one warme. The cielings of the rooms are strangely low for those tall people. The house was now, in September, halfe cover'd with snow, nor is there a tree or bush growing within many miles.

From this uncomfortable place we prepared to hasten away the next morning, but as we were getting on our mules, comes a huge young fellow demanding mony for a goat wch he affirm'd that Capt. Wray's dog had kill'd; expostulating ye matter and impatient of staying in the cold, we set spurrs and endeavour'd to ride away, when a multitude of people being by this time gotten together about us (for it being Sonday morning and attending for the priest to say masse) they stopp'd our mules, beate us off our saddles, and disarming us of our carbines, drew us into one of the roomes of our lodging, and set a guard upon us. Thus we continu'd prisoners till masse was ended, and then came halfe a score grim Swisse, who taking on them to be magistrates sate downe on the table, and condemn'd us to pay a pistole for the goate and ten more for attempting to ride away, threat'ning that if we did not pay it speedily, they would send us to prison and keep us to a day of publiq justice, where, as they perhaps would have exaggerated the crime, for they pretended we had prim'd our carbines and would have shot some of them (as indeede the Captaine was about to do) we might have had our heads cut off, as we were told afterwards, for that amongst these rude people a very small misdemeanor dos often meete that sentence. Tho' the proceedings appear'd highly unjust †, on consultation among ourselves we thought it safer to rid ourselves out of their hands and the trouble

* They have such in Wales.

† Surely these poor people were right, and this is not expressed with Mr. Evelyn's usual liberality.

we were brought into, and therefore we patiently layd downe the mony, and with fierce countenances had our mules and armes deliver'd to us, and glad we were to escape as we did. This was cold entertainment but our journey after was colder, the rest of the way having ben as they told us cover'd with snow since the Creation; no man remember'd it to be without; and because by the frequent snowing the tracts are continualy fill'd up, we passe by severall tall masts set up to guide travellers,[14] so as for many miles they stand in ken of one another like to our beacons. In some places where there is a cleft between 2 mountaines the snow fills it up, whilst the bottome being thaw'd leaves as it were a frozen arch of snow, and that so hard as to beare the greatest weight; for as it snows often, so it perpetualy freezes, of which I was so sensible that it flaw'd ye very skin of my face.

'Beginning now to descend a little, Capt. Wray's horse (that was our sumpter and carried all our baggage) plunging thro' a bank of loose snow slid downe a frightfull precipice, which so incens'd the choleriq cavalier his master that he was sending a brace of bullets into the poore beast, least our guide should recover him and run away with his burden; but just as he was lifting up his carbine we gave such a shout, and so pelted ye horse with snow-balls, as with all his might plunging through the snow he fell from another steepe place into another bottome neere a path we were to passe. It was yet a good while ere we got to him, but at last we recover'd the place, and easing him of his charge hal'd him out of the snow, where he had ben certainly frozen in if we had not prevented it before night. It was as we judg'd almost two miles that he had slid and fall'n, yet without any other harme than the benuming of his limbs for ye present, but with lusty rubbing and chafing he began to move, and after a little walking perform'd his journey well enough. All this way, affrited with the disaster of this horse, we trudg'd on foote driving our mules before us; sometimes we fell, sometimes we slid thro' this ocean of snow, which after October is impassable. Towards night we came into a larger way, thro' vast woods of pines which clothe the middle parts of these rocks. Here they were burning some to make pitch and rosin, piling the knotty branches as we do to make charcoale, reserving what

mealts from them, which hardens into pitch. We pass'd severall cascades of dissolv'd snow, that had made channels of formidable depth in ye crevices of ye mountaines, and with such a fearfull roaring as we could heare it for 7 long miles. It is from these sources that the Rhone and the Rhyne which passe thro' all France and Germanie, derive their originals. Late at night we got to a towne called Briga at the foote of ye Alpes, in the Valtoline. Almost every doore had nail'd on the outside and next ye streete a beare's, wolfe's, or foxe's head, and divers of them all three; a savage kind of sight, but as the Alps are full of these beasts the people often kill them. The next morning we return'd our guide, and tooke fresh mules and another to conduct us to the Lake of Geneva, passing thro' as pleasant a country as that we had just travel'd was melancholy and troublesome. A strange and suddaine change it seem'd, for the reverberation of the sun-beames from the mountaines and rocks that like walls range it on both sides, not above two flight shots in bredth for a very great number of miles, renders ye passage excessively hot. Thro' such extreames we continu'd our journey, that goodly river the Rhone gliding by us in a narrow and quiet channell almost in ye middle of this Canton, fertilising the country for grasse and corne, which grow here in aboundance.

We ariv'd this night at Sion, a pretty towne and citty, a bishop's seate, and the head of Valesia. There is a Castle, and the Bishop who resides in it has both civill and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Our host, as the costome of these Cantons is, was one of the chiefest of the towne, and had ben a Colonell in France; he us'd us with extreame civility, and was so displeas'd at the usage we receiv'd at Mount Sampion, that he would needes give us a letter to the Governor of the Country who resided at St. Maurice, which was in our way to Geneva, to revenge the affront. This was a true old blade, and had ben a very curious virtuoso, as we found by an handsome collection of books, medails, pictures, shells, and other antiquities. He shew'd two heads and hornes of the true capricorne, which animal he told us was frequently kill'd among ye mountaines; one branch of them was as much as I could well lift and neere as high as my head, not much unlike the greater sort of goates, save that they bent forwards, by help

whereof they climb up and hang on inaccessible rocks, from whence the inhabitants now and then shoote them; they speak prodigious things of their leaping from crag to crag, and of their sure footing notwithstanding their being cloven footed, unapt one would think to take hold and walke so steadily on those horrible ridges as they do. The Colonell would have given me one of these beames, but the want of a convenience to carry it along with me caus'd me to refuse his courtesie. He told me that in the Castle there were some Roman and Christian antiquities, and he had some inscriptions in his owne garden. He invited us to his country-house, where he said he had better pictures and other rarities; but our time being short, I could not persuade my companions to stay and visite the places he would have had us seene, nor the offer he made to shew us the hunting of the beare, wolfe, and other wild beasts. The next morning, having presented his daughter, a pretty well-fashioned young woman, with a small rubie ring, we parted somewhat late from our generous host. Passing thro' the same pleasant vally betweene the horrid mountaines on either hand, like a gallery many miles in length, we got to Martigni, where also we were well entertain'd. The houses in this country are all built of firr boards planed within, low, and seldom above one story. The people very clownish and rustickly clad after a very odd fashion, for ye most part in blew cloth, very whole and warme, with little variety or distinction 'twixt the gentlemen and common sort, by a law of their country being exceedingly frugal. Add to this their greate honestie and fidelity, tho' exacting enough for what they part with. I saw not one beggar. We paied the value of 20 shill. English for a day's hire of one horse. Every man gos with a sword by his side, the whole country well disciplin'd, and indeed impregnable, which made the Romans have such ill successe against them; one lusty Swisse at their narrow passages is sufficient to repell a legion. 'Tis a frequent thing here for a young tradesman or fermor to leave his wife and children for 12 or 15 yeares, and seeke his fortune in the warrs in Spaine, France, Italy, or Germanie, and then returne againe to work. I look upon this country to be the safest spot of all Europ, neither envyed nor envying; nor are any of them rich, nor poore; they live in greate simplicity and tranquillitie;

and tho' of the 14 Cantons halfe be Roman Catholics, the rest Reformed, yet they mutualy agree, and are confederate with Geneva, and are its onely security against its potent neighbours, as they themselves are from being attack'd by the greater Potentates, by the mutual jealousie of their neighbours; as either of them would be overbalanc'd should the Swisse, who are wholy mercenarie and auxiliaries, be subjected to France or Spaine.

We were now ariv'd at St. Maurice, a large handsome towne and residence of the President, where justice is don; to him we presented our letter from Sion, and made known the ill usage we had receiv'd for killing a wretched goate, which so incens'd him as he sware if we would stay he would not onely help us to our mony againe, but most severely punish the whole rabble; but our desire of revenge had by this time subsided, and glad we were to be gotten so neere France, which we reckon'd as good as home. He courteously invited us to dine with him, but we excus'd ourselves, and returning to our inn, whilst we were eating something before we tooke horse, the Governor had caus'd two pages to bring us a present of two great vessells of cover'd plate full of excellent wine, in which we drank his health, and rewarded ye youthes; they were two vast bowles supported by two Swisses, handsomely wrought after the German manner. This civilitie and that of our host at Sion perfectly reconcil'd us to the highlanders; and so proceeding on our journy we pass'd this afternoone thro' the gate which divides the Valois from the Dutchy of Savoy, into which we were now entering, and so thro' Montei we ariv'd that evening at Beveretta. Being extreamly weary and complaining of my head, and finding little accommodation in the house, I caus'd one of our hostesses daughters to be removed out of her bed and went immediately into it whilst it was yet warme, being so heavy with pain and drowsinesse that I would not stay to have the sheetes chang'd; but I shortly after payd dearly for my impatience, falling sick of the small pox so soon as I came to Geneva, for by the smell of frankincense and ye tale ye good woman told me of her daughter having had an ague, I afterwards concluded she had ben newly recover'd of the small pox. Notwithstanding this I went with my company the next day, hiring a bark to carry us over the Lake;

and indeede sick as I was, the weather was so serene and bright, the water so calme, and aire so temperate, that never had travellers a sweeter passage. Thus we sail'd the whole length of the Lake, about 30 miles, the countries bordering on it (Savoy and Berne) affording one of the most delightfull prospects in the world, the Alps cover'd with snow, tho' at a greate distance yet shewing their aspiring tops. Thro' this Lake the river Rhodanus passes with that velocity as not to mingle with its exceeding deep waters, which are very cleare, and breed the most celebrated troute for largenesse and goodness of any in Europe. I have ordinarily seene one of three foote in length sold in the market for a small price, and such we had in ye lodging where we abode, which was at the White Crosse. All this while I held up tolerably, and the next morning having a letter for Sign^r^ John Diodati, the famous Italian Minister and translator of the Holy Bible into that language, I went to his house, and had a greate deal of discourse wth that learned person. He told me he had been in England, driven by tempest into Deale, whilst sailing for Holland, that he had seene London, and was exceedingly taken with the civilities he receiv'd. He so much approv'd of our Church Government by Bishops, that he told me the French Protestants would make no scruple to submitt to it and all its pomp, had they a King of the Reform'd Religion as we had. He exceedingly deplor'd the difference now betweene his Ma^ty^ and the Parliament. After dinner came one Monsr Saladine with his little pupil the Earle of Carnarvon, to visit us, offering to carry us to the principal places of the towne, but being now no more able to hold up my head, I was constrain'd to keepe my chamber, imagining that my very eyes would have dropp'd out; and this night I felt such a stinging all about me that I could not sleepe. In the morning I was very ill, but sending for a doctor he persuaded me to be let bloud. He was a very learned old man, and as he said had ben physician to Gustavus the greate King of Sweden, when he pass'd this way into Italy under ye name of Monsr. Garse, the initial letters of Gustavus Adolphus Rex Sueciæ, and of our famous Duke of Buckingham on his returning out of Italy. He afterwards acknowledg'd that he should not have bled me had he suspected ye small pox, which brake out a day after. He afterwards

purg'd me and applied leaches, and God knows what this would have produc'd if the spots had not appear'd, for he was thinking of blooding me againe. They now kept me warme in bed for 16 daies, tended by a vigilant Swisse matron, whose monstrous throat, when I sometimes awak'd out of unquiet slumbers, would affright me. After the pimples were come forth, which were not many, I had much ease as to paine, but infinitely afflicted with the heat and noysomenesse. By God's mercy after five weeks keeping my chamber I went abroad. Mons. Saladine and his lady sent me many refreshments. Mons. Le Chat, my physician, to excuse his letting me bloud told me it was so burnt and vicious as it would have prov'd the plague or spotted feaver had he proceeded by any other method. On my recovering sufficiently to go abroad, I dined at Monsr. Saladine's, and in the afternoone went crosse the water on the side of the Lake, and tooke a lodging that stood exceeding pleasant about halfe a mile from the Citty for the better ayring; but I stay'd onely one night, having no company there save my pipe; so the next day I caus'd them to row me about the Lake as far as the greate stone which they call Neptune's Rock, and on which they say sacrifice was anciently offer'd to him. Thence I landed at certaine cherry-gardens and pretty villas by the side of the Lake and exceedingly pleasant. Returning I visited their conservatories of fish; in which were trouts of 6 and 7 foote long *as they affirm'd.*

The Rhone, which parts ye Citty in ye middst, dips into a cavern underground about 6 miles from it, and afterwards rises againe and runns its open course like our Mole or Swallow by Dorking in Surrey. The next morning (being Thursday) I heard Dr. Diodati preach in Italian, many of that Country, especialy of Lucca his native place, being inhabitants of Geneva and of the Reform'd Religion.

The towne lying between Germanie, France, and Italy, those three tongues are familiarly spoken by the inhabitants. 'Tis a strong well fortifi'd Citty, part of it built on a rising ground. The houses are not despicable, but the high pent-houses (for I can hardly call them cloysters, being all of wood) thro' which the people passe drie and in the shade winter and summer, exceedingly deforme the fronts of the buildings. Here are aboundance of bookesellers, but their bookes are

of ill impressions; these, with watches (of which store are made here), chrystal, and excellent screw'd guns, are the staple commodities. All provisions are good and cheape.

The Townehouse is fairely built of stone; the portico has foure black marble columns, and on a table of the same under the Citty arms, a demie eagle and a crosse between crosse-keys, is a motto, "Post Tenebras Lux," and this inscription:

Quum anno 1535 profligatâ Romanâ Anti-Christi Tyrannide, abrogatisq; ejus superstitionibus, sacro-sancta Christi Religio hic in suam puritatem, Ecclesiâ in meliorem ordinem singulari Dei beneficio repositâ, et simul pulsis fugatisq; hostibus, urbs ipsa in suam Libertatem, non sine insigni miraculo, restituta fuerit; Senatus Populusq; Genevensis Monumentum hoc, perpetuæ memoriæ causâ, fieri atque hoc loco erigi curavit, quo suam erga Deum gratitudinem ad posteros testatum fuerit.

The territories about the towne are not so large as many ordinary gentlemen have about their country farmes, for which cause they are in continual watch, especialy on the Savoy side; but in case of any siege the Swisse are at hand, as this inscription in the same place shews, towards the streete:

D. O. M. S.

Anno a verâ Religione divinitùs cum veteri Libertate Genevæ restitutâ, et quasi novo Jubileo ineunte, plurimis vitatis domi et foris insidiis et superatis tempestatibus, et Helvetiorum Primari Tigurini æquo jure in societatem perpetuam nobiscum venerint, et veteres fidissimi socii Bernenses prius vinculum novo adstrinxerint, S. P. Q. G. quod felix se velit D. O. M. tanti beneficii monumentum consecrarunt, anno temporis ultimi CIↃ.IↃ.XXXIV.

In the Senat house were 14 antient urnes, dug up as they were removing earth in the fortifications.

A little out of the towne is a spacious field which they call Campus Martius; and well it may be so tearm'd with better reason than that of Rome at present (which is no more a field but all built into streetes), for here on every Sonday after the evening devotions this precise people permitt their youths to exercise armes, and shoote in gunns and in the long and crosse bowes, in which they are exceedingly expert, reputed to be as dexterous as any people in the world. To encourage this, they yearely elect him who has won most prizes at the mark to be their

king, as the king of the long-bow, gun, or crosse-bow. He then weares that weapon in his hat in gold wth a crowne over it, made fast to the hat like a broach. In this field is a long house wherein their armes and furniture are kept in severall places very neately. To this joynes a hall where at certain times they meete and feast; in the glass windows are the armes and names of their kings [of armes]. At ye side of the field is a very noble Pall-Mall, but it turns with an elbow. There is also a bowling-place, a tavern, and a true-table, and here they ride their menaged horses. It is also the usual place of publiq execution of those who suffer for any capital crime tho' committed in another country, by which law divers fugitives have been put to death who have fled hither to escape punishment in their own country. Amongst other severe punishments here, adultery is death. Having seene this field and play'd a game at Mall, I supped with Mr. Saladine.

On Sonday I heard Dr. Diodati preach in French, and after the French mode, in a gowne with a cape and his hat on.* The Church Government is severely Presbyterian, after the discipline of Calvin and Beza who set it up, but nothing so rigid as either our Scots or English Sectaries of that denomination. In ye afternoone Monsr. Morice, a most learned young person and excellent poet, cheif Professor of the University, preach'd at St. Peter's, a spacious Gotick fabrick. This was heretofore a Cathedral and a reverend pile. It has 4 turrets, on one of which stands a continual sentinel; on another cannons are mounted. The Church is very decent within; nor have they at all defaced ye painted windows, which are full of pictures of Saints; nor the stalls, which are all carv'd with ye history of our B. Saviour.

In the afternoone I went to see the young towne's-men exercise in Mars Field,* where prizes were pewter plates and dishes; 'tis said that some have gain'd competent estates by what they have thus won. Here I first saw huge balistæ or crosse-bows shot in, being such as they formerly us'd in wars before greate guns were known; they were plac'd in frames, and had greate screws to bend them, doing execution at an incredible distance. They were most accurate at the long-bow and musket, rarely missing the smallest mark. I was as buisy with the carbine I brought from Brescia as any of them. After every shot I

found them go into the long house and cleanse their guns before they charg'd againe.

On Monday I was invited to a little garden without ye workes where were many rare tulips, anemonies, and other choice flowers. The Rhone, running athwart ye towne out of ye Lake, makes halfe ye Citty a suburb, which in imitation of Paris they call St. German's Fauxbourg, and it has a church of the same name. On two wooden bridges that crosse the river are several water-mills, and shops of trades especialy smiths and cuttlers; between the bridges is an island in the midst of which is a very ancient Tower said to have been built by Julius Cæsar. At the end of the other bridge is ye Mint, and a faire Sun-dial.

Passing againe by ye Towne-house I saw a large crocodile hanging in chaines; and against the wall of one of the chambers seaven judges were painted without hands, except one in the middle, who has but one hand; I know not ye storie. The Arsenal is at the end of this building, well furnish'd and kept.

After dinner Mr. Morice led us to the Colledge, a faire structure; in the lower part are the scholes, which consist of 9 classes; and an hall above, where the students assemble; also a good library. They show'd us a very antient Bible of about 300 yeares old in the vulgar French, and a MS. in ye old Monkish character: here have the Professors their lodgings. I also went to see the Hospital, which is very commodious; but the Bishop's Palace is now a prison.

This towne is not much celebrated for beautifull women, for even at this distance from the Alps the gentlewomen have something full throates, but our Captain Wray (afterwards Sir W^m^. eldest son of that Sir Christopher, who had both ben in armes agains this Majesty for ye Parliament) fell so mightily in love with one of Monsr. Saladine's daughters that with much persuasion he could not be prevail'd on to think on his journey into France, ye season now coming on extremely hot.

My sicknesse and abode here cost me 45 pistoles of gold to my host, and five to my honest doctor, who for six weekes attendance and the apothecarie thought it so generous a reward, that at my taking leave he presented me with his advice for the regimen of my health, written

with his own hand in Latine. This regimen I much observ'd, and I bless God pass'd the journey without inconvenience from sicknesse, but it was an extraordinarily hot unpleasant season and journey by reason of ye craggie waies.

5 July, 1646, we tooke or rather purchas'd a boat, for it could not be brought back against the streame of the Rhone. We were two days going to Lions, passing many admirable prospects of rocks and cliffs, and neere the towne down a very steepe declivitie of water for a full mile. From Lions we proceeded the next morning, taking horse to Rohan, and lay that night at Farrara. At Rohan we indulged ourselves with ye best y^t^ all France affords, for here ye provisions are choice and plentifull, so as the supper we had might have satisfied a prince. We lay that night in damask beds, and were treated like emperours. The towne is one of the neatest built in all France, on ye brink of the Loire; and here we agreed with an old fisher to row us as farr as Orleans. The first night we came as far as Nevers, early enough to see the towne, the Cathedral (St. Cyre), the Jesuits Colledge, and the Castle, a Palace of the Duke's, with the bridge to it nobly built.

The next day we pass'd by La Charite, a pretty towne somewhat distant from the river. Here I lost my faithfull spaniel (Piccioli) who had follow'd me from Rome; it seemes he had ben taken up by some of the Governor's pages or footemen, without recovery, which was a greate displeasure to me because the curr had many useful qualities.

The next day we ariv'd at Orleans, taking our turns to row, of which I reckon my share came to little less than 20 leagues. Sometimes we footed it thro' pleasant fields and medows; sometimes we shot at fowls and other birds, nothing came amiss; sometimes we play'd at cards, whilst others sung or were composing verses, for we had ye greate Poet Mr. Waller in our companie, and some other ingenious persons.

At Orleans we abode but one day; the next, leaving our mad Captaine behind us, I ariv'd at Paris, rejoic'd that after so many dissasters and accidents in a tedious peregrination I was gotten so neere home, and here I resolv'd to rest myselfe before I went further.

It was now October, and the onely time that in my whole life I spent most idly, tempted from my more profitable recesses; but I soone recover'd my better resolutions and fell to my study, learning the High Dutch and Spanish tongues, and now and then refreshing my daunceing and such exercises as I had long omitted and wch are not in much reputation amongst the sober Italians.

1647, January 28, I chang'd my lodging in the Place de Monsr. de Metz neere the Abby of St Germains; and thence on the 12th Feby to another in Rue Columbier, where I had a very faire appartement which cost me 4 pistoles per moneth. The 18th I frequented a course of Chemistrie, the famous M^r^. Le Febure operating upon most of the nobler processes. March 3, Monsr Mercure began to teach me on ye lute, tho' to small perfection.

In May I fell sick and had very weak eyes, for which I was foure times let blood.

22 May. My valet (Hebert) robb'd me of cloths and plate to the value of threescore pounds, but thro' the diligence of Sir Richard Browne, his Majesty's Resident at the Court of France, and with whose lady and family I had contracted a greate friendship (and particularly set my affections on a daughter) I recover'd most of them, obtaining of the Judge with no small difficulty that the processe against the thiefe should not concerne his life, being his first offence.

10 June. We concluded about my marriage, in order to which I went to St. Germans, where his Majesty, then Prince of Wales, had his court, to desire of Dr. Earle, then one of his Chaplains (since Dean of Westminster, Clerke of the Closet, and Bishop of Salisburie) that he would accompany me to Paris, which he did, and on Thursday 27 June, 1647, he married us in Sir Richard Browne's Chapell betwixte the houres of 11 and 12, some few select freinds being present: and this being Corpus Christi feast was solemnly observ'd in this country; the streetes were sumptuously hung with tapissry, and strew'd with flowers.

10 Sept. Being call'd into England to settle my affaires after an absence of about 4 yeares, I tooke leave of the Prince and Queene, leaving my wife, yet very young, under the care of an excellent lady and prudent mother.

4 Oct. I seal'd and declared my Will, and that morning went from Paris, taking my journey thro' Rouen, Dieppe, Ville-dieu, and St. Vallerie where I staied one day with Mr. Waller with whom I had some affaires, and for which cause I tooke this circle to Calais, where I ariv'd on the 11th, and that night imbarking in the paquet-boate, was by one o'clock got safe to Dover, for which I heartily put up my thanks to God who had conducted me safe to my owne country, and ben mercifull to me thro' so many aberrations. Hence taking post I ariv'd at London the next day at evening, being the second of October new style.

.5 Oct. I came to Wotton, the place of my birth, to my brother, and on the 10th to Hampton Court, where I had the honour to kisse his Majesty's hand, and give him an account of severall things I had in charge, he being now in the power of those execrable villains who not long after murder'd him. I lay at my cousin Serjeant Hatton's at Thames Ditton, whence on the 13th I went to London.

14th. To Sayes Court at Deptford in Kent, (since my house), where I found Mr. Pretyman my wife's uncle, who had charge of it and the estate about it during my father-in-law's residence in France. On the 15th I again occupied my owne Chambers at the Middle Temple.

9 Nov. My sister open'd to me her marriage with Mr. Glanvill.

1648. 14 Jan. From London I went to Wotton to see my young nephew; and thence to Baynards [in Ewhurst] to visite my brother Richard.

5 Feb. Saw a Tragie-comedy acted in the Cockpit, after there had ben none of these diversions for many years during the warr.

28. I went with my noble friend Sir Wm Ducy (afterwards Lord Downe) to Thistleworth, where we din'd with Sir Clepesby Crew, and afterwards to see the rare miniatures of Peter Oliver and rounds of plaster, and then the curious flowers of Mr. Barill's garden, who has some good medails and pictures. Sir Clepesby has fine Indian hangings and a very good chimney-piece of water colours by Breugel, which I bought for him.

26 April. There was a greate uprore in London that the Rebell Armie quartering at Whitehall would plunder the Citty, on which there was publish'd a Proclamation for all to stand on their guard.

4. May. Came up the Essex Petitioners for an agreement 'twixt his Majesty and the Rebells. The 16th the Surrey men address'd the Parliament for the same; of which some of them were slayne and murder'd by Cromwell's guards in the New Palace Yard. I now sold the Impropriation of South Malling neere Lewes in Sussex to Mr. Kemp and Alcock for £.3000.

30 May. There was a rising now in Kent, my Lord of Norwich being at the head of them. Their first rendevous was in Broome field next my house at Says-Court, whence they went to Maidstone, and so to Colchester, where was that memorable siege.

27 June. I purchas'd the Manor of Hurcott in Worcestershire of my brother George for £.3300.

1 July. I sate for my picture, in which there is a Death's head, to Mr. Walker, that excellent painter.

10. Newes was brought me of my Lord Francis Villers being slaine by ye Rebells neere Kingston.

16. Aug. I went to Woodcote (in Epsom) to the wedding of my brother Richard, who married the daughter and coheire of Esqr Minn lately deceas'd, by which he had a greate estate both in land and monie on the death of a brother. The coach in which the bride and bridegroome were, was overturn'd in coming home, but no harm was done.

28. To London from Says Court, and saw ye celebrated follies of Bartholomew Fair.

Sept. 16. Came my lately married brother Richard and his wife to visite me, when I shewed them Greenewich and her Majesties Palace, now possessed by the Rebells.

28. I went to Albury to visite the Countess of Arundel, and return'd to Wotton.

31 Oct. I went to see my Manor of Preston Beckhelvyn and the Cliffhouse.

29th Nov. My selfe with Mr. Tho: Offley and Lady Gerrard, christned my niece Mary, eldest daughter of my brother George Evelyn by my Lady Cotton his second wife. I presented my niece a piece of plate which cost me £.18, and caused this inscription to be set on it:

" In memoriam facti
Anno cIↃ.Ix.xlIIx. Cal. Decemb. VIII. Virginum castiss: Xtianorum innocentiss: Nept: suaviss: Mariæ, Johan: Evelynus Avunculus et Susceptor Vasculum hoc cum Epigraphe L. M. Q. D.
Ave Maria, Gratia sis plena; Dominus tecum."

2 Dec. This day I sold my Manor of Hurcott for £.3400 to one Mr. Bridges.

13. The Parliament now sat up the whole night and endeavour'd to have concluded the Isle of Wight Treaty, but were surpriz'd by the Rebell Army, ye Members dispers'd, and greate confusion every where in expectation of what would be next.

17. I heard an Italian sermon in Mercers Chapel, one Dr. Middleton, an acquaintance of mine, preaching.

18. I got privately into the Council of ye Rebell Army at Whitehall, where I heard horrid villanies.

This was a most exceeding wet yeare, neither frost nor snow all the Winter for more than 6 days in all. Cattle died every where of a murrain.

1649, 1 Jan. I had a lodging and some bookes at my father in law's house, Sayes Court.

2 Jan. I went to see my old friend and fellow-traveller Mr. Henshaw, who had 2 rare pieces of Stenwyck's perspective.

17. To London. I heard the Rebell Peters incite the Rebell Powers met in the Painted Chamber to destroy his Maty, and saw that arch-traytor Bradshaw, who not long after condemn'd him.

19. I returned home, passing an extraordinary danger of being drowned by our wherries falling foule in the night on another vessell then at anker, shooting the bridge at 3 quarters ebb, for which His mercy God Almighty be prais'd.

21. Was publish'd my Translation of Liberty and Servitude, for ye Preface of which I was severely threatend.

22. I went thro' a course of Chymistrie at Sayes Court. Now was the Thames frozen over, and horrid tempests of wind.

The villanie of the Rebells proceeding now so far as to trie, condemne and murder our excellent King on ye 30th of this month, struck me

with such horror that I kept the day of his martyrdom a fast, and would not be present at that execrable wickednesse, receiving the sad account of it from my brother George and Mr. Owen, who came to visite me this afternoone, and recounted all the circumstances.

1 Feb. Now were Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Norwich, Lord Capell, &c. at their tryal before the Rebells *New Court of Injustice.*

15. I went to see ye collection of one Trean, a rich merchant, who had some good pictures, especialy a rare perspective of Stenwyck; from thence to other Virtuoso's. The paynter La Neve has an *Andromeda*, but I think it a copy after Vandyke from Titian, for the original is in France. Webb at the Exchange has some rare things in miniature of Breugel's, also Putti* in 12 squares, that were plunder'd from Sir James Palmer. At Du Bois we saw 2 tables of Putti, that were gotten, I know not how, out of the Castle of St. Angelo by old Petit, thought to be Titian's; he had some good heads of Palma, and one of Stenwyck. Bellcar shew'd us an excellent copy of his Majesty's *Sleeping Venus and the Satyre* with other figures, for now they had plunder'd, sold, and dispers'd a world of rare paintings of ye King's and his loyall subjects. After all, Sr Wm Ducy shew'd me some excellent things in miniature, and in oyle of Holbein's, *Sr Tho. More's* head, and an whole figure of *Edward* 6th, which were certainly his Majesty's, also a picture of *Queene Elizabeth*, the *Lady Isabella Thynn;* a rare painting of Rothenhamer, being a *Susanna;* and a *Magdalen* of Quintin the Blacksmith; also an *Hen.* 8. of Holbein; and *Francis ye first*, rare indeede, but of whose hand I know not.

16. Paris being now strictly besieged by the Prince de Condé, my wife being shut up with her father and mother, I wrote a letter of consolation to her; and on the 22d having recommended Obadiah Walker †, a learned and most ingenious person, to be tutor to and to travell with Mr. Hillyard's two sonns, returned to Says Court.

25. Came to visite me Dr. Joyliffe, discoverer of the lymphatic vessells, and an excellent anatomist.

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* Putti—Boys' Heads.

† Mr. Evelyn has added in the margin against Walker's name, "Since an apostate." He was master of University College, Oxford.

26. Came to see me Capt. Geo. Evelyn * my kinsman ye greate traveller, and one who believ'd himself a better architect than really he was, witness the Portico in the garden at Wotton; yet the greate roome at Albury is somewhat better understood. He had a large mind, but overbuilt every thing.

27. Came out of France my wife's unkle (Paris still besieged) being rob'd at sea by the Dunkyrk pirates: I lost among other goods my Wife's picture painted by Monsr Bourdon.

5 March. Now were the Lords murder'd in the Palace Yard †.

18. Mr. Owen, a sequester'd and learned minister, preach'd in my parlour, and gave us the blessed Sacrament, now wholly out of use in the Parish Churches, on which the Presbyterians and Fanatics had usurp'd.

21 Mar. I receiv'd letters from Paris from my wife, and from Sir Richard [Browne] with whom I kept a political correspondence, with no small danger of being discover'd.

25. I heard the Common Prayer (a rare thing in these days) in St. Peter's at Paul's Wharf, London; and in ye morning the Archbishop of Armagh, that pious person and learned man, Usher, in Lincoln's Inn Chapell.

April 2. To London, and inventoried my moveables that had hitherto ben dispersed for feare of plundering: wrote into France touching my suddaine resolutions of coming over to them. On the 8th againe heard an excellent discourse from Archbp. Usher on Ephes: 4. v. 26-27.

My Italian collection being now ariv'd, came Moulins ye greate Chirurgeon, to see and admire the Tables of Veins and Arteries which I purchas'd and caus'd to be drawne out of several humane bodies at Padua.

11. Received newes out of France that peace was concluded: dined with Sir Jo. Evelyn at Westminster; and on the 13th I saw a private dissection at Moulins' house.

17. I fell dangerously ill of my head; was blistered and let blood behind ye eares and forehead: on the 23rd began to have ease by using

* Son of Sir John Evelyn of Godstone; see Pedigree in the History of Surrey, vol. II. p. 150; but where he is by mistake stated to be brother of Sir John.

† Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel.

the fumes of cammomile on embers applied to my eares after all the physitians had don their best.

29. I saw in London an huge ox bred in Kent, 17 foote in length, and much higher than I could reach.

12 May. I purchased the Manor of Warley Magna in Essex: in the afternoone went to see Gildron's collections of payntings, where I found Mr. Endymion Porter of his late Maties Bedchamber.

17. Went to Putney by water in barge with divers ladies, to see the Schooles or Colledges of the young gentlewomen *.

19. To see a rare cabinet of one Delabarr, who had some good paintings, especialy a *Monk at his beades.*

30 May. Un-kingship was proclaim'd, and his Majesty's statues thrown down at St. Paul's Portico and the Exchange.

7 June. I visited Sir Arthur Hopton (brother to Sir Ralph, Lord Hopton, that noble hero), who having ben Ambass^r^ Extraordinary in Spaine, sojourn'd some time with my Father-in-law at Paris; a most excellent person. Also Signora Lucretia, a Greeke Lady whom I knew in Italy, now come over with her husband, an English gentleman. Also the Earle and Countesse of Arundel, taking leave of them and other friends now ready to depart for France. This night was a scuffle betweene some rebell souldiers and gentlemen about the Temple.

10. Preach'd the Abp. of Armagh in Lincoln's Inn from Romans 5. verse 13. I received the Blessed Sacrament preparatory to my journey.

13. I din'd with my worthy friend Sir John Owen, newly freed from sentence of death among the Lords that suffer'd. With him was one Carew, who play'd incomparably on the Welsh harp: afterwards I treated divers Ladies of my relations, in Spring Garden.

This night was buried with great pomp Dorislaus, slaine at the Hague, the villain who manag'd the trial against his sacred Majesty.

17. I got a passe from the rebell Bradshaw, then in greate power.

20. I went to Putney and other places on ye Thames to take

* Kept probably by Mrs. Bathsua Makins, the most learned woman of her time: she had been tutor to the Princess Elizabeth, King Charles's daughter. There is a very rare portrait of her by Marshall.

prospects in crayon to carry into France, where I thought to have them engrav'd *.

2 July. I went from Wotton to Godstone (the residence of Sir John Evelyn), where was also Sir John Evelyn of Wilts, when I took leave of both Sir Johns and their ladys. Mem. the prodigious memory of Sir John of Wilts daughter, since married to Mr. W. Pierrepoint, and mother of ye present Earle of Kingston. I returned to Says Court this night.

4. Visited Lady Hatton, her Lord sojourning at Paris with my father-in-law.

9. Dined with Sir Walter Pye and my good friend Mr. Eaton, afterwards a Judge, who corresponded with me in France.

11. Came to see me old Alexander Rosse, the Divine, Historian and Poet; Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Scudamore, and other friends, to take leave of me.

12. It was about 3 in ye afternoon I tooke oares for Gravesend, accompanied by my cousin Stephens and sister Glanvill, who there supp'd with me and return'd; whence I tooke post immediately to Dover, where I ariv'd by 9 in the morning, and about 11 that night went on board a bark guarded by a pinnace of 8 guns; this being the first time the pacquett-boate had obtain'd a convoy, having severall times before ben pillag'd. We had a good passage, tho' chas'd for some houres by a pyrate, but he durst not attaq our fregat, and we then chas'd him till he got under the protection of the Castle at Calais. It was a small privateer belonging to the Prince of Wales. I carried over with me my servant Ri. Hoare, an incomparable writer of several hands, whom I afterwards preferr'd in the Prerogative Office † at ye return of his Majesty. Lady Catharine Scot, daughter of ye Earle of Norwich, follow'd us in a shallop with Mr. Arthur Slingsby, who left England *incognito*. At the entrance of the towne the Lieut. Governor being on his horse with ye Guards let us passe courteously. I visited Sir Richard Lloyd, an English Gent. in the towne, and walked in the

* One of these he etched himself. The plate is now at Wotton.

† Where specimens of his writing in the entry of Wills about this date may now be seen.

Church, where the ornament about the high altar of black marble is very fine, and there is a good picture of the *Assumption*. The Citadell seemes to be impregnable, and the whole country about it to be laied under water by sluices for many miles.

16. We departed for Paris in company with that very pleasant lady, and others. In all this journey we were greatly apprehensive of parties, which caus'd us to alight often out of our coach and walke separately on foot with our guns ready in all suspected places.

1 Aug. At 3 in the afternoone we came to St. Denis, saw ye rarities of ye Church and Treasury, and so to Paris that evening.

The next day came to wellcome me at dinner the Lord High Treasurer Cottington, Sr Edward Hide Chancellor, Sr Edwd Nicholas Secretary of State, Sr George Cartret Governor of Jersey, and Dr. Earle, having now ben absent from my Wife above a yeare and halfe.

18. I went to St. Germain's to kisse his Majesty's hand; in ye coach, which was my Lord Wilmot's, went Mrs. Barlow the King's mistresse and mother to ye Duke of Monmouth, a browne, beautifull, bold, but insipid creature.

19. I went to salute the French King and the Queene Dowager; and on the 21st returned in one of the Queenes coaches with my Lord Germain, Duke of Buckingham, L^d^. Wentworth, & Mr. Croftes, since Lord Croftes.

7 Sept. Went with my Wife and deare Cosin to St. Germains, and kissed the Queene-mother's hand; din'd with my L. Keeper and Lord Hatton. Divers of the greate men of France came to see the King; the next day came the Prince of Condé. Returning to Paris we went to see the President Maison's Palace, built castlewise of a milk-white fine freestone; the house not vast, but well contriv'd, especialy the staire-case and the ornaments of Putti about it. 'Tis inviron'd in a dry moate, the offices under-ground, the gardens very excellent with extraordinary long walkes set with elmes, and a noble prospect towards the forest and on the Seine towards Paris. Take it altogether, the meadows, walkes, river, forest, corne-ground, and vineyards, I hardly saw any thing in Italy exceede it. The yron gates are very magnificent. He has pulled downe a whole village to make roome for his pleasure about it.

12. Dr. Crighton, a Scotchman and one of his Maties Chaplaines, a learned Grecian who set out ye Council of Florence, preached.

13. The King invited ye Prince of Condé to supper at St. Cloud; there I kiss'd the Duke of York's hand in ye Tennis Court, where I saw a famous match 'twixt Monsr. Saumeurs and Col. Cooke, and so returned to Paris. 'Twas noised about that I was knighted, a dignity I often declin'd.

1 Oct. Went with my cousin Tuke (afterwards Sir Samuel) to see ye fountaines of St. Cloud and Ruel, and after dinner to talke with ye poore ignorant and superstitious Anchorite at Mount Calvary, and so to Paris.

2. Came Mr. William Coventrie (afterward Sr Willm) & the Duke's Secretary, &c. to visite me.

5. Dined with Sir George Radcliffe ye greate favourite of the late Earle of Strafford, formerly Lord Deputy of Ireland, decapitated.

7. To the Louvre to visite the Countesse of Morton, Governesse to Madame.

15. Came news of Drogheda being taken by ye Rebells and all put to ye sword, wch made us very sad, fore-running the losse of all Ireland.

21. I went to heare Dr. D'Avinson's lecture in ye physical garden, and see his laboratorie, he being Prefect of yt excellent Garden and Professor Botanicus.

30. I was at ye funerall of one Mr. Downes, a sober English gentleman. We accompanied his corpse to Charenton, where he was interr'd in a cabbage-garden, yet with the office of our Church, wch was said before in our Chapell at Paris. Here I saw also where they buried ye greate Souldier Gassion, who had a tombe built over him like a fountaine, the designe and materials meane enough. I returned to Paris with Sir Phil: Musgrave, & Sir Marmaduk Langdale, since Lord Langdale. — Memorandum. This was a very sickly and mortal Autumne.

5 Nov. I receiv'd divers letters out of England, requiring me to come over about settling some of my concerns.

7. Dr. George Morley (since Bishop of Winchester) preach'd in our Chapell on Matt: 4. verse 3.

18. I went with my Father-in-law to his audience at the French Court, where next the Pope's Nuncio he was introduced by ye Master

of Ceremonies, and after delivery of his credentials, as from our King since his Father's murder, he was most graciously receiv'd by the King of France and his Mother, with whom he had a long audience. This was in the Palais Cardinal.

After this, being presented to his Majesty and ye Queene Regent, I went to see ye house built by ye late greate Cardinal de Richelieu, The most observable thing is the gallerie painted wth the portraits of the most illustrious persons and signal actions in France, with innumerable emblemes 'twixt every table. In ye middle of ye gallery is a neate chapell rarely paved in worke and devices of severall sorts of marble, besides ye altar-piece and 2 statues of white marble, one of St. John, ye other of ye Virgin Mary, by Bernini. The rest of ye apartments are rarely gilded and carv'd, wth some good modern paintings. In the presence hang 3 huge branches of chrystal. In ye French King's bed-chamber is an alcove like another chamber, set as it were in a chamber like a moveable box, with a rich embroidred bed. The fabric of the Palace is not magnificent, being but of 2 stories, but the garden is so spacious as to containe a noble basin and fountaine continually playing, and there is a Mall, with an elbow or turning to protract it. So I left his Majesty on ye terrace, buisie in seeing a bull-baiting, and return'd home in Prince Edward's coach with Mr. Paule, ye Prince Elector's agent.

19. Visited Mr. Waller, where meeting Dr. Holden, an English Sorbonne Divine, we fell into some discourse about Religion.

28 Dec. Going to waite on Mr. Waller, I view'd St. Stephen's Church; ye building tho' Gotic is full of carving; within it is beautifull, especialy the quire and winding staires. The glasse is well painted, and the tapissry hung up this day about the quire, representing the conversion of Constantine, was exceeding rich.

I went to that excellent engraver Du Bosse, for his instruction about some difficulties in perspective which were delivered in his booke.

I concluded this yeare in health, for wch I gave solemn thanks to Almighty God *.

* This he does not fail to repeat at the end of every year, but it will not always be necessary to insert it in this book.

29. I christned Sr Hugh Rilies child with Sr Geo. Radcliffe in our Chapell, the parents being so poore that they had provided no gossips, so as severall of us drawing lotts it fell on me, the Deane of Peterborow (Dr. Cosin) officiating: We named it Andrew, being on the eve of y^t^ Apostle's day.

1650. Jany 1. I began this Jubilie with ye publiq office in our Chapell: din'd at my Lady Herbert's, wife of Sir Edw: Herbert, afterwards Lord Keeper.

18. This night was ye Prince of Condé and his Brother carried prisoners to ye Bois de Vincennes.

Feb. 6. In the evening came Sign^r^. Allessandro, one of ye Card^l^. Mazarine's musitians, and a person of greate name for his knowledge in y^t^ art, to visite my wife, and sung before divers persons of quality in my chamber.

1 March. I went to see ye masquerados wch was very fantastic, but nothing so quiet and solemn as I found it at Venice.

13. Saw a triumph in Monsr. del Camp's Academie, where divers of the French and English Noblesse, especialy my Lord of Ossorie, and Richard, sonns to the Marquis of Ormond (afterwards Duke), did their exercises on horseback in noble equipage, before a world of spectators and greate persons, men and ladies. It ended in a collation.

Aprill 25. I went out of towne to see Madrid, a palace so call'd, built by Francis ye First (see p. 45.) 'Tis observable onely for its open manner of architecture, being much of tarraces and galleries one over another to ye very roofe, and for ye materials, which are most of earth painted like Porcelain or China-ware, whose colours appeare very fresh, but is very fragile. There are whole statues and relievos of this potterie, chimney-pieces and columns both within and without. Under the chapell is a chimny in the midst of a roome parted from the *Salle des Gardes*. The house is fortified with a deepe ditch, & has an admirable *vista* towards the Bois de Boulogne & River.

30. I went to see ye collection of ye famous sculptor Steffano de la Bella returning now into Italy, and bought some prints: and likewise visited Perelle ye landskip graver.

3 May. At ye Hospital of La Charité I saw ye operation of cutting for ye stone. A child of 8 or 9 yeares old underwent ye operation with most extraordinary patience, and expressing greate joy when he saw the stone was drawn. The use I made of it was to give Almighty God hearty thankes that I had not ben subject to this deplorable infirmitie.

7. I went with Sr Richard Browne's lady and my wife, together with ye Earle of Chesterfield, Lord Ossorie and his brother, to Vamber, a place neere ye Citty famous for butter; when coming homewards, being on foote, a quarrel arose between Lord Ossorie and a man in a garden, who thrust Lord Ossorie from the gate with uncivil language, on which our young gallants struck the fellow on the pate, and bid him aske pardon, which he did with much submission, and so we parted; but we were not gon far before we heard a noise behind us, and saw people coming with gunns, swords, staves, and forks, and who followed flinging stones; on which we turn'd and were forc'd to engage, and wth our swords, stones, and the help of our servants (one of whom had a pistol) made our retreate for neere a quarter of a mile, when we took shelter in a house, where we were besieg'd, and at length forc'd to submit to be prisoners. Lord Hatton with some others were taken prisoners in the flight, and his lordship was confin'd under 3 locks and as many doores in this rude fellow's master's house, who pretended to be steward to Monsr. St. Germain, one of the Presidents of the Grand Chambre du Parliament and a Canon of Notre Dame. Severall of us were much hurt. One of our lacquies escaping to Paris, caused ye bailiff of St. Germain to come with his guard and rescue us. Immediately afterwards came Monsr. St. Germain himselfe in greate wrath on hearing that his housekeeper was assaulted; but when he saw the King's Officers, the Gentlemen and Noblemen, with his Majesty's Resident, and understood the occasion, he was ashamed of the accident, requesting the fellow's pardon, and desiring the ladys to accept their submission and a supper at his house. It was 10 o'clock at night ere we got to Paris, guarded by Prince Griffith, (a Welch hero going under that name, and well known in England for his extravagances,) together with the scholars of two academies who came forth to assist and meete us on horseback, and

would faine have alarm'd ye towne we receiv'd ye affront from, which with much ado we prevented.

12. Complaint being come to ye Queene and Court of France of ye affront we had receiv'd, the President was ordered to aske pardon of Sr R. Browne, his Majesty's Resident, and the fellow to make submission and be dismiss'd. There came along with him President de Thou, sonn of the greate Thuanus [the historian], and so all was compos'd. But I have often heard that gallant gentleman my Lord Ossorie affirme solemnly that in all the conflicts he ever was in at sea or on land, (in the most desperate of both which he had often ben) he believ'd he was never in so much danger as when these people rose against us. He us'd to call it the *battaill de Vambre*, and remember it with a greate deale of mirth as an adventure *en cavalier*.

24. We were invited by the Noble Academies to a running at ye Ring, where were many brave horses, gallants and ladys, my Lord Stanhope entertaining us wth a collation.

12 June. Being Trinity Sunday the Dean of Peterborough preach'd; after which there was an ordination of two Divines, Durell and Brevent (ye one was afterwards Deane of Windsor, ye other of Durham, both very learned persons). The Bishop of Galloway officiated with greate gravity, after a pious and learned exhortation declaring ye weight and dignitie of their function, especialy now in a time of ye poore Church of England's affliction; he magnified ye sublimity of the calling, from the object, *viz.* the salvation of men's soules, and the glory of God; producing many humane instances of the transitorinesse and vanity of all other dignities; that of all the triumphs the Roman Conquerors made, none was comparable to y^t^ of our Blessed Saviours when he lead Captivitie captive, and gave gifts to men, namely that of the Holy Spirit, by which his faithfull and painefull Ministers triumphed over Satan as oft as they reduc'd a sinner from the errour of his ways. He then proceeded to ye ordination. They were presented by the Deane in their surplices before the altar, the Bishop sitting in a chaire at one side; and so were made both Deacons and Priests at ye same time, in reguard to the necessitie of the times, there being so few Bishops left in England, and consequently danger of a failure of both functions.

Meliora Retinete.
Βούλου τὰς Εἰκόνας; τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα
μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ σώματος, καταλιπεῖν
R. Nanteüil
Ιωκ: πρὸς Νικ.
delineabat, & Scul.

Lastly they proceéded to ye Communion. This was all perform'd in Sir Richard Browne's Chapell at Paris.

13 June. I sate to the famous sculptor Nanteuil, who was afterwards made a knight by the French King for his art. He engrav'd my picture in copper *. At a future time he presented me with my own picture †, done all with a pen; an extraordinary curiosity.

21 June. I went to see the Samaritan or Pump at ye end of ye Pont Neuf, which tho' to appearance promising no greate matter, is, besides the machine, furnish'd with innumerable rarities both of art and nature; especialy ye costly Grotto, where are the fairest corals growing out of ye very rock, that I have seen; also great pieces of chrystal, amethysts, gold in ye mine, and other mettals and marcasites, with two greate conchas, which the owner told us cost him 200 crownes at Amsterdam. He shew'd us many landskips and prospects very rarely painted in miniature, some with the pen and crayon; divers antiquities and relievos of Rome; above all, that of the inside of the Amphitheater of Titus incomparably drawn by Monsr. St. Clere ‡ himselfe; two boys and three skeletons moulded by Fiamingo; a booke of statues with the pen made for Hen. IV. rarely executed, and by which one may discover many errors in the taille douce of Perrier, who has added divers conceits of his owne that are not in ye originals. He has likewise an infinite collection of taille douces richly bound in Morocco. He led us into a stately chamber furnish'd to have entertain'd a prince, with pictures of the greatest masters, especialy a *Venus* of Perino del Vaga; y^e^ *Putti* carved in the chimney-piece by the Fleming; the vasas of porcelan, and many design'd by Raphael; some paintings of Poussin and Fioravanti; antiques in brasse; the looking-glasse and stands rarely carved. In a word, all was greate, choice and magnificent, and not to be pass'd by as I had often don, without the least suspicion that there were such rare things to be seene in that place. At a future visit he shew'd a new grotto and bathing-place, hew'd thro' ye battlements

* Now in the Library at Wotton, an impression from which is here given.

† Also those of his Lady and Sir R. Browne, which are also at Wotton, most beautifully executed.

‡ This was the name of the owner.

of ye arches of Pont Neuf, into a wide vault at ye intercolumniation, so that ye coaches and horses thunder'd over our heads.

27 June. I made my Will, and taking leave of my wife and other friends tooke horse for England, paying the Messager 8 pistoles for me and my servant to Calais, setting out with 17 in company well arm'd, some Portugezes, Swisse and French, whereof 6 were Captaines and Officers. We came the first night to Beaumont; next day to Beauvais, and lay at Pois, and the next, without dining, reach'd Abbeville; next din'd at Montreuil, and proceeding met a company of foote (being now within the inroades of the parties which dangerously infest this day's journey from St Omers and the Frontiers) which we drew very neere to, ready and resolute to charge through, and accordingly were order'd and led by a captaine of our traine; but as we were on ye speede, they cal'd out, and prov'd to be Scotchmen newly rais'd and landed, and few arm'd among them. This night we were well treated at Bollogne. The next day we march'd in good order, the passage being now exceeding dangerous, and got to Calais by a little after 2. The sun so scorch'd my face that it made ye skin peel off.

I din'd with Mr. Booth his Majesty's Agent, and about 3 in ye afternoone imbark'd in the packet-boat: hearing there was a pirate then also setting saile, we had security from molestation, and so with a fair S. W. wind, in 7 hours we landed at Dover. The buisy watchman would have us to the Major to be searched, but the gent. being in bed we were dismiss'd.

Next day, being Sonday, they would not permit us to ride post, so that afternoone our trunks were visited.

The next morning by 4 we sat out for Canterbury, where I met with my Lady Catherine Scot, whom that very day twelve months before I met at sea going for France; she had ben visiting Sr Tho. Peyton not far off, and would needes carry me in her coach to Gravesend. We din'd at Sittingbourn, came late to Gravesend, and so to Deptford, taking leave of my lady about 4 the next morning.

5th July. I supped in the Citty with my Lady Cath. Scott at on Mr. Dubois, where was a gentlewoman call'd Everard, that was a very great Chymist.

Sunday 7 July. In the afternoone having a mind to see what was doing among the Rebells, then in full possession at White-hall, I went thither and found one at exercise in the Chapell, after their way; thence to St. James's, where another was preaching in the Court abroad.

17. I went to London to obtain a passe, intending but a short stay in England.

25th. I went by Epsom to Wotton, saluting Sr Rob. Cook and my sister Glanvill; the country was now much molested by souldiers, who tooke away gentlemen's horses for the service of the State as then call'd.

4 Aug. I heard a sermon at the Rolls; and in the afternoone wander'd to divers churches, the pulpits full of novices and novelties.

6th. To Mr. Walker's, a good painter, who shew'd me an excellent copie of Titian.

12 July. Sat out for Paris, taking post at Gravesend, and so that night to Canterbury, where being surpriz'd by the souldiers, and having only an antiquated passe, with some fortunate dexterity I got cleare of them, tho' not without extraordinary hazard, having before counterfeited one with successe, it being so difficult to procure one of the Rebells without entering into oathes, which I never would do. At Dover money to the searchers and officers was as authentiq as the hand and seale of Bradshaw himselfe, where I had not so much as my trunk open'd.

13. At 6 in the evening set saile for Calais, the wind not favourable I was very sea sick, coming to an anker about one o'clock; about five in the morning we had a long boate to carry us to land tho' at a good distance; this we willingly enter'd, because two vessells were chasing us, but being now almost at the harbour's mouth, thro' inadvertency there brake in upon us two such heavy seas as had almost sunk the boate, I being neere the middle up in water. Our steeresman it seemes apprehensive of the danger was preparing to leape into ye sea and trust to swimming, but seeing the vessell emerge, he put her into the Pier, and so, God be thanked! we got to Calais, tho' wett.

Here I waited for company, ye passage towards Paris being still infested with volunteers from the Spanish frontiers.

16. The Regiment of Picardy, consisting of about 1400 horse and foote (amongst them was a Capt. whom I knew), being come to towne, I took horses for myselfe and servant, and march'd under their protection to Boulogne. 'Twas a miserable spectacle to see how these tatter'd souldiers pillag'd ye poore people of their sheepe, poultry, corne, catell, and whatever came in their way; but they had such ill pay that they were ready themselves to starve.

As we pass'd St. Denis the people were in uproar, ye guards doubl'd, and every body running with their moveables to Paris, on an alarme that the Enemy was within 5 leagues of them, so miserably expos'd was even this part of France at this time.

The 30th I got to Paris, after an absence of two moneths onely.

1 Sept. My Lady Herbert invited me to dinner; Paris, and indeede all France being full of loyall fugitives.

Came Mr. Waller to see me, about a child of his which the Popish midwife had baptiz'd.

Oct. 15. Sr Tho. Osborn (afterwards Lord Treasurer) and Lord Stanhop shot for a wager of 5 Louis to be spent on a treat; they shot so exact that it was a drawn match.

Nov. 1. Took leave of my Lord Stanhop going on his journey towards Italy: also visited my Ld Hatton, Comptroller of his Maties Household, the Countesse of Morton Governesse to the Lady Henrietta, and Mrs. Garder one of the Queen's Maids of Honour.

6. Sr Tho. Osborn supping with us, his groome was set upon in the streete before our house and receiv'd two wounds, but gave the assassin nine, who was carried off to the Charité hospital. Sr Tho. went for England on the 8th, and carried divers letters for me to my friends.

16. I went to Monsr Visse's, the French King's Secretary, to a concert of French music and voices, consisting of 24, two theorbo's and but one bass viol, being a rehearsal of what was to be sung at vespers at St. Cecilia's, on her feast, she being patronesse of Musitians. News ariv'd of the death of the Pr. of Orange of the small pox.

14 Dec. I went to visite Mr. Ratcliffe, in whose lodging was an impostor that had like to have impos'd upon us a pretended secret of

multiplying gold; 'tis certain he had liv'd some time in Paris in extraordinarie splendor, but I found him to be an egregious cheate.

22. Came the learned Dr. Boet to visite me.

31. I gave God thanks for his mercy and protection the past yeare, and made up my accompts, which came this yeare to 7015 livres, neere £.600 sterling.

1651. 1 Jan. I wrote to my brother at Wotton about his garden and fountaines. After evening Prayer Mr. Wainsford called on me: he had long ben Consul at Aleppo, and told me many strange things of those countries, the Arabs especially.

27. I had letters of the death of Mrs. Newton, my grandmother-in-law; she had a most tender care of me during my childhood, and was a woman of extraordinarie charity and piety.

29. Dr. Duncan preached on 8 Matt. 34, shewing the mischiefe of covetousnesse. My Ld Marq. of Ormond and Inchiqueen, come newly out of Ireland, were this day at Chapell.

9 Feb. Card^l^ Mazarine was proscrib'd by Arret du Parlement, and great commotions began in Paris.

23. I went to see the Bonnes Hommes, a Convent that has a fayr cloister painted with ye lives of the Eremites; a glorious altar now erecting in the chapell; the garden on a rock with divers descents, with a fine vineyard and a delicate prospect towards the Citty.

24. I went to see a Dromedarie, a very monstrous beaste, much like the Camel but larger. There was also dauncing on the rope; but above all surprizing to those who were ignorant of the addresse, was the water-spouter*, who drinking only fountaine water, rendred out of his mouth in severall glasses all sorts of wine and sweete waters, &c. For a piece of money he discover'd the secret to me. I waited on Frier Nicholas at the Convent at Challiot, who being an excellent chymist shew'd me his Laboratorie and rare collection of Spagyrical remedies. He was both physitian and apothecarie of ye Convent, and insteade of ye names of his drogues painted his boxes and potts with ye figure of ye drug or simple contain'd in them. He shew'd me as a raritie some

* Florian Marchand. He afterwards exhibited himself in England. Prefixed to an Account of his exploits is a wood-cut of him.

☿ of antimonie*: he had cur'd Monsr Senetan of a desperate sicknesse, for wch there was building a monumental altar that was to cost £.1500.

11th March. I went to the Châtelet or Prison, where a malefactor was to have the question or torture given to him, he refusing to confess the robbery with which he was charg'd, which was thus: they first bound his wrist with a strong rope or small cable, and one end of it to an iron ring made fast to ye wall about 4 foote from ye floore, and then his feete with another cable, fastned about 5 foot farther than his uttmost length to another ring on the floore of the roome: thus suspended and yet lying but aslant, they slid an horse of wood under the rope wch bound his feete, which so exceedingly stiffned it, as sever'd the fellow's joynts in miserable sort, drawing him out at length in an extraordinary manner, he having onely a paire of linnen drawers on his naked body: then they questioned him of a robbery (the Lieutenant Criminal being present, and a clearke that wrote), which not confessing, they put an higher horse under the rope, to increase the torture and extension. In this agonie, confessing nothing, the Executioner with a horne (just such as they drench horses with) stuck the end of it into his mouth, and poured the quantity of two bouketts of water down his throat and over him, which so prodigiously swelled him, as would have pittied and affrighted any one to see it; for all this, he denied all that was charged to him. They then let him downe, and carried him before a warme fire to bring him to himselfe, being now to all appearance dead w^h paine. What became of him I know not; but the gent. whom he robbed constantly averr'd him to be the man, and the fellow's suspitious pale lookes, before he knew he shold be rack'd, betraied some guilt: The Lieutenant was also of y^t opinion, and told us at first sight (for he was a leane, dry, black young man) he would conquer the torture; and so it seemes they could not hang him, but did use in such cases, where the evidence is very presumptive, to send them to the gallies, which is as bad as death.

There was another Malefactor to succeede, but the spectacle was so uncomfortable, that I was not able to stay the sight of another. It

* Qu. some preparation of it; since perfected by Dr. James, whose name it now bears.

represented yet to me, the intollerable sufferings which our Blessed Saviour must needes undergo when his body was hanging with all its weight upon the nailes on the crosse.

20. I went this night with my wife to a Ball at the Marquiss de Crevecœur's, where were divers Princes, Dukes and greate persons, but what appeared to me very meane was that it began wth a puppet-play.

6 May. I attended the Ambassador to a Masque at Court, where the French King in person daunced five enteries: but being ingag'd in discourse and better entertained with one of the Queene Regent's Secretaries, I soon left the entertainment.

11. To the Palais Cardinal, where ye Mast^r^ of Ceremonies plac'd me to see ye royal masque or opera. The first sceane represented a chariot of singers compos'd of the rarest voices that could be procur'd, representing Cornaro* and Temperance; this was overthrowne by Bacchus and his Revellers; the rest consisted of severall enteries and pageants of excesse, by all the Elements. A Masque representing Fire was admirable; then came a Venus out of ye Clouds. The conclusion was an Heaven whither all ascended. But the glory of the Masque was the greate persons performing in it, the French King, his brother the Duke of Anjou, with all the Grandees of the Court, the King performing to the admiration of all. The music was 29 violins vested *a l'antiq*, but the habits of the Masquers were stupendiously rich and glorious.

23 May. I went to take leave of ye Ambass^rs^ for Spaine, which were my Lord Treass^r^ Cottington and Sr Edw. Hide; and as I return'd I visited Mr. Morine's† garden and his other rarities, especialy coralls, minerals, stones and natural curiosities; crabs of ye Red Sea, the body no bigger than a small bird's egg, but flatter, and the 2 leggs or claws a foote in length. He had aboundance of shells, at least 1000 sorts, which furnish'd a cabinet of greate price; and had a very curious collection of scarabees and insects, of which he was compiling a natural historie. He had also the pictures of his choice flowers and plants in miniature. He told me there were 10,000 sorts of tulips

* The famous Venetian writer on Temperance.

† See p. 55.

onely. He had taille douces out of number; the head of ye rynoceros bird, which was very extravagant, and one butterflie resembling a perfect bird.

25. I went to visit Mr. White, a learned priest and famous philosopher, author of the booke De Mundo, with whose worthy brother I was well acquainted at Rome. I was shew'd a cabinet of Maroquin or Turkey leather, so curiously inlaid wth other leather, and guilding, that the workman demanded for it 800 livres.

The Dean (of Peterboro') preach'd on ye feast of Pentecost, perstringing those of Geneva for their irreverence of ye Blessed Virgin.

4 June. Trinity Sunday I was absent from Church in ye afternoone on a charitable affaire for the Abbesse of Boucharvant, who but for me had been abus'd by that chymist Du Menie*. Returning I stept into ye grand Jesuites, who had this high day expos'd their Cibarium, made all of solid gold and imagerie, a piece of infinite cost. Dr. Croydon, coming out of Italy and from Padua, came to see me on his return to England.

5. I accompanied my L. Strafford and some other noble persons to heare Madame Lavaran sing, wch she did both in French and Italian excellently well, but her voice was not strong.

7 June, Corpus Christi Day, there was a grand procession, all the streetes tapisstred, severall altars erected there, full of images and other rich furniture, especialy that before the Court, of a rare designe and architecture. There were aboundance of excellent pictures and great vases of silver.

13. I went to see ye collection of one Monsr Poignant, which for variety of achates, chrystals, onyxes, porcelain, medails, statues, relievos, paintings, taille douces and antiquities, might compare with the Italian virtuosos.

21. I became acquainted wth. Sr Wm Curtius, a very learned and judicious person of the Palatinate. He had ben scholar to Alstedius the Encyclopedist, was well advanc'd in yeares, and now Resident for his Matie at Frankfort.

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* Qu. The person mention'd in page 248 as pretending to have found out ye art of multiplying gold?

2 July. Came to see me the Earle of Strafford, Lord Ossory and his Brother, Sr John Southoott, Sr Edw: Stawell, two of my Lord Spencer's Sonns, and Dr. Stewart Deane of St. Paules, a learned and pious man, where we entertained the time upon severall subjects, especialy the affaires of England and the lamentable condition of our Church. The Lord Gerrard also called to see my collection of sieges and battles.

21 July. An extraordinary fast was celebrated in our Chapell, Dr. Steward Dean of St. Paul's preaching.

2 Aug. I went with my wife to Conflans, where were aboundance of ladys and others bathing in the river; the ladys had their tents spread on the water for privacy.

29 Aug. Was kept as a solemne Fast for the calamities of our poore Church now trampled on by ye Rebells. Mr. Waller being at St. Germains, desir'd me to send him a coach from Paris to bring my wife's god-daughter to Paris, to be buried by the Common Prayer.

6 Sept. I went with my wife to St. Germains to condole with Mr. Waller's losse. I carried with me and treated at dinner that excellent and pious person the Deane of St. Paul's Dr. Steward, and Sir Lewes Dives (half-brother to ye Earle of Bristol) who entertain'd us with his wonderful escape out of prison in White-hall the very evening before he was to have ben put to death, leaping down out of a jakes two stories high into the Thames at high water, in the coldest of winter and at night; so as by swimming he got to a boate that attended for him, tho' he was guarded by six musqueteeres. After this he went about in womens habite, and then in a small-coale-man's, travelling 200 miles on foote, embark'd for Scotland with some men he had raised, who coming on-shore were all surpriz'd and imprison'd on ye Marq. of Montrose's score, he not knowing any thing of their barbarous murder of that hero. This he told us was his fifth escape, and none less miraculous, with this note, that the chargeing thro' 1000 men arm'd, or whatever danger could befall a man, he believ'd could not more confound and distract a man's thoughts than the execution of a premeditated escape, the passions of hope and feare being so strong. This knight was indeede a valiant gentleman, but not a little given to romance when he spake of himselfe. I returned to Paris the same evening.

7. Sept. I went to visite Mr. Hobbs, the famous philosopher of Malmsbury, with whom I had long acquaintance. From his window we saw ye whole equipage and glorious cavalcade of the young French Monarch Lewis XIV. passing to Parliament when first he tooke the kingly government on him, now being in his 14th yeare, out of his minority and ye Queene Regent's pupillage. First came ye captaine of the King's aydes at the head of 50 richly liveried; next the Queene Mother's light horse, an hundred, the lieutenant being all over cover'd with embroiderie and ribbans, having before him 4 trumpets habited in black velvet, full of lace and casques of ye same; then the King's light horse, 200, richly habited, with 4 trumpets in blue velvet embrodred with gold, before whom rid ye Count d'Olonne coronet [cornet] whose belt was set with pearle; next went ye grand Prevost's company on foote wth ye Prevost on horseback; after them the Swisse in black velvet toques led by 2 gallant cavalieres habited in scarlet-colour'd sattin after their country fashion, which is very fantastick: he had in his cap a *pennach* of heron with a band of diamonds, and about him 12 little Swisse boyes with halberds; then came the *Ayde des Ceremonies;* next the grandees of court, governors of places, and lieutenants gen^l^. of provinces, magnificently habited and mounted, among whom I must not forget the Chevalier Paul, famous for many sea-fights and signal exploits there, because 'tis said he had never been an Academist, and yet govern'd a very unruly horse, and besides his rich suite, his Malta Cross was esteem'd at 10,000 crownes; these were headed by 2 trumpets, and the whole troup cover'd with gold, jewels, and rich caparisons, were follow'd by 6 trumpets in blew velvet also, preceeding as many heralds in blew velvet semèe with fleurs de lys, caduces in their hands and velvet caps on their heads; behind them came one of the mast^rs^ of ye ceremonies; then divers marishalls & many of the nobility, exceeding splendid; behind them Count d'Harcourt, grand escuyer, alone, carrying the King's sword in a scarf, wch he held up in a blew sheath studded wth fleurs de lys; his horse had for reines 2 scarfs of black taffata; then came aboundance of footemen and pages of the King, new liveried with white and red feathers; next ye guard de corps and other officers; and lastly appear'd the King him-

selfe on an Isabella Barb, on wch a houssing semèe with crosses of ye Order of the Holy Ghost, and fleurs de lys; the King himselfe like a young Apollo, was in a sute so cover'd with rich embrodry, that one could perceive nothing of the stuff under it; he went almost the whole way with his hat in hand, saluting the ladys and acclamators who had fill'd the windows with their beauty, and the aire w^th *Vive le Roy*. He seem'd a prince of a grave yet sweete countenance. After the King follow'd divers greate persons of ye Court exceeding splendid, also his esquires, masters of horse on foote, then the company of *Exempts des Gards*, and 6 guards of Scotch; 'twixt their files were divers princes of ye blood, dukes, and lords; after all these, the Queene's guard of Swisse, pages, and footemen; then the Queene Mother herselfe in a rich coach, wth Monsieur ye King's brother, the Duke of Orleans, and some other lords and ladys of honour; about the coach march'd her *Exempts des Gards*, then the company of the King's *Gens d'armes* well mounted, 150, with 4 trumpets and as many of the Queene's; lastly, an innumerable company of coaches full of ladys and gallants. In this equipage pass'd the Monarch to ye Parliament, henceforth exercising his kingly government.

15 Sept. I accompanied Sr Richd Browne, my father-in-law, to the French Court, where he had a favourable audience of the French King and the Queene his Mother, congratulating the one on his coming to ye exercise of his royal charge, and the other's prudent and happy administration during her late Regency, desiring both to preserve ye same amitie for his Master, our King, as they had hitherto don, which they both promis'd with many civil expressions and words of course upon such occasions. We were accompanied both going and returning by ye Introductor of Ambassadors and Ayd of Ceremonies. I also saw ye audience of Morosini ye Ambassador of Venice, and divers other Ministers of State from German Princes, Savoy, &c. Afterwards I tooke a walke in ye King's gardens, where I observ'd that the Mall gos the whole square thereof next ye wall, and bends with an angle so made as to glace [glance] ye ball; the angle is of stone. There's a basin at the end of the garden fed by a noble fountaine and high jetto. There were in it 2 or 3 boates in wch the King now and

then rowes about. In another part is a compleate fort, made with bastions, graft, halfe-moones, ravelins, and furnish'd wth greate gunns cast on purpose to instruct the King in fortification.

22. Ariv'd ye news of ye fatal battail at Worcester, which exceedingly mortified our expectations.

28. I was shew'd a collection of books and prints made for the D. of York.

1 Oct. The Dean of Peterborough [Dr. Cosin] preach'd on 13 Job v. 15, encouraging our trust in God on all events and extremities, and for establishing and comforting some ladys of greate qualitie, who were then to be discharg'd from our Q. Mother's service, unlesse they would go over to ye Romish Masse.

The Dean dining this day at our house, told me the occasion of publishing those Offices which among the Puritans were wont to be call'd *Cosin's cousining Devotions**, by way of derision. At the first coming of the Queene into England, she and her French ladys were often upbraiding our religion, that had neither appointed nor set forth any houres of prayer or breviaries, by which ladies and courtiers, who have much spare time, might edify and be in devotion, as they had. Our Protestant ladys, scandaliz'd it seemes at this, mov'd the matter to ye King, whereupon his Ma^ty^ presently call'd Bishop White to him, and asked his thoughts of it, and whether there might not be found some formes of prayer proper on such occasions, collected out of some already approv'd formes, that so the court ladys and others (who spend much time in trifling) might at least appeare as devout, and be so too, as the new-come-over French ladys, who tooke occasion to reproch our want of zeale and religion. On wch the Bishop told his Ma^ty^ that it might be don easily and was very necessary; whereupon ye King commanded him to employ some person of ye Cleargy to compile such a work, and presently ye Bishop naming Dr. Cosin, ye King injoyn'd him

* So called by Mr. Prynne in his brief survey of this book. The Dean was sequestered from all his preferments by the Parliament, and went abroad to Paris 1643. He kept up the service of the Church of England in Sir Richard Browne's chapel there, see pp. 244, 252. On the Restoration he was made Bishop of Durham, to which See, as well as to Peter House, at Cambridge, of which he had been Master, he was a most munificent benefactor. He died in 1671. See Biog. Brit. the new Edition by Dr. Kippis.

to charge ye D^r^ in his name to set about it immediately. This the Dean told me he did, and 3 monethes after bringing the book to ye King, he commanded ye Bishop of London to reade it over and make his report; this was so well lik'd that (contrary to former custome of doing it by a chaplain) he would needes give it an *imprimatur* under his owne hand. Upon this there were at first onely 200 copies printed; nor, said he, was there any thing in ye whole book of my owne composure, nor did I set any name as author to it, but those necessary prefaces, &c. out of the Fathers, touching the times and seasons of prayer, all the rest being intirely translated and collected out of an *Office* publish'd by authority of Q. Elizabeth, a^o^ 1560, and our owne Liturgie. This I rather mention to justify that industrious and pious Deane, who had exceedingly suffer'd by it, as if he had don it of his owne head to introduce Popery, from which no man was more averse, and one who in this time of temptation and apostacy held and confirm'd many to our Church *.

29 Octr. Came newes and letters to the Queene and Sr Rich. Browne (who was ye first that had intelligence of it) of his Ma^tys^ miraculous escape after ye fight at Worcester, which exceedingly rejoiced us.

7 Nov. I visited Sr Kenelm Digby, with whom I had much discourse of chymical matters. I shew'd him a particular way of extracting oyle of sulphur, and he gave me a certaine powder wth wch he affirm'd that he had fix'd ☿ (mercury) before the late King; he advis'd me to try and digest it little better, and gave me a water wch he said was onely raine water of the autumnal equinox exceedingly rectified, very volatile; it had a taste of a strong vitrioliq, and smelt like aqua fortis. He intended it for a dissolvent of calx of gold; but the truth is, Sir Kenelm was an errant mountebank.—Came news of ye gallant Earle of Derby's execution by ye Rebells.

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* The Clergy who attended ye English Court in France at this time and are mentioned to have officiated in Sr Richd Browne's Chapel were: The Bishop of Galloway; Dr. Geo. Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; Dr. Cosin, Dean of Peterborough, afterwards Bishop of Durham; Dr. Stewart, Dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Earle; Dr. Clare; Dr. Wollev. no great Preacher: Mr. Crowder; Dr. Lloyd; Mr. Hamilton; Dr. Duncan.

12. Dr. Clare preach'd on 28 Gen. v. 20, 21, 22, upon Jacob's vowe, which he appositely applied, it being ye first Sonday his Ma^ty^ came to Chapell after his escape. I went in the afternoone to visite the Earle of Norwich; he lay at ye Lord of Aubignies.

16. Visited Dean Stewart, who had ben sick about 2 daies, when going up to his lodging I found him dead, which affected me much, as besides his particular affection and love to me, he was of incomparable parts and great learning, of exemplary life, and a very greate losse to ye whole Church. He was buried ye next day with all our Church's ceremonies, many noble persons accompanying the corps.

17. I went to congratulate ye marriage of Mrs. Gardner, maid of honor, lately married to that odd person Sir Hen. Wood: but riches do many things.

I went to see Monsr Febur's course of Chymistrie, where I found Sr Kenelm Digby and divers curious persons of learning and quality. It was his first opening the course and preliminarys in order to operations.

1 Dec. I now resolv'd to returne into England.

3. Sir Lewis Dives din'd with us, who relating some of his adventures, shew'd me divers pieces of broad gold which, being in his pocket in a fight, preserv'd his life by receiving a musket-bullet on them, which deaden'd its violence so that it went no further, but made such a stroake on the gold as fix'd the impressions upon one another, battering and bending severall of them; the bullet itselfe was flatted, and retain'd on it the colour of the gold. He assur'd us that of an hundred of them, which it seems he then had in his pocket, not one escap'd without some blemish. He affirm'd that his being protected by a Neapolitan Prince who conniv'd at his bringing some horses into France, contrary to the order of ye Vice-roy, by assistance of some banditti, was the occasion of a difference betweene those greate men, and consequently of ye late civil war in that kingdom, the Vice-roy having kill'd the Prince standing on his defence at his owne castle. He told me that the second time of the Scots coming into England, the King was six times their number, and might easily have beaten them, but was betraied, as were all other his designes and councils by some, even of his bed-chamber,

meaning M. Hamilton, who copied Montrose's letters from time to time when his Ma^ty was asleepe.

11. Came to visite me Mr. Obadiah Walker of University College, wth his two Pupils the sons of my worthy friend Hen. Hyldiard, Esq.* whom I had recommended to his care.

21. Came to visite my wife Mrs. Lane, the lady who conveied the King to the sea-side at his escape from Worcester. Mr. John Cosin, son to ye Dean, debauch'd by ye Priests, wrote a letter to me to mediate for him with his father. I prepar'd for my last journey, being now resolv'd to leave France altogether.

25. The King and Duke receiv'd the Sacrament first by themselves, ye Lords Biron and Wilmot holding ye long towell all along the altar.

26. Came news of ye death of that Rebell Ireton.

31. Preached Dr. Wolley, after which was celebrated ye Holy Communion, w^h I received also, preparative of my journey, being now resolved to leave France altogether, and to returne God Almighty thanks for his gracious protection of me this past yeare.

1652, 2 Jan. News of my sister Glanville's death in childbed, which exceedingly affected me.

I went to one Mark Antonio, an incomparable artist in enamailing. He wrought by the lamp figures in bosse of a large size, even to ye life, so that nothing could be better moulded. He told us greate stories of a Genoese Jeweller who had the greate *Arcanum*, and had made projection before him severall times. He mett him at Cyprus travelling into Egypt, in his returne from whence he died at sea, and the secret wth him, that else he had promis'd to have left it to him; that all his effects were seized on and dissipated by the Greekes in the vessell to an immense value. He also affirm'd, that being in a Goldsmith's shop at Amsterdam, a person of very low stature came in and desir'd the goldsmith to mealt him a pound of lead, which don he unscrew'd ye pummel of his sword, and taking out of a little box a small quantity of powder, casting it into the crucible, pour'd an ingot out, which when cold he tooke up, saying, "Sir, you will be paid for

* Of East Horsley in Surrey.

your lead in the crucible," and so went out immediately. When he was gon the goldsmith found 4 ounces of good gold in it, but could never set eye againe on ye little man, tho' he sought all ye Citty for him. This Antonio asserted with greate obtestation, nor know I what to think of it, there are so many impostors and people who love to tell strange stories, as this artist did, who had been a greate rover, and spake 10 different languages.

13 Jan. I tooke leave of Mr. Waller, who having ben proscrib'd by the Rebells, had obtain'd of them permission to returne, was going to England.

29. Aboundance of my French and English friends and some Germans came to take leave of me, and I sat out in a coach for Calais, in an exceeding hard frost which had continued some time. We got that night to Beaumont; 30. to Beauvais; 31. we found the ways very deepe wth snow, and it was exceeding cold; din'd at Pois; lay at Pernèe, a miserable cottage of miserable people in a wood, wholly unfurnish'd, but in a little time we had sorry beds and some provision, wch they told me they hid in ye wood for feare of the frontier enemy, the garrisons neere them continually plundering what they had. They were often infested with wolves. I cannot remember that I ever saw more miserable creatures.

1 Feb. I din'd at Abbeville; 2. din'd at Montreuil, lay at Bollogne; 3. came to Calais by 11 in the morning; I thought to have embarqu'd in the evening, but for feare of Pyrates plying neere the coast, I durst not trust our small vessell, and staid till Monday following, when 2 or 3 lusty vessells were to depart.

I brought with me from Paris Mr. Christr. Wase, sometime before made to resigne his fellowship in King's Coll. Cambridge, because he would not take the Covenant. He had ben a souldier in Flanders, and came miserable to Paris. From his excellent learning, and some relation he had to Sr R. Browne, I bore his charges into England, and clad and provided for him till he should find some better condition; and he was worthy of it*. There came with us also Capt. Griffith, Mr. Tyrell, brother to Sr Timothy Tyrell of Shotover (near Oxford).

* Mr. Evelyn did afterwards procure him a situation.

At Calais I dined with my Ld Wentworth, and met with Mr. Heath, Sr Richd Lloyd, Capt. Paine, and divers of our banish'd friends, of whom understanding that the Count de la Strade Governor of Dynkirke was in the towne, who had bought my wife's picture, taken by Pyrates at sea the year before (my wife having sent it for me in England) as my Lord of Norwich had inform'd me at Paris, I made my addresse to him, who frankly told me that he had such a picture in his owne bed-chamber amongst other ladys, and how he came by it; seeming well pleas'd that it was his fortune to preserve it for me, and he generously promis'd to send it to any friend I had at Dover; I mentioned a French merchant there, and so tooke my leave *.

6 Feb. I embark'd early in ye packet-boat, but put my goods in a stouter vessell. 'Twas calm, so that we got not to Dover till 8 at night. I tooke horse for Canterbury, and lay at Rochester; next day to Gravesend, tooke a pair of oares, and landed at Sayes Court, where I stayed 3 days to refresh and look after my packet and goods, sent by a stouter vessell. I went to visit my co: Rich. Fanshawe, and divers other friends.

March 6. Saw the magnificent funeral of that Arch-rebell Ireton, carried in pomp from Somerset House to Westm^r^, accompanied with divers regiments of souldiers horse and foote; then marched ye mourners, Genl. Cromwell (his father-in-law), his mock-parliament-men, officers, and 40 poore men in gownes, 3 led horses in housings of black cloth, 2 led in black velvet, and his charging-horse all cover'd over with embrodery and gold on crimson velvet; then the guydons, ensignes, 4 heraulds carrying the armes of the State (as they cal'd it), namely, ye red crosse and Ireland, with the casq, wreath, sword, spurrs, &c.; next, a chariot canopied of black velvet and 6 horses, in which was the corps; the pall held up by the mourners on foote; the mace and sword, with other marks of his charge in Ireland (where he died of ye plague), carried before in black scarfs. Thus in a grave pace, drums cover'd with cloth, souldiers reversing their armes, they proceeded through the streetes in a very solemn manner. This

* The picture was afterwards sent accordingly, see p. 263.

Ireton was a stout rebell, and had ben very bloudy to the King's party, witnesse his severity at Colchester, when in cold blood he put to death those gallant gentlemen, Sir Cha. Lucas and Sir George Lisle. My co. R. Fanshawe came to visite me and informe me of many considerable affaires. Sir Henry Herbert presented me with his brother my Ld Cherburie's book " De Veritate."

9. I went to Deptford, where I made preparation for my settlement, no more intending to go out of England, but endeavour a settl'd life, either in this or some other place, there being now so little appearance of any change for the better, all being entirely in ye Rebells hands, and this particular habitation and the estate contiguous to it (belonging to my father-in-law actually in his Majesty's service), very much suffering for want of some friend to rescue it out of the power of the usurpers; so as to preserve our interest, and take some care of my other concernes, by the advice and endeavour of my friends I was advis'd to reside in it, and compound with the souldiers. This I was besides authoriz'd by his Ma^ty^ to do, and encourag'd with a promise that what was in lease from the Crowne, if ever it pleas'd God to restore him, he would secure to us in fee-ferme. I had also addresses and cyfers to correspond wth his Ma^ty^ and Ministers abroad: upon all which inducements I was persuaded to settle henceforth in England, having now run about the world, most part out of my owne country, neere 10 yeares. I therefore now likewise meditated sending over for my wife, whom as yet I had left at Paris.

14 Mar. I went to Leusham, where I heard an honest sermon on 2 Corinth. 5, 7, being the first Sonday I had ben at church since my returne, it being now a rare thing to find a priest of the Church of England in a parish pulpit, most of which were fill'd with Independents and Phanatics.

15 Mar. I saw ye Diamond and Ruby launch'd in ye Dock at Deptford, carrying 48 brasse cannon each. Cromwell and his Grandees present with greate acclamations.

18. That worthy divine Mr. Owen of Eltham, a sequestered person, came to visite me.

19. Invited by Lady Gerrard I went to London, where we had a

greate supper; all the vessells, which were innumerable, were of Porcelan, she having the most ample and richest collection of that curiositie in England.

22. I went with my brother Evelyn to Wotton to give him what directions I was able about his garden, which he was now desirous to put into some forme; but for which he was to remove a mountaine overgrowne wth huge trees and thicket, wth a moate within 10 yards of the house. This my brother immediately attempted, and that without greate cost, for more than an hundred yards South, by digging downe the mountaine and flinging it into a rapid streame, it not onely carried away the sand, &c. but filled up the moate, and level'd that noble area, where now the garden and fountaine is*. The first occasion of my brother making this alteration was my building ye little retiring-place betweene the greate wood Eastward next the meadow, where sometime after my father's death I made a triangular pond, or little stew, with an artificial rock after my coming out of Flanders.

29 Mar. I heard y^t^ excellent Prelate the Primate of Ireland (Jacob: Usher) preach in Lincoln's Inn, on 4 Heb. 16, encouraging of penitent sinners.

5 April. My brother Geo. brought to Says Court Cromwell's Act of Oblivion to all that would submit to the Government.

13. News was brought me that Lady Cotton, my brother George's wife, was deliver'd of a son.

I was moved by a letter out of France to publish the letter which sometime since I sent to Deane Cosin's proselyted son; but I did not conceive it convenient, for feare of displeasing her Ma^ty^ the Queene.

15. I wrote to ye Deane touching my buying his library, which was one of the choicest collections of any private person in England.

The Count de Strade most generously and handsomely sent me the picture of my wife from Dynkirk (see pp. 236, 261] in a large tin case, without any charge. It is of Mr. Bourdon, and is that which has ye dog in it, and is to the knees, but it has been something spoil'd by washing it ignorantly with soap-suds.

* The fountain remains (1818.)

25. I went to visit Ald. Kendrick, a Fanatic Lord Mayor, who had married a relation of ours, where I met with a Captain who had been thirteen times to the East Indies.

29. Was that celebrated eclipse of the sun so much threatened by ye astrologers, and which had so exceedingly alarm'd the whole Nation that hardly any one would worke, nor stir out of their houses. So ridiculously were they abus'd by knavish and ignorant star-gazers.

We went this afternoone to see ye Queene's House at Greenwich, now given by the rebells to Bulstrode Whitlock, one of their unhappy counsellors, and keeper of pretended liberties.

10 May. Passing by Smithfield I saw a miserable creature burning who had murder'd her husband. I went to see some workmanship of that admirable artist Reeves, famous for perspective and turning curiosities in ivorie!

29. I went to take order about a coach to be made against my wife's coming, being my first coach, the pattern whereof I brought out of Paris.

30. I went to obtain of my Lord of Devonshire that my nephew George might be brought up with my young Lord his son, to whom I was recommending Mr. Wase. I also inspected the manner of chambletting silk and grograms at one Monsr La Dorees in Morefields, and thence to Coll. Morley, one of their Councel of State, as then call'd, who had ben my scholefellow, to request a passe for my wife's safe landing, and the goods she was to bring with her out of France, wch he courteously granted, and did me many other kindnesses, that was a greate matter in those daies.

30. In the afternoone at Charlton Church, where I heard a Rabinical sermon. Here is a faire monument in black marble of Sir Adam Newton, who built that faire house neere it for Prince Henry, and where my noble friend Sir Henry Newton succeeded him.

3 June. I receiv'd a letter from Coll. Morley to ye Magistrates and Searchers at Rie, to assist my wife at her landing and shew her all civility.

4. I set out to meet her now on her journey from Paris, after she had obtain'd leave to come out of y^t^ Citty, wch had now ben besieged

some time by ye Prince of Condé's armie in ye time of the rebellion, and after she had ben now neere twelve yeares from her owne country, that is since five yeares of age, at wch time she went over. I went to Rie to meet her, where was an embargo on occasion of the late conflict wth the Holland fleete, the two Nations being now in warr, and which made sailing very unsafe.

On Whitsunday I went to the Church (wch is a very faire one), and heard one of their Canters, who dismiss'd the assembly rudely and without any blessing. Here I stay'd till ye 10th with no small impatience, when I walk'd over to survey the ruines of Winchelsea, that ancient Cinq-port, which by the remaines and ruines of ancient streetes and public structures discovers it to have ben formerly a considerable and large Citty. There are to be seene vast caves and vaults, walls and towers, ruines of monasteries and of a sumptuous church, in which are some handsom monuments, especialy of the Templars, buried just in the manner of those in the Temple at London. This place being now all in rubbish, and a few despicable hovells and cottages onely standing, hath yet a Major. The sea wch formerly render'd it a rich and commodious port has now forsaken it.

11. About 4 in ye afternoone being at bowles on ye Greene, we discover'd a vessell, which prov'd to be that in which my wife was, and which got into ye harbour about 8 y^t^ evening to my no small joy. They had ben three days at sea, and escaped the Dutch fleete, thro' which they pass'd, taken for fishers, wch was great good fortune, there being 17 bailes of furniture and other rich plunder, wch I blesse God came all safe to land, together wth my wife, and my Lady Browne her mother, who accompanied her. My wife being discompos'd by having been so long at sea, we set not forth towards home till ye 14th, when hearing the small-pox was very rife in and about London, and Lady Browne having a desire to drink Tunbridge waters, I carried them thither and staied in a very sweete place, private and refreshing, and tooke the waters myself till the 23d, when I went to prepare for their reception, leaving them for ye present in their little cottage by the Wells. The weather being hot, and having sent my man on before, I rod negligently under favour of the shade, till within three miles of Bromley, at

a place call'd the Procession Oake, two cut-throates started out, and striking with long staves at ye horse and taking hold of the reines threw me downe, tooke my sword, and haled me into a deepe thickett some quarter of a mile from the highway, where they might securely rob me, as they soone did. What they got of money was not considerable, but they took two rings, the one an emerald with diamonds, the other an onyx, and a pair of bouckles set with rubies and diamonds, which were of value, and after all bound my hands behind me, and my feete, having before pull'd off my bootes; they then set me up against an oake, wth most bloudy threats to cutt my throat if I offer'd to crie out or make any noise, for they should be within hearing, I not being the person they looked for. I told them if they had not basely surpriz'd me they should not have had so easy a prize, and that it would teach me never to ride neere an hedge, since had I ben in ye mid-way they durst not have adventur'd on me; at which they cock'd their pistols, and told me they had long guns too, and were 14 companions. I begg'd for my onyx, and told them it being engraven with my armes would betray them, but nothing prevail'd. My horse's bridle they slipt, and search'd ye saddle, which they pull'd off, but let the horse graze, and then turning againe bridl'd him and tied him to a tree, yet so as he might graze, and thus left me bound. My horse was perhaps not taken because he was mark'd and cropt on both eares, and well known on that roade. Left in this manner grievously was I tormented with flies, ants, and ye sunn, nor was my anxiety little how I should get loose in that solitary place, where I could neither heare or see any creature but my poore horse and a few sheepe, stragling in the copse. After neere 2 houres attempting I got my hands to turn palm to palm, having been tied back to back, and then it was long before I could slip the cord over my wrists to my thumb, which at last I did, and then soone unbound my feete, and saddling my horse and roaming awhile about I at last perceiv'd dust to rise, and soone after heard the rattling of a cart, towards which I made, and by the help of two country men I got back into the high way. I rode to Coll. Blount's, a greate justiciarie of the times, who sent out hue and cry immediately. The next morning, sore as my wrists and armes were, I went to London and got 500 tickets printed and dispers'd by an officer of Goldsmiths Hall,

and within 2 daies had tidings of all I had lost except my sword which had a silver hilt, and some trifles. The rogues had pawn'd one of my rings for a trifle to a goldsmith's servant before the tickets came to the shop, by which meanes they scap'd; the other ring was bought by a victualler, who brought it to a goldsmith, but he having seen the ticket seiz'd the man. I afterwards discharg'd him on his protestation of innocence. Thus did God deliver me from these villains, and not onely so, but restor'd what they tooke, as twice before he had graciously don, both at sea and land; I meane when I had ben rob'd by pyrates, and was in danger of a considerable losse at Amsterdam; for which, and many, many signal preservations, I am extreamly oblig'd to give thanks to God my Saviour.

25 May. After a drowth of neare 4 monethes there fell so violent a tempest of haile, raine, wind, thunder, and lightning, as no man had seene the like in this age; the haile being in some places 4 or 5 inches about, brake all glasse about London, especialy at Deptford, and more at Greenwich.

29. I return'd to Tunbridge, and againe drank ye water, till 10 July. We went to see the house of my Lord Clanrickard at Summer-hill near Tunbridge (now given to that villain Bradshaw who condemned the King.) 'Tis situated on an eminent hill, with a park, but has nothing else extraordinary.

4 July. I heard a sermon at Mr. Packer's * Chapell at Groomsbridge †, a pretty melancholy seate, well wooded and water'd. In this house was one of the French Kings ‡ kept prisoner. The Chapell was built by Mr. Packer's father, in remembrance of K. Charles the First his safe returne out of Spaine §.

9. We went to see Penshurst, ye Earl of Leicester's, famous once for its gardens and excellent fruit, and for the noble conversation which

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* Clerk of the Privy Seal to King Charles I.

† In the parish of Speldhurst in Kent, 4 miles from Tunbridge.

‡ The Duke of Orleans taken at the battle of Agincourt 4 Hen. V. by Richard Waller, then owner of this place. Hasted's Kent, vol. I. p. 431.

§ With this inscription over the door, "D. O. M. 1625. ob felicissimi Caroli Principis ex Hispaniâ reducis Sacellum hoc D. D. I. P." over it the device of the Prince of Wales. Ib. 432.

was wont to meete there, celebrated by that illustrious person Sr Philip Sidny, who there compos'd divers of his pieces. It stands in a park, is finely water'd, and was now full of company on ye marriage of my old fellow collegiate Mr. Robt Smith, who married my Lady Dorothy Sidny * widdow of the Earle of Sunderland.

One of the men who robb'd me was taken; I was accordingly summon'd to appeare against him, and on the 12th was in Westm^r^ Hall, but not being bound over nor willing to hang the fellow I did not appeare, coming onely to save a friend's baile, but the bill being found he was turn'd over to the Old Bailey. In the meane time I received a petition from ye prisoner, whose father I understood was an honest old farmer in Kent. He was charg'd with other crimes, and condemn'd, but repriev'd. I heard afterwards that had it not been for his companion, a younger man, he would probably have kill'd me. He was afterwards charg'd with some other crime, but refusing to plead, was press'd to death.

23. Came my old friend Mr. Spencer to visite me.

30 July. I took advice about purchasing Sir Richard's [Browne] interest of those who had bought Sayes Court.

1 Aug. Came old Jerome Lennier of Greenwich, a man skill'd in painting and musiq, and another rare musitian call'd Mell. I went to see his collection of pictures, especialy those of Julio Romano which surely had ben the King's, and an Egyptian figure, &c. There were also excellent things of Polydore, Guido, Raphael, Tintoret, &c. Lennier had been a domestic of Qu. Elizabeth, and shew'd me her head, an intaglia in a rare sardonyx, cut by a famous Italian, which he assur'd me was exceeding like her.

24. My first child, a sonn, was born precisely at one o'clock.

Sept 2. Mr. Owen, the sequestered Divine of Eltham, christened my sonn by the name of Richard.

25. I went to see Dr. Mason's house, so famous for the prospect (for the house is a wretched one) and description in Barclay's Icon Animarum †.

* Mr. Waller's Sacharissa, daughter of Philip Earl of Leicester.

† The book here referred to is in the British Museum, intitled, "Joannis Barclaii Icon Animarum," printed at London 1614, small 12mo. It is written in Latin, and is dedicated to Lewis

22. I went to Woodcot, where Lady Browne was taken with a scarlet fever and died. She was carried to Deptford, and interr'd in the Church neere Sir Richard's relations with all decent ceremonies, and according to the Church Office, for which I obtain'd permission, after it had not ben us'd in that Church of 7 yeares. Thus ended an excellent and virtuous lady, universally lamented, having ben so obliging on all occasions to those who continualy frequented her house in Paris, which was not only an hospital, but an asylum to all our persecuted and afflicted countrymen during 11 yeares residence there in that honorable situation.

5 Nov. I went to London to visite some friends, but ye insolencies were so greate in ye streetes that I could not returne till ye next day.

Dr. Scarborough was instant with me to give the *Tables of Veins and Arteries* to ye Colledge of Physitians, pretending he would not onely reade upon them, but celebrate my curiositie as being the first who caus'd them to be compleated in that manner, and with that cost; but I was not so willing yet to part with them, as to lend them to the Colledge during their anatomical lectures, wch I did accordingly.

22. I went to London, where was propos'd to me the promoting that greate work, (since accomplish'd by Dr. Walton, Bishop of Chester) Biblia Polyglotta, by Mr. Pierson that most learned divine.

25. Christmas day, no sermon any where, no Church being permitted to be open, so observ'd it at home. The next day we went to Lewesham, where an honest divine preach'd.

31 Dec. I adjusted all accompts, and render'd thanks to Almighty God for his mercys to me the yeare past.

1 Jan. 1653. I set apart in preparation for the B. Sacrament which the next day Mr. Owen administered to me and all my family in Sayes Court, preaching on 6 John 32. 33. shewing the exceeding benefits of

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XIII. of France, for what reason does not appear, the Author speaking of himself as a subject of this Country. It mentions the necessity of forming the minds of youth, as a skilful gardener forms his trees; the different dispositions of men in different nations; English, Scotch, and Irish, &c. Cap. 2, contains a florid description of the beautiful scenery about Greenwich, but does not mention Dr. Mason or his house.

our blessed Saviour taking our nature upon him. He had christened my son and churched my wife in our own house, as before noticed.

17 Jan. I began to set out the ovall garden at Sayes Court, which was before a rude orchard and all ye rest one intire field of 100 acres, without any hedge, except ye hither holly hedge joyning to ye bank of the mount walk. This was the beginning of all the succeeding gardens, walks, groves, enclosures, and plantations there.

21. I went to London and seal'd some of the writings of my purchase of Sayes Court.

30 Jan. At our own parish Church a stranger preach'd. There was now and then an honest orthodox man got into the pulpit, and tho' the present incumbent was somewhat of the Independent, yet he ordinarily preach'd sound doctrine, and was a peaceable man, which was an extraordinary felicity in this age.

1 Feb. Old Alex^r^ Rosse (author of "Virgilius Evangelizans," and many other little bookes) presented me with his book against Mr. Hobbs's "Leviathan."

19. I planted ye Orchard at Sayes Court, new moone, wind West.

22. Was perfected the sealing, livery and seizin of my purchase of Sayes Court. My brother Geo. Glanvill, Mr. Scudamor, Mr. Offley, Co. Wm Glanvill (son to Serj^t^ Glanvill, sometime Speaker of the House of Commons), Co. Stephens, and severall of my friends dining with me. I had bargain'd for £.3200, but I paid £.3500.

25 Mar. Came to see me that rare graver in taille douce Monsr Richett; he was sent by Card^l^ Mazarine to make a collection of pictures.

11 April. I went to take the aire in Hide Park, where every coach was made to pay a shilling, and horse 6*d.* by the sordid fellow who had purchas'd it of the State as they were cal'd.

17 May. My servant Hoare, who wrote those exquisite severall hands; fell of a fit of an apoplexie, caus'd, as I suppose, by tampering with ☿ (mercury) about an experiment in gold.

29. I went to London to take my last leave of my honest friend Mr. Barton now dying: it was a greate losse to me and to my affaires. On the sixth of June I attended his funeral.

8 June. Came my brother George, Capt. Evelyn the greate traveller, Mr. Muschamp, my Co. Tho. Keightly, and a virtuoso fantastical Symons *, who had the talent of embossing so to ye life.

9 June. I went to visite my worthy neighbour Sir Hen. Newton [at Charlton], and consider the prospect, which is doubtless for city, river, ships, meadows, hill, woods, and all other amenities, one of the most noble in the world; so as had ye house running water, it were a princely seate. Mr. Henshaw and his brother-in-law came to visite me, and he presented me with a seleniscope.

19. This day I paid all my debts to a farthing, ô blessed day!

21. My Lady Gerrard and one Esquire Knight, a very rich Gent. living in Northamptonshire, visited me.

23. Mr. Lombart, a famous graver, came to see my Collections.

27. Monsr. Roupel sent me a small phial of his *aurum potabile*, with a letter shewing the way of administering it, and ye stupendous cures it had don at Paris; but ere it came to me, by what accident I know not, it was all run out.

17 Aug. I went to visite Mr. Hyldiard at his house at Horsley (formerly ye great Sr Walter Raleigh's†), where met me Mr. Oughtred the famous mathematician; he shew'd me a box or golden case of divers rich and aromatic balsams, which a chymist a scholar of his had sent him out of Germany.

21. I heard that good old man Mr. Higham the parson of the parish of Wotton where I was born, & who had baptized me, preach after his very plaine way on Luke, comparing this troublesome world to the sea, the ministers to the fishermen, and the saints to ye fish.

22. We all went to Guildford to rejoice at the famous Inn, the Red Lion, and to see the Hospital, and the monument of Arch Bish. Abbot the founder, who lies buried in the chapell of his endowment.

28 Sept. At Greenwich preach'd that holy martyr Dr. Hewer on Psalm 90. v. 11. magnifying the grace of God to penitents, and threat-

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* Abraham Simons, a strange character, but most excellent modeller after life, and engraver of medals.

† This is a mistake; Mr. Hyldiard was of East Horsley, Sir Walter of West.

ning the extinction of his Gospel light for the prodigious impiety of the age.

11 Oct. My sonn John Stansfield was borne, being my second child, and christned by the name of my mother's father, that name now quite extinct, being of Cheshire. Christen'd by Mr. Owen in my Library at Sayes Court, where he afterwards churched my wife, I always making use of him on these occasions, because the Parish Minister durst not have officiated according to the forme and usage of the Church of England, to wch I always adhered.

25. Mr. Owen preach'd in my Library at Sayes Court on 18 Luke, 7. 8. an excellent discourse on ye unjust judge, shewing why Almighty God would sometimes be compared by such-similitudes. He afterwards administered to us all ye Holy Sacrament.

28. Went to London to visit my Lady Gerrard, where I saw that cursed woman call'd the Lady Norton, of whom it was reported that she spit in our King's face as he went to the scaffold. Indeede her talke and discourse was like an impudent woman.

21 Nov. I went to London to speak with Sir John Evelyn my kinsman about ye purchase of an estate of Mr. Lambard's at Westram, wch afterwards Sir John himself bought for his son-in-law Leech.

4 Dec. Going this day to our Church I was surpriz'd to see a tradesman, a mechanic, step up; I was resolv'd yet to stay and see what he would make of it. His text was from 2 Sam. ch. 23. v. 20. "And Benaiah went downe also and slew a lion in the midst of a pit in ye time of snow;" the purport was, that no danger was to be thought difficult when God call'd for shedding of blood, inferring that now ye Saints were call'd to destroy temporal governments; with such feculent stuff; so dangerous a crisis were things growne to.

25. Christmas Day. No Churches of publiq assembly. I was faine to passe ye devotions of y^t^ blessed day with my family at home.

1654. 20 Jan. Came to see me my old acquaintance and the most incomparable player on the Irish harp, Mr. Clarke *, after his travells. He was an excellent musitian, a discreete gentleman, borne in Devon-

* See under the year 1668, November.

shire (as I remember). Such musiq before or since did I never heare, that instrument being neglected for its extraordinary difficulty; but in my judgment far superior to the Lute itselfe, or whatever speakes with strings.

25. Died my son J. Standsfield, of convulsion fits; buried at Deptford on ye East corner of ye Church, near his mother's great-grandfather, &c.

8 Feb. Ash Wednesday. In contradiction to all costome and decency, the Usurper Cromwell feasted at the Lord Maior's, riding in triumph thro' the Citty.

14. I saw a tame lion play familiarly with a lamb; he was a huge beast, and I thrust my hand into his mouth and found his tongue rough like a cat's; a sheepe also with 6 leggs, wch made use of 5 of them to walke; a goose that had 4 leggs, 2 crops, and as many vents.

29 March. That excellent man Mr. Owen preached in my Library on Matt. 28, v. 6. a Resurrection Sermon, and after it we all received the Holy Communion.

6 April. Came my Lord Herbert, Sr Kenelme Digbie, Mr. Denham, and other friends, to see me.

15. I went to London to heare the famous Dr Jeremy Taylor (since Bishop of Downe and Connor) at St. Greg: on 6 Matt. 48. concerning evangelical perfection.

5 May. I bound my laquay Tho. Headly apprentice to a carpenter, giving with him five pounds & new cloathing; he thrived very well, and became rich.

8. I went to Hackney to see my Lady Brook's garden, which was one of the neatest and most celebrated in England, the house well furnish'd, but a despicable building. Returning, visited one Mr. Tombs's garden; it has large and noble walks, some modern statues, a vineyard, planted in strawberry borders, staked at 10 foote distances; the banquetting-house of cedar, where the couch and seates were carv'd *a l'antique;* some good pictures in the house, especialy one of Vandyke's, being a *Man in his shirt;* also some of Stenwyck. I also call'd at Mr. Ducie's, who has indeede a rare collection of the best masters, and one

of ye largest stories of H. Holbein. I also saw Sir Tho. Fowler's aviarie, wch is a poore businesse.

10. My Lady Gerrard treated us at Mulberry Garden*, now ye onely place of refreshment about the towne for persons of ye best quality to be exceedingly cheated at; Cromwell and his partisans having shut up and seiz'd on Spring Garden, wch till now had ben ye usual rendezvous for the ladys and gallants at this season.

11. I now observed how the women began to paint themselves, formerly a most ignominious thing and us'd only by prostitutes.

14. There being no such thing as Church Anniversaries in ye Parochial Assemblies, I was forced to provide at home for Whitsonday.

15. Came Sir Robt. Stapleton, ye translator of Juvenal, to visite me.

8 June. My wife and I set out in a coach and 4 horses, in our way to visite relations of hers in Wiltshire and other parts, where we resolved to spend some moneths. We din'd at Windsor, and saw the Castle and the Chapell of St. George, where they have laied our blessed Martyr King Charles in the *vault just before ye altar*. The Church and workmanship in stone is admirable. The Castle itselfe large in circumference, but ye roomes melancholy and of antient magnificence. The keepe, or mount, hath besides its incomparable prospect a very profound well; and the terrace towards Eaton, with the park, meandring Thames, and sweete meadows, yield one of ye most delightful prospects. That night we lay at Reading. Saw my Lord Craven's house at Causam [Caversham] now in ruines, his goodly woods felling by the Rebells.

9. Din'd at Marlborough, which having ben lately fir'd was now new built. At one end of this towne we saw my Lord Seymour's house †; but nothing observable save the Mount, to which we ascended by windings for neere halfe a mile. It seems to have ben cast up by

* Buckingham House (now the Queen's Palace) was built on the site of these gardens: see Dr. King, III. 73, ed. 1776; Malcolm's Londinium Redivivum, IV. 263; but the latter afterwards, p. 327, says that the piece of ground called the Mulberry Garden was granted by Charles II. in 1672 to Henry Earl of Arlington; in that case it would be what is now called Arlington Street, unless it extended up to the Queen's Palace.

† Now ye famous inn there.

hand. We pass'd by Coll. Popham's, a noble seate, park and river. Thence to Newberry, a considerable towne, and Donnington Castle famous for its battle, siege, and castle: that this last had ben ye possession of old Geofrie Chaucer. Then to Aldermaston, a house of Sir Humphry Forster's, built *à la moderne*. Also that exceedingly beautifull seate of my Lord Pembroke, on ye ascent of an hill, flank'd with wood, and reguarding the river; and so at night to Cadenham, ye mansion of Ed. Hungerford, Esq. uncle to my wife, where we made some stay. The rest of the weeke we did nothing but feast and make good cheere to welcome my wife.

27. We all went to see Bathe, where I bathed in the Crosse Bathe, Amongst the rest of the idle diversions of the towne, one musitian was famous for acting a changeling, which indeede he personated strangely.

The faciate of this Cathedrall is remarkable for its historical carving. The King's Bath is esteem'd ye fairest in Europe. The towne is intirely built of stone, but the streetes narrow, uneven, and unpleasant. Here we trifled and bathed, and intervisited with the company who frequent the place for health, &c. till ye 30th, and then went to Bristoll, a Citty emulating London, not for its large extent but manner of building, shops, bridge, traffiq, exchange, market-place, &c. The Governor shew'd us the Castle, of no greate concernment. The Citty wholly mercantile, as standing neere the famous Severne, commodiously for Ireland and the Western world. Here I first saw the manner of refining suggar and casting it into loaves, where we had a collation of eggs fried in the suggar furnace *, together with excellent Spanish wine: but what was most stupendious to me was the rock of St. Vincent, a little distance from ye towne, the precipice whereoff is equal to any thing of that nature I have seene in ye most confragose cataracts of the Alpes, the river gliding betweene them at an extraordinary depth. Here we went searching for diamonds, and to the Hot Wells at its foote. There is also on the side of this horrid Alp a very romantic seate: and so we return'd to Bathe in the evening, and 1 July to Cadenham.

* A kind of entertainment like that we now have of eating beef-steaks drest on the stoker's shovel and drinking porter at the famous brewhouses in London.

4 July. On a letter from my wife's uncle, Mr. Pretyman, I waited back on her to London, passing by Hungerford, a towne famous for its troutes, and the next day ariv'd at Deptford, which was 60 miles, in the extremity of heate.

6. I went early to London, and ye next day met my wife and company at Oxford, ye eve of ye Act.

8. Was spent in hearing several exercises in the scholes, and after dinner ye Proctor opened ye Act at St. Marie's (according to custome) and ye Prevaricators their drolery. Then the Doctors disputed. We supp'd at Wadham College.

9. Dr. French preach'd at St. Marie's on 12 Matt. 42. advising the Students the search after true wisdome, not to be had in the bookes of Philosophers, but in the Scriptures alone. In ye afternoone the famous Independent, Dr. Owen, perstringing Episcopacy. He was now Cromwell's Vice-Chancelor. We din'd wth Dr. Ward, Mathematical Professor (since Bp. of Sarum), and at night supp'd in Balliol Coll. Hall, where I had once ben Student and Fellow Commoner, and where they made me extraordinarily welcome.

10. On Monday I went againe to ye Scholes to heare the severall Faculties, and in ye afternoone tarried out the whole Act in St. Marie's; the long speeches of the Proctors, the Vice-Chancellor, the severall Professors, creation of Doctors by ye cap, ring, kisse, &c. those antient ceremonies and institution being as yet not wholy abolish'd. Dr. Kendal, now Inceptor amongst others, performing his Act incomparably well, concluded it with an excellent oration, abating his Presbyterian animosities, which he witheld not even against that learned and pious divine Dr. Hammond. The Act was clos'd with ye speech of ye Vice-Chancellor, there being but 4 in Theologie, 3 in Medicine, which was thought a considerable matter, the times consider'd. I din'd at one Monsr. Fiat's, a Student at Exeter College, and supp'd at a magnificent entertainment in Wadham Hall, invited by my deare and excellent friend Dr. Wilkins, then Warden (after Bishop of Chester.)

11. Was ye Latin sermon, wch I could not be at, tho' invited, being taken up at All Souls, where we had music, voices, and theorbos, perform'd by some ingenious scholars. After dinner I visited that miracle

of a youth Mr. Christopher Wren, nephew to ye Bishop of Ely. Then Mr. Barlow (since Bishop of Lincoln) Bibliothecarius of ye Bodleian Library, my most learned friend. He shew'd us ye rarities of that most famous place, manuscripts, medails, and other curiosities. Amongst the MSS. an old English Bible, wherein ye Eunuch mentioned to be baptized by Philip is called the Gelding: "and Philip and the Gelding went down into the water," &c. The original Acts of the Council of Basil 900 yeares since, with the bulla or leaden affix, wch has a silken cord passing thro' every parchment; a MS. of Venerable Bede of 800 yeares antiquity; ye old Ritual *secundum usum Sarum*, exceeding voluminous; then amongst ye nicer curiosities, the Proverbs of Solomon written in French by a lady *, every chapter of a severall character or hand the most exquisite imaginable; an hieroglyphical table or carta folded up like a map, I suppose it painted on asses hide, extremely rare; but what is most illustrious, there were no less than 1000 MSS. in 19 languages, especialy Oriental, furnishing that new part of ye Library built by Abp. Lawd from a designe of Sir Kenelme Digby and ye Earle of Pembrook. In ye closet of the Tower they shew some Indian weapons, urnes, lamps, &c. but ye rarest is the whole Alcoran written on one large sheet of calico, wch is made up in a priest's vesture or cope, after the Turkish and Arabic character, so exquisitely written as no printed letter comes neere it; also a roll of magical charms, divers talismans, and some medails.

Then I led my wife into ye Convocation House, finely wainscoted; ye Divinity Schole and Gotic carv'd roofe; the Physick or Anatomie Schole, adorn'd with some rarities of natural things, but nothing extraordinary save ye skin of a jaccáll, a rarely colour'd jacatoo or prodigious large parrot, 2 humming birds not much bigger than our humble bee, which indeede I had not seene before, that I remember.

12. We went to St. John's, saw ye Library and the 2 skeletons which are finely cleans'd and put together; observable is here also ye store of mathematical instruments, cheifely given by ye late Abp. Lawd, who built here an handsome quadrangle.

* Mrs. Esther Inglish, married to Bartholomew Kello, Rector of Willinghall Spain in Essex. See an account of her curious penmanship in Massey's Origin and Progress of Letters.

Thence we went to New College, where the Chapel was in its ancient garb, notwithstanding the scrupulositie of the times. Thence to Christ's Church, in whose library was shew'd us an Office of Hen. 8, the writing, miniatures, and gilding whereof is equal if not surpassing any curiosity I had seene of that kind; it was given by their founder, Cardinal Wolsey. The glasse windows of ye Cathedrall (famous in my time) I found much abus'd. The ample Hall and columne that spreads its capital to sustaine ye roofe as one goes up ye stayres is very remarkable.

Next we walked to Magdalen College, where we saw ye Library and Chapell, wch was likewise in pontifical order, the altar onely I think turn'd table-wise, and there was still the double organ, which abominations (as now esteem'd) were almost universaly demolish'd; Mr. Gibbon, that famous musitian, giving us a taste of his skill and talents on that instrument.

Hence we went to ye Physick Gárden, where the sensitive plant was shew'd us for a greate wonder. There grew canes, olive-trees, rhubarb, but no extraordinary curiosities, besides very good fruit, which when the ladys had tasted, we returned in our coach to our lodgings.

13. We all din'd at that most obliging and universally-curious Dr. Wilkins's, at Wadham College. He was the first who shew'd me the transparent apiaries, which he had built like castles and palaces, and so order'd them one upon another as to take the hony without destroying the bees. These were adorn'd with a variety of dials, little statues, vanes, &c. and he was so aboundantly civil, as finding me pleas'd with them, to present me with one of ye hives which he had empty, and wch I afterwards had in my garden at Sayes Court, where it continu'd many years, and which his Majestie came on purpose to see and contemplate with much satisfaction. He had also contriv'd an hollow statue which gave a voice and utter'd words, by a long conceal'd pipe that went to its mouth *, whilst one speaks through it at a good distance. He had above in his lodgings and gallery variety of shadows,

* This reminds us of the speaking figures so long exhibited in Spring Gardens, and in Leicester Fields, some years ago.

dyals, perspectives, and many other artificial, mathematical, and magical curiosities, a way-wiser, a thermometer, a monstrous magnet, conic and other sections, a ballance on a demi-circle, most of them of his owne and that prodigious young scholar Mr. Chr. Wren, who presented me with a piece of white marble, which he had stain'd with a lively red, very deepe, as beautiful as if it had ben natural.

Thus satisfied with ye civilities of Oxford, we left it, dining at Faringdon, a towne wch had ben newly fir'd during ye warrs; and passing neere ye seate of Sir Walter Pie *, we came to Cadenham.

16. We went to another uncle and relative of my wife's, Sir John Glanvill, a famous lawyer, formerly Speaker of ye House of Commons; his seate is at Broad-Hinton, where he now liv'd, but in ye Gate-house, his very faire dwelling-house having ben burnt by his owne hands to prevent ye rebells making a garrison of it. Here my cousin Will. Glanvill, his eldest sonn, shew'd me such a lock for a doore, that for its filing and rare contrivances was a master-piece, yet made by a country black-smith. But we have seene watches made by another with as much curiositie as the best of that profession can brag off; and not many yeares after, there was nothing more frequent than all sorts of Iron-work more exquisitely wrought and polish'd than in any part of Europ, so as a dore-lock of a tolerable price was esteem'd a curiositie even among forraine princes.

Went back to Cadenham, and on ye 19th to Sir Ed. Baynton's at Spie Park, a place capable of being made a noble seate; but the humourous old Knight has built a long single house of 2 low stories on ye precipice of an incomparable prospect, and landing on a bowling greene in ye park. The house is like a long barne, and has not a window on ye prospect side. After dinner they went to bowles, and in the meanetime our coach-men were made so exceedingly drunk, that in returning home we escap'd greate dangers. This it seems was by order of the Knight, that all gentlemen's servants be so treated; but the custome is barbarous, and much unbecoming a Knight, still lesse a Christian.

* Pye—ancestor of the late Poet Laureat.

20. We proceeded to Salisbury; the Cathedral I take to be the compleatest piece of Gotic worke in Europe, taken in all its uniformitie. The pillars, reputed to be cast, are of stone manifestly cut out of ye quarry; most observable are those in ye Chapter-house. There are some remarkable monuments, particularly the antient Bishops founders of the Church, Knights Templars, the Marques of Hartford's, the cloysters of the palace and garden, and the greate mural dial.

In the afternoone we went to Wilton, a fine house of ye Earl of Pembroke, in which ye most observable are ye dining-roome in ye modern built part towards the garden, richly gilded and painted with story by De Creete; also some other apartments, as that of hunting landskips by Pierce; some magnificent chimny-pieces after the best French manner; a paire of artificial winding-stayres of stone, and divers rare pictures. The garden, heretofore esteem'd the noblest in England, is a large handsom plaine, with a grotto and water-works, which might be made much more pleasant were the river that passes through cleans'd and rais'd, for all is effected by a meere force. It has a flower garden not inelegant. But after all, that which renders the seate delightful is its being so neere ye downes and noble plaines about the country contiguous to it. The stables are well order'd and yeild a gracefull front, by reason of the walkes of lime-trees, with the court and fountaine of the stables adorn'd with the Cæsar's heads.

We returned this evening by the plaine, and 14 mile race, where out of my lords hare-warren we were entertained with a long course of an hare for neere 2 miles in sight. Neere this is a pergola or stand, built to view the sports: and so we came to Salisbury, and viewed the most considerable parts of the Citty. The merket place with most of the streetes are water'd by a quick current and pure streame running thro' ye middle of them, but are negligently kept, when with small charge they might be purg'd and render'd infinitely agreeable, and made one of ye sweetest townes, but now the common buildings are despicable and ye streetes dirty.

22 July. We departed and din'd at a ferme of my uncle Hungerford's, call'd Darneford Magna, situate in a vally under ye plaine, most

sweetly water'd, abounding in trouts catch'd by speare in the night when they come attracted by a light set in ye sterne of a boate.

After dinner, continuing our returne, we pass'd over ye goodly plaine, or rather sea of carpet, which I think for evenness, extent, verdure, and innumerable flocks, to be one of ye most delightful prospects in nature, and reminded me of the pleasant lives of shepherds we reade of in Romances.

Now we were arived at Stone-henge, indeede a stupendious monument, appearing at a distance like a castle; how so many and huge pillars of stone should have ben brought together, some erect, others transverse on ye tops of them, in a circular area as rudely representing a cloyster or heathen and more natural temple, is wonderfull. The stone is so exceeding hard, that all my strength with a hammer could not breake a fragment; wch hardness I impute to their so long exposure. To number them exactly is very difficult, they lie in such variety of postures and confusion, tho' they seem'd not to exceede 100; we counted onely 95. As to their being brought thither, there being no navigable river neere, is by some admir'd; but for ye stone there seemes to be ye same kind about 20 miles distant, some of which appeare above ground. About the same hills are divers mounts rais'd, conceiv'd to be ancient intrenchments or places of burial after bloudy fights. We now went by the Devizes, a reasonable large towne, and came late to Cadenham.

27. I went to the hunting of a sorel deere, and had excellent chase for 4 or 5 houres, but the venison little worth.

29 July. I went to Langford to see my cousin Stephens. I also saw Dryfield, ye house heretofore of Sir John Pretyman, grandfather to my wife, and sold by her uncle; both ye seate and house very honourable and well built, much after the modern fashion.

31. Taking leave of Cadenham, where we had ben long and nobly entertain'd, we went a compass into Leicestershire, where dwelt another relation of my wife's; for I indeede made these excursions to shew her ye most considerable parts of her native country, who from her childhood had liv'd altogether in France, as well as for my owne curiosity and information.

About two miles before coming to Gloucester, we have a prospect from woody hills into a most goodly vale and country. Gloucester is a handsome Citty, considerable for the Church & monuments. The Minster is indeede a noble fabric. The whispering gallery is rare, being thro' a passage of 25 yards, in a many-angled cloister, and was, I suppose, either to shew the skill of the architect, or some invention of a cunning priest, who standing unseene in a recesse in the middle of the Chappell, might heare whatever was spoken at either end. This is above the quire, in which lies buried K. Stephen under a monument of Irish oake, not ill carved considering the age. The new Librarie is a noble tho' a private designe. I was likewise pleased with ye Severne gliding so sweetely by it. The Duke's house, the Castle workes, are now almost quite dismantl'd; nor yet without sad thoughts did I see the Towne, considering how fatal the siege had ben a few yeares before to our good King.

1 Augt. We sat out towards Worcester by a way thick planted with cider-fruit. We deviated to the Holy Wells, trickling out of a vally thro' a steepe declivity towards the foote of the greate Mauvern Hills; they are said to heale many infirmities, as king's evil, leaprosie, sore eyes, &c. Ascending a great height above them to the Trench dividing England from South Wales, we had the prospect of all Herefordshire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, Worcester, Glocester, Shropshire, Warwick, Derby shires, and many more. We could discern Tewxbery, Kings-rode towards Bristol, &c. so as I esteeme it one of the goodliest vista's in England.

2. This evening we ariv'd at Worcester, the Judges of Assise and Sheriff just entering as we did. Viewing the Towne the next day, we found ye Cathedral much ruin'd by the late warrs, otherwise a noble structure. The Towne is neately pav'd and very cleane, the goodly river Severne running by it, and standing in a most fertile country.

3. We pass'd next thro' Warwick, and saw the Castle, the dwelling-house of the Lord Brook, and the furniture noble. It is built on an eminent rock wch gives prospect into a most goodly greene, a woody and plentifully watred country; the river running so delightfully under it, that it may passe for one of the most surprising seates one should

meete with. The gardens are pretily disposed, but might be much improv'd. Here they show us Sr Guy's greate two-handed sword, staff, horse-armes, pott, and other reliques of y^t^ famous knight errant. Warwick is a faire old Towne, and hath one Church full of antient monuments. Having viewed these, I went to visite my worthy friend Sir H. Puckering at the Abby, and tho' a melancholy old seate, yet in a rich soile. Hence to Sir Guy's Grott, where they say he did his penances and dyed. 'Tis a squalid den made in the rock, crown'd yet with venerable oakes and looking on a goodly streame, so as, were it improv'd as it might be, 'twere capable of being made a most romantiq and pleasant place. Neere this we were shew'd his chapell and gigantic statue hewn out of the solid rock, out of which there are likewise divers other caves cut, & some very capacious. The next place to Coventry. The Crosse is remarkable for Gotic worke and rich gilding, comparable to any I had ever seene except that of Cheapeside in London, now demolish'd. This Citty has many handsome churches, a beautifull wall, a faire free-schole and librarie to it; the streetes full of greate shops, cleane and well pav'd. At going forth the Gate they shew us the bone or rib of a wild boare said to have ben kill'd by Sir Guy, but which I take to be the chine of a whale.

4. Hence riding thro' a considerable part of Leicestershire, an open, rich, but unpleasant country, we came late in the evening to Horninghold, a seate of my wife's unkle [not nam'd].

7. Went to Uppingham, the Shire-towne of Rutland, pretty and well built of stone, which is a rarity in that part of England, where most of the rural parishes are but of mud, and the people living as wretchedly as in the most impoverish'd parts of France, which they much resemble, being idle and sluttish. The country (especially Leicestershire) much in common; the gentry free drinkers.

9. To the old and ragged Citty of Leicester, large and pleasantly seated, but despicably built, ye chimney flues like so many smiths forges; however, famous for the tombe of the Tyrant Richard the Third, which is now converted to a cistern, at which (I think) cattel drink. Also here in one of the Churches lies buried the magnificent Cardinal Wolsey. John of Gaunt has here also built a large but poore Hospital, neere

which a wretch has made him an house out of the ruines of a stately church. Saw ye ruines of an old Roman Temple, thought to be of Janus. Entertain'd at a very fine collation of fruits, such as I did not expect to meet with so far North, especially very good melons. We return'd to my unkle's.

14. I tooke a journey into the Northern parts, riding thro' Oakham, a pretty towne in Rutlandshire, famous for the tenure of the Barons (Ferrers), who hold it by taking off a shoe from every noble-man's horse that passes with his Lord thro' the streete, unless redeem'd with a certain piece of money. In token of this are severall gilded shoes nail'd up on the Castle-gate*, which seemes to have ben large and faire. Hence we went by Brook, a very sweete seate and parke of the old Lady Camdens. Next by Burleigh House, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham †, and worthily reckon'd among the noblest seates in England, situate on the brow of an hill, built *a la moderne* neere a park wall'd in, and a fine wood at the descent.

Now we were come to Cottsmore, a pretty seate belonging to Mr. Heath, sonn to the late Ld Cheif Justice of that name. Here, after dinner, parting with the company that conducted us thus far, I pass'd that evening by Belvoir Castle, built on a round mount at the point of a long ridge of hills, which affords a stately prospect, and is famous for its strenuous resistance in the late civil warr ‡.

Went by Newark on Trent, a brave towne and garison. Next by Wharton House, belonging to ye Lord Chaworth, an handsom seate: then by Home, a noble place belonging to the Marques of Dorchester, and pass'd the famous river Trent, which divides the South from the North of England, and so lay that night at Nottingham. This whole Towne and County seemes to be but one entire rock as it were, an exceeding pleasant shire, full of gentry. Here I observ'd divers to

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* A shoe was paid for by the Duke of York in 1788.

† Called Burleigh on the Hill, for distinction from the Earl of Exeter's near Stamford. The Duke of Buckingham sold it to the Family of Finch, now Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, to whom it belongs.

‡ New apartments built by the present Duke, but the old part was burnt down in Oct. 1816, suspected to be by incendiaries.

live in the rocks and caves, much after ye manner as about Tours in France *. The Church is well built on an eminence; there is a faire house of the Lord Clare's, another of Pierrepoints; an ample merket-place; large streetes full of crosses; the reliques of an ancient castle hollow'd, beneath wch are many caverns, especialy that of the Scots King, and his work whilst there. This place is remarkable for being the place where his Ma^ty^ first erected his standard at the beginning of our late unhappy differences. The prospects from this citty towards the river and meadows are most delightfull.

15. We pass'd next thro' Sherewood Forest, accounted the most extensive in England. Then Paplewick, an incomparable vista with the pretty castle neere it. Thence we saw Newstead Abby belonging to ye Lord Biron, situated much like Fontaine-bleau in France †, capable of being made a noble seate, accommodated as it is with brave woods and streames; it has yet remaining the front of a glorious Abby Church. Next by Mansfield Towne; then Wellbeck, the house of the Marques of Newcastle, seated in a botome in a park, and environ'd with woods, a noble yet melancholy séate. The palace is a handsom and stately building. Next to Worksop Abby, almost demolish'd; the Church has a double flat towre intire, and a pretty gate. The Mannor belongs to the Earle of Arundel, and has to it a faire house at the foote of an hill in a park that afords a delicate prospect. Tickel, a Towne and Castle, has a very noble prospect. All these in Nottinghamshire.

16. We ariv'd at Doncaster, where we lay this night; it is a large faire towne, famous for greate wax-lights and good stockings.

17. Pass'd thro' Pontefract; the Castle, famous for many sieges both of late and ancient times, and the death of y^t^ unhappy King murdered in it (Richard II.) was now demolishing by the Rebells; it stands on a mount and makes a goodly shew at a distance. The Queene has an house here, and there are many faire seats neere it, especialy Mr. Pierrepoint's, built at the foote of an hill out of the Castle ruines. We all alighted in ye highway to drink at a cristal spring wch they call Robin Hood's Well; neere it is a stone chaire,

* See p. 61. † See p. 47.

and an iron ladle to drink out of, chain'd to the seate. We rode to Tadcaster, at the side of which we have prospect of the Archbishop's Palace (wch is a noble seate), and in sight of divers other gentlemen's faire houses. This tract is a goodly, fertile, well-water'd and wooded country, abounding with pasture and plenty of provisions.

17 Augt. To York, the second Citty of England, fairely wall'd, of a circular forme, water'd by the brave river Ouse, bearing vessels of considerable burthen on it; over it is a stone bridge emulating y^t^ of London, and built on, the middle arch is larger than any I have seene in England, with a wharfe of hewn stone, which makes the river appeare very neate. But most remarkable and worthy seeing is St. Peter's Cathedrall, which of all the greate churches in England had ben best preserv'd from ye furie of ye sacrilegious *, by composition with the Rebells when they tooke the Citty, during the many incursions of Scotch and others. It is a most intire magnificent piece of Gotic architecture. The skreene before ye quire is of stone carv'd wth flowers, running work and statues of ye old Kings. Many of the monuments are very ancient. Here, as a greate rarity in these dayes and at this time, they shew'd me a Bible and Common Prayer Book cover'd with crimson velvet, and richly emboss'd with silver gilt; also a service for ye altar of guilt wrought plate, flagons, basin, euer, chalices, patins, &c. with a gorgeous covering for ye altar and pulpit, carefully preserv'd in ye Vestrie, in the hollow wall whereof rises a plentifull spring of excellent water. I got up to ye Towre, whence we had a prospect towards Duresme, and could see Rippon, part of Lancashire, the famous and fatal Marston Moore, ye Spaws of Knaresbrough, and all the environs of that admirable country. Sir —— Ingoldsby has here a large house, gardens, and tennis court; also the King's house and Church neere the Castle, which was modernly fortified with a palizade and bastions. The streetes are narrow and ill pav'd, the shops like London.

18 Aug. We went to Beverly, a large towne with 2 stately churches, St. John's and St. Marie's, not much inferior to the best of

* By Sir Thomas Fairfax.

our Cathedrals. Here a very old woman shew'd us the monuments, and being above 100 yeares old, spake ye language of Queen Marie's daies, in whose time she was born; she was widow of a Sexton who had belong'd to ye church an hundred yeares.

Hence we pass'd thro' a fenny but rich country to Hull, situate like Calais, modernly and strongly fortified with three block-houses of brick and earth. It has a good mercat-place and harbour for ships. Famous also (or rather infamous) is this towne for Hotham's refusing enterance to his Maty. The Water-house is worth seeing. And here ends the South of Yorkshire.

19. We passe the Humber, an arme of the sea of about 2 leagues breadth. The weather was bad, but we cross'd it in a good barg to Barton, the first towne in that part of Lincolnshire. All marsh ground till we came to Brigg, famous for the plantations of licorice, and then had brave pleasant riding to Lincoln, much resembling Salisbury Plaine. Lincoln is an old confus'd towne, very long, uneven, steepe, and ragged; formerly full of good houses, especialy churches and abbies. The Minster almost comparable to yt of York itselfe, abounding with marble pillars and having a faire front. Herein was interr'd Q. Elianor, the loyal and loving wife who suck'd the poison out of her husband's wound; the Abbot founder, wth rare carving in ye stone; the greate Bell, or Tom, as they call it; I went up the steeple, from whence is a goodly prospect all over the country. The souldiers had lately knocked off most of the brasses from the gravestones, so as few inscriptions were left; they told us that these men went in with axes and hammers, and shut themselves in, till they had rent and torne off some barge-loads of mettal, not sparing even the monuments of the dead, so hellish an avarice possessed them; besides wch they exceedingly ruin'd the Citty.

Here I saw a tall woman six foote two inches high, comely, middle ag'd and well proportion'd, who kept a very neate and cleane ale-house, and got most by people's coming to see her on account of her height.

20. From hence we had a most pleasant ride over a large heath open like Salisbury Plaine, to Grantham, a pretty towne, so well situ-

ated on the side of a bottome, which is large and at distance inviron'd with ascending grounds, that for pleasure I consider it comparable to most inland places of England: famous is the Steeple for the exceeding height of the shaft, which is of stone.

About 18 miles South we passe by a noble seate, and see Boston at a distance. Here we came to a parish of which the parson has Tithe Ale.

Thence thro' Rutland we brought night to Horninghold, from whence I sat out on this excursion.

22. I went a setting and hawking, where we had tolerable sport.

25. I went to see Kirby, a very noble house of my Lord Hatton's in Northamptonshire, built *à la moderne;* the garden and stables agreeable, but the avenue ungraceful and the seate naked: returned that evening.

27. Mr. Allington preach'd an excellent discourse from Romans 6. 19. This was he who publish'd those bold sermons of the members warring against the mind, or the Jewes crucifying Christ, applied to the wicked regicides, for which he was ruin'd. We had no sermon in the afternoone.

30. Taking leave of my friends who had now feasted me more than a moneth, I, with my wife, &c. set our faces towards home, and got this evening to Peterborow, passing by a stately palace (Thorpe) of St. John's (one deepe in ye bloud of our good King), built out of the ruines of the Bishops Palace and Cloyster. The Church is exceeding faire, full of monuments of greate antiquity. Here lies Queene Catharine, the unhappy wife of Hen. VIII. and the no lesse unfortunate Mary Q. of Scots. On the steeple we view'd the Fens of Lincolnshire, now much inclos'd and drained with infinite expence, and by many sluices, cutts, mounds, and ingenious mills, and the like inventions, at which the Citty and country about it, consisting of a poore and very lazy sort of people, were much displeas'd.

Peterborow is an handsome towne, and hath another well-built Church.

31. Thro' part of Huntingdon shire we passe that towne, faire and ancient, a river running by it. The country about it so abounds in

wheate, that when any King of England passes thro' it they have a costom to meet him with an hundred plows.

This evening to Cambridge; and went first to see St. John's Colledge, well built of brick, and Librarie, which I think is ye fairest of that University. One Mr. Benlowes* has given it all ye ornaments of Pietra Commessa†, whereof a table and one piece of perspective is very fine; other trifles there also be of no great value, besides a vast old song book or service, and some faire manuscripts. There hangs in ye library the picture of John Williams Abp. of York sometime Lord Keeper, my kinsman and their greate benefactor.

Trinity College is said by some to be the fairest quadrangle of any University in Europ, but in truth is far inferior to that of Christ Church in Oxford; the hall is ample and of stone, ye fountaine in ye quadrangle is gracefull, the Chapell and Library faire. There they shew'd us the prophetic manuscript of the famous Grebner, but the passage and emblem which they would apply to our late King, is manifestly relating to the Swedish; in truth it seemes to be a meere fantastic rhapsody, however the title may bespeake strange revelations. There is an Office in manuscript with fine miniatures, and some other antiquities given by ye Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. and the before mention'd Abp. Williams when Bishop of Lincoln. The Library is pretty well stor'd. The Greeke Professor had me into another large quadrangle cloister'd and well built, and gave us a handsome collation in his own chamber.

Thence to Caius, and afterwards to King's College, where I found the Chapel altogether answer'd expectation, especialy the roofe all of stone, wch for the flatness of its laying and carving, may I conceive vie with any in Christendome. The contignation of the roof (wch I went upon) weight and artificial joyneing of the stones is admirable. The lights are also very faire. In one ile lies the famous Dr. Collins so celebrated for his fluency in the Latin tongue. From this roofe we could descry

* Edward Benlowes, Esq. a writer of Divine Poesy, of a good family in Essex, and of a good estate, but which he wasted by improvident liberality, and buying curiosities, as Wood says. Wood's Fasti, 876.

† Marble inlaid of various colours representing flowers, birds, &c.

Ely, and ye incampment of Sturbridge faire now beginning to set up their tents and boothes; also Royston, Newmarket, &c. houses belonging to the King. The Library is too narrow.

Clare Hall is of a new and noble designe, but not finish'd.

Peter House formerly under ye government of my worthy friend Dr. Jo. Cosin Deane of Peterborow*; a pretty neate College having a delicate Chapell. Next to Sidney, a fine College.

Catharine Hall, tho' a meane structure, is yet famous for the learned Bp. Andrews, once Master. Emanuel Colledge, that zealous house, where to the Hall they have a parler for ye Fellows. The Chapell is reform'd, *ab origine*, built N. and South, meanely built, as is ye Librarie.

Jesus College, one of the best built but in a melancholy situation. Next to Christ College, a very noble erection, especialy the modern part, built without the quadrangle towards ye gardens, of exact architecture.

The Schooles are very despicable, and Public Librarie but meane, tho' somewhat improv'd by the wainscotting and books lately added by the Bp. Bancroft's Library and MSS. They shew'd us little of antiquity, onely K. James's Works, being his owne gift and kept very reverently.

The Mercat-place is very ample, and remarkable for old Hobson the pleasant Carrier's beneficence of a fountaine†. But the whole towne is situate in a low dirty unpleasant place, ye streetes ill paved, the aire thick and infected by the Fennes, nor are its churches (of wch St. Marie's is the best) any thing considerable in compare to Oxford‡.

From Cambridge we went to Audley End, and spent some time in seeing that goodly palace built by Howard Earl of Suffolk, once Lord Treasurer. It is a mixt fabric 'twixt antiq. and modern; but observable for its being compleately finish'd, and without comparison is one of the stateliest palaces of the kingdom. It consists of two courts, ye first very large, wing'd with cloisters. The front hath a double entrance; the hall is faire, but somewhat too small for so august a pile. The kitchen

* Ejected from all his preferments in 1640 or 1641. Afterwards Bishop of Durham.

† It is rather a conduit.

‡ The reader must remember that an Oxford man is speaking.

is very large, as are the cellars arch'd wth stone, very neate and well dispos'd; these offices are joyn'd by a wing out of ye way very handsomely. The gallery is the most cheerfull, and I thinke one of the best in England; a faire dining-roome, and the rest of ye lodgings answerable, with a pretty chapell. The gardens are not in order, tho' well inclos'd. It has also a bowling-ally, a nobly well wall'd, wooded, and water'd park, full of fine collines and ponds: the river glides before ye palace, to which is an avenue of lime trees, but all this is much diminish'd by its being plac'd in an obscure bottome; for the rest, it is a perfectly uniform structure, and shewes without like a diadem, by ye decorations of the cupolas and other ornaments on ye pavilions; instead of raile and balusters, there is a bordure of capital letters, as was lately also on Suffolk House neere Charing Crosse, built by the same Lord Tress^r^*.

This house stands in the parish of Saffron Walden, famous for ye aboundance of saffron there cultivated, and esteem'd the best of any forraine country.

3 Oct. Having din'd here we pass'd thro' Bishop's Stortford, a pretty water'd towne, and so by London late home to Sayes Court, after a journey of 700 miles, but for the variety an agreeable refreshment after my turmoil and building, &c.

10. To my brother at Wotton, who had ben sick.

14. I went to visit my noble friend Mr. Hyldiard, where I met that learned gentleman my Lord Aungier, and Dr. Stokes, one of his Ma^tys^ Chaplains.

15. To Betchworth Castle to Sr Ambrose Browne, and other gentlemen of my sweete and native country.

24. The good old parson Higham preach'd at Wotton Church: a plaine preacher, but innocent and honest man.

23 Oct. I went to London to visit my co. Fanshawe, and this day I saw one of the rarest collections of achates, onyxes, and intaglios, that I had ever seene either at home or abroad, collected by a conceited old hatt-maker in Black Friers, especialy one achat vase, heretofore the greate Earle of Leicester's.

* Where Suffolk Street is now built.

28. Came Lady Langham, a kinswoman of mine, to visit us; also one Captn. Cooke, esteem'd ye best singer after ye Italian manner of any in England; he entertain'd us with his voice and theorba.

31. My birth-day, being the 34th yeare of my age: blessing God for his providence I went to London to visite my brother.

3 Dec. Advent Sunday. There being no office at the church, but extemporie prayers after ye Presbyterian way, for now all formes were prohibited, and most of the preachers were usurpers, I seldome went to church upon solemn feasts, but either went to London, where some of the orthodox sequestred Divines did privately use ye Common Prayer, administer sacraments, &c. or else I procur'd one to officiate in my house; wherefore, on the 10th, Dr. Rich^d. Owen, the sequester'd minister of Eltham, preach'd to my family in my library, and ga ve us ye holy communion.

25. Christmas Day. No public offices in churches, but penalties on observers, so as I was constrain'd to celebrate it at home.

1655. Jan. 1. Having with my Family performed the publiq offices of the day, and begged a blessing on the yeare I was now entering, I went to keepe the rest of Christmas at my brother's, R. Evelyn at Woodcot.

19. My wife was brought to bed of another son, being my third, but second living. Christen'd on ye 26th by ye name of John.

28. A stranger preached from 3 Colossians, 2, inciting our affections to the obtaining heavenly things. I understood afterwards that this man had ben both Chaplaine and Lieutennent to Admiral Pen, using both swords, whether ordained or not I cannot say; into such times were we fallen!

Feb: 24. I was shew'd a table clock whose ballance was onely a chrystall ball sliding on parallel wyers without being at all fixed, but rolling from stage to stage till falling on a spring conceal'd from sight, it was throwne up to the upmost channel againe, made with an imperceptible declivity, in this continual vicissitude of motion prettily entertaining the eye every halfe minute, and the next halfe giving progress to the hand that shew'd the houre, and giving notice by a small bell, so as in 120 halfe minutes, or periods of the bullet's falling on the ejaculatorie spring, the clock part struck. This very extraordinary piece

(richly adorn'd) had been presented by some German Prince to our late King, and was now in possession of the Usurper, valu'd at 200*l.*

2 Mar. Mr. Simson, ye King's jeweler, shew'd me a most rich achat cup of an escalop shape and having a figure of Cleopatra at the scroll, her body, haire, mantle, and vaile of the severall natural colours. It was supported by a halfe M. Antony, the colours rarely natural, and ye work truly antique, but I conceiv'd they were of severall pieces; had they ben all of one stone it were invaluable.

18. Went to London on purpose to heare that excellent preacher Dr. Jeremy Taylor on 14 Matt. 17. shewing what were the conditions of obtaining eternal life: also concerning abatements for unavoidable infirmities, how cast on the accompts of ye Crosse. On the 31st I made a visit to Dr. Jer. Taylor to conferr with him about some spiritual matters, using him thenceforward as my ghostly father. I beseech God Almighty to make me ever mindful of, and thankful for, his heavenly assistances.

2 April. This was the first weeke that my V. Pret. [Uncle Pretyman] being parted with his family from me, I began housekeeping, till now sojourning with him in my owne house.

9. I went to see ye greate ship newly built by the Usurper Oliver, carrying 96 brasse guns, and 1000 tons burthen. In ye prow was Oliver on horseback, trampling 6 Nations under foote, a Scott, Irishman, Dutchman, Frenchman, Spaniard, and English, as was easily made out by their several habits. A Fame held a laurel over his insulting head; ye word, *God with us.*

15. I went to London with my family to celebrate ye feast of Easter. Dr. Wild preach'd at St. Gregorie's; the Ruling Powers conniving at ye use of the Liturgy &c. in this church alone. In ye afternoone Mr. Pierson (since Bp. of Chester) preach'd at East Cheape, but was disturb'd by an alarme of fire, which about this time was very frequent in the Cittie.

29 May. I sold Preston to Col. Morley.

June 17. There was a collection for the Persecuted Churches and Christians in Savoy, remnants of the ancient Albigenses.

3 July. I was shew'd a pretty Terrella, describ'd with all ye circles, and shewing all ye magnetic deviations, &c.

14. Came Mr. Pratt, my old acquaintance at Rome, also Sir Edward Hales, S^r^ Jo. Tufton w^h^ Mr. Seamour.

1 Aug. I went to Darking to see Mr. Cha. Howard's amphitheater, garden, or solitarie recess *, being 15 acres inviron'd by a hill. He shew'd us divers rare plants, caves, and an elaboratory.

10. I went to Alburie to visit Mr. Howard, who had begun to build and alter ye gardens much. He shew'd me many rare pictures, particularly the *Moore on horseback; Erasmus* as big as the life, by Holbein: a *Madona* in miniature by Oliver; but above all the Skull carv'd in wood by Albert Durer, for which his father was offer'd 100*l.*; also *Albert's head* by himselfe; with divers rare achates, intalias, and other curiosities.

21. I went to Rygate to visit Mrs. Cary at my Lady Peterboro's, in an antient monastery well in repaire, but the parke much defac'd; the house is nobly furnish'd. The chimney-piece in the greate chamber, carv'd in wood, was of Hen. 8. and was taken from an house of his in Blechinglee. At Rygate was now ye Archbishop of Armagh, the learned James Usher, whom I went to visite. He receiv'd me exceeding kindly. In discourse with him he told me how greate the losse of time was to study much the Eastern languages; that excepting Hebrew there was little fruite to be gather'd of exceeding labour; that besides some mathematical bookes, the Arabic itselfe had little considerable; that the best text was ye Hebrew Bible; that ye Septuagint was finish'd in 70 daies, but full of errors, about which he was then writing; that St. Hierom's was to be valued next the Hebrew; also that the 70 translated the Pentateuch onely, the rest was finish'd by others; that the Italians at present understood but little Greeke, and Kircher was a mountebank; that Mr. Selden's best book was his "Titles of Honour;" that the Church would be destroyed by sectaries, who would in all likelihood bring in Poperie. In conclusion he recommended to me y^e^

* Called Deepden, the property of Thomas Hope, Esq. (1816)

study of Philologie above all human studies; and so with his blessing I tooke my leave of this excellent person, and returned to Wotton.

27. I went to Box-hill to see those rare natural bowers, cabinets, and shady walkes in the box copses: Hence we walk'd to Mickleham, and saw Sir F. Stidolph's seate environ'd with elme-trees and walnuts innumerable, and of which last he told us they receiv'd a considerable revenue. Here are such goodly walkes and hills shaded with yew and box as render the place extreamely agreeable, it seeming from these ever-greens to be summer all the winter.

28. Came that renown'd mathematician Mr. Oughtred* to see me, I sending my coach to bring him to Wotton, being now very aged. Amongst other discourse he told me he thought water to be the philosopher's first matter, and that he was well perswaded of the possibility of their elixir; he believ'd the sunn to be a material fire, the moone a continent, as appears by the late Selenographers; he had strong apprehensions of some extraordinary event to happen ye following yeare, from the calculation of coincidence with the diluvian period; and added that it might possibly be to convert ye Jewes by our Saviour's visible appearance, or to judge ye world; and therefore his word was, *Parate in occursum;* he said original sin was not met with in the Greeke Fathers, yet he believ'd ye thing; this was from some discourse on Dr. Taylor's late booke wch I had lent him.

16. Preach'd at St. Gregories one Darnel on 4 Psalm 4. concerning ye benefit of selfe examination; more learning in *so short a time as an hour* I have seldom heard.

17 Sept. Receiv'd 2600*l.* of Mr. Hurt for the manor of Warley Magna in Essex, purchased by me some time since. The taxes were so intollerable that they eate up the rents &c. surcharged as that county had been above all others during our unnatural war.

19. Came to see me Sr Edw. Hales, Mr. Ashmole, Mr. Harlakenton, and Mr. Thornhill: and the next day I visited Sir Hen. Newton at Charleton, where I met the Earl of Winchelsea and Lady Beauchamp, daughter to the Ld Capel.

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* Rector of Albury.

On Sunday afternoone I frequently stay'd at home, to catechise and instruct my familie, those exercises universally ceasing in the parish churches, so as people had no principles, and grew very ignorant of even the common points of Christianity; all devotion being now plac'd in hearing sermons and discourses of speculative and notional things.

26. I went to see Col. Blount's subterranean warren, and drank of the wine of his vineyard, which was good for little.

31. Sir Nich. Crisp came to treate with me about his vast designe of a Mole * to be made for ships in part of my grounds at Sayes Court.

3 Nov. I had accidentally discourse with a Persian and a Greeke concerning the devastation of Poland by ye late incursion of the Swedes.

27. To London about Sr Nich^s Crisps designs.

I went to see York House and gardens belonging to the former greate Buckingham, but now much ruin'd thro' neglect †.

Thence to visit honest and learned Mr. Hartlib ‡, a public spirited and ingenious person, who had propagated many usefull things and arts. He told me of the Castles which they set for ornament on their stoves in Germany (he himselfe being a Lithuanian as I remember), which are furnish'd with small ordinance of silver on the battlements, out of which they discharge excellent perfumes about the roomes, charging them with a little powder to set them on fire and disperse the smoke; and in truth no more than neede, for their stoves are sufficiently nasty. He told me of an inke that would give a dozen copies, moist sheets of paper being press'd on it, and remaine perfect; and a receipt how to take off any print without the least injury to the originall. This gentleman was master of innumerable curiosities and very communicative. I returned home that evening by water, and was afflicted for it with a cold that had almost kill'd me.

27. This day came forth the Protectors Edict or Proclamation, prohibiting all ministers of the Church of England from preaching or

* See hereafter, under 1662, January.

† The Duke's names and titles are still preserved in the buildings erected on the site; viz. George Street, Villiers Street, Duke Street, Off Alley, Buckingham Street.

‡ Samuel Hartlib. Milton's Tractate of Education is addressed to him. Mr. Todd in his Life of that Poet prefixed to the last Edition of his Poetical Works, observes that "a Life of Hartlib is a desideratum in English Biography:" there are ample materials for it in the publications of the time.

teaching any scholes, in which he imitated the Apostate Julian; with ye decimation of all ye royal parties revenues throughout England.

14 Dec. I visited Mr. Hobbs ye famous philosopher of Malmesbury, with whom I had ben long acquainted in France.

Now were the Jews admitted.

25. There was no more notice taken of Christmas day in churches.

I went to London where Dr. Wild preach'd the funeral sermon of Preaching, this being the last day, after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer Sacraments, teach schoole, &c. on paine of imprisonment or exile. So this was ye mournfullest day that in my life I had seene, or ye Church of England herselfe since ye Reformation; to the greate rejoicing of both Papist and Presbyter*. So pathetic was his discourse that it drew many teares from the auditory. Myself, wife, and some of our family receiv'd ye Communion; God make me thankfull, who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our soules as well as bodies! The Lord Jesus pity our distress'd Church, and bring back the captivity of Sion!

1656. 5 Jan. Came to visit me my Lord Lisle, sonn to ye Earle of Leicester, with Sir Charles Ouseley, two of the Usurper's Councill; Mr. John Hervey, and John Denham the poet.

18. Went to Eltham on foote, being a greate frost, but a mist falling as I returned, gave me such a rheume as kept me within doores neere a whole moneth after.

5 Feb. Was shew'd me a pretty perspective and well represented in a triangular box, the greate Church of Harlem in Holland, to be seene thro' a small hole at one of the corners, and contriv'd into an handsome cabinet. It was so rarely don, that all the artists and painters in town flock'd to see and admire it.

10. I heard Dr. Wilkins† preach before ye Lord Mayor in St. Pauls, shewing how obedience was preferable to sacrifice. He was a

* The text was 2 Cor. 13. 9. That, however persecution dealt with the Ministers of God's word, they were still to pray for the flocke, and wish their perfection, as it was the flocke to pray for and assist their pastors, by the example of St. Paul. J. E.

† Afterwards Bishop of Chester.

most obliging person, who had married the Protector's sister, and tooke greate pains to preserve the Universities from the ignorant sacrilegious Commanders and Souldiers, who would faine have demolish'd all places and persons that pretended to learning.

11. I ventur'd to go to White-hall, where of many yeares I had not ben, and found it very glorious and well furnish'd, as far as I could safely go, and was glad to find they had not much defac'd y^t^ rare piece of Hen. VII. &c. don on the walles of the King's privy chamber.

14. I dined with Mr. Berkeley, son of Lord Berkeley of Berkeley Castle, where I renewed my acquaintance with my Lord Bruce, my fellow-traveller in Italy.

19. Went with Dr. Wilkins to see Barlow, ye famous painter of fowls, beasts and birds.

4 Mar. This night I was invited by Mr. Roger L'Estrange to hear the incomparable Lubicer on the violin. His variety on a few notes and plaine ground with that wonderful dexterity was admirable. Tho' a young man, yet so perfect and skilfull, that there was nothing, however cross and perplext, brought to him by our Artists, which he did not play off at sight with ravishing sweetnesse and improvements, to the astonishment of our best Masters. In sum he plaid on y^t^ single instrument a full concert, so as the rest flung down their instruments, acknowledging ye victory. As to my own particular, I stand to this hour amaz'd that God should give so greate perfection to so young a person. There were at that time as excellent in their profession as any were thought to be in Europ, Paul Wheeler, Mr. Mell and others, till this prodigie appear'd. I can no longer question the effects we reade of in David's harp to charme evil spirits, or what is said some particular notes produc'd in the passions of Alexander, and that King of Denmark.

12 April. Mr. Berkeley and Mr. Robt Boyle (that excellent person and greate virtuoso), Dr. Taylor and Dr. Wilkins, din'd with me at Sayes Court, when I presented Dr. Wilkins with my rare burning-glasse. In the afternoone we all went to Col. Blount's, to see his new-invented plows.

22. Came to see me Mr. Henshaw and Sr Wm Paston's sonn, since

Earle of Yarmouth. Afterwards I went to see his Majesty's house at Eltham, both Palace and Chapell in miserable ruines, the noble woods and park destroy'd by Rich the Rebell.

6 May: I brought Monsr. le Franc a young French Sorbonnist, a proselyte, to converse with Dr. Taylor; they fell to dispute on original sinn, in Latine, upon a booke newly publish'd by the Doctor, who was much satisfied with the young man. Thence I went to see Mr. Dugdale, our learned Antiquarie and Herald. Returning, I was shew'd the three vast volumes of Father Kircher's "Obeliscus Pamphilius" and "Ægyptiacus;" in the 2nd volume I found the Hieroglyphic I first communicated and sent to him at Rome by the hands of Mr. Henshaw, whom he mentions. I design'd it from ye stone itselfe brought me to Venice from Cairo by Cap. Powell *.

7. I visited Dr. Taylor and prevail'd on him to propose Monsr le Franc to the Bishop that he might have orders, I having some time before brought him to a full consent to the Church of England her doctrine and discipline, in which he had till of late made some difficulty; so he was this day ordain'd both Deacon and Priest, by ye Bishop of Meath. I paid the fees to his Lordship, who was very poore and in greate want, to that necessity were our Clergy reduc'd! In the afternoone I met Alderman Robinson, to treat with Mr. Papillion about ye marriage of my cousin George Tuke with Mrs. Fontaine.

8. I went to visit Dr. Wilkins at White-hall, when I first met with Sir P. Neale, famous for his optic glasses. Greatorix ye mathematical instrument maker shew'd me his excellent invention to quench fire.

12. Was publish'd my Essay on Lucretius †, with innumerable errata by ye negligence of Mr. Triplet who undertook the correction of

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* See p. 199.

† A Translation into English verse of the first Book only, the Frontispiece to which was designed by Mr. Evelyn's Lady. Prefixed to the copy in the Library at Wotton is this note in his own hand-writing: "Never was book so abominably misused by printer: never copy so negligently surveied by one who undertooke to looke over the proofe-sheetes with all exactnesse and care, namely Dr. Triplet, well knowne for his abilitie, and who pretended to oblige me in my absence, and so readily offer'd himselfe. This good yet I received by it, that publishing it vainely, its ill successe at the printer's discourag'd me with troubling the worlde with the rest."

ye press in my absence. Little of ye Epicurean philosophy was then known amongst us.

28. I din'd with Nieuport ye Holland Ambassador, who receiv'd me with extraordinary courtesie. I found him a judicious, crafty and wise man. He gave me excellent cautions as to the danger of the times, and the circumstances our nation was in. I remember the observation he made upon the ill success of our former Parliaments, and their private animosities; and little care of ye public.

Came to visit me the old Marques of Argyle (since executed), Lord Lothian, and some other Scotch noblemen, all strangers to me: Note, the Marques tooke the turtle-doves in ye aviary for owles.

The Earl of Southampton (since Treasurer) and Mr. Spencer, brother to the Earle of Sunderland, came to see my garden.

7 July. I began my journey to see some parts of ye North East of England, but ye weather was so excessive hot and dusty I shortned my progresse.

8. To Colchester, a faire towne, but now wretchedly demolished by the late siege, especialy the suburbs, which were all burnt, but were then repairing. The towne is built on a rising ground, having faire meadows on one side, and a river with a strong ancient castle, said to have ben built by K. Coilus, father of Helena mother of Constantine the Great, of whom I find no memory save at ye pinnacle of one of their wool-staple houses, where is a statue of Coilus in wood, wretchedly carved. The walles are exceeding strong, deeply trench'd and fill'd with earth. It has 6 gates and some watch-towres, and some handsome churches. But what was shewed us as a kind of miracle, at the outside of the Castle, the wall where Sir Cha. Lucas and Sir Geo. Lisle, those valiant and noble persons who so bravely behav'd themselves in the last siege, were barbarously shot, murder'd by Ireton in cold blood after surrendering on articles; having ben disappointed of relief from the Scotch army, which had ben defeated with the King at Worcester. The place was bare of grasse for a large space, all ye rest of it abounding with herbage. For the rest, this is a ragged and factious towne, now swarming with Sectaries. Their trading is in cloth with the Dutch, and baies and saies with Spaine; it is the only place

in England where these stuffs are made unsophisticated. It is also famous for oysters and eringo-root, growing here about and candied for sale.

Went to Dedham, a pretty country towne, having a very faire church finely situated, the valley well watred. Here I met with Dr. Stokes, a young gentleman but an excellent mathematician. This is a clothing towne, as most are in Essex, but lies in ye unwholesome hundreds.

Hence to Ipswich, doubtlesse one of the sweetest, most pleasant, well built Townes in England. It has twelve faire churches, many noble houses, especialy ye Ld Devereux's; a brave kay and commodious harbor, being about 7 miles from ye maine; an ample mercat-place. Here was born ye greate Cardinal Wolsey, who began a palace here, which was not finish'd.

I had ye curiosity to visite some Quakers here in prison; a new phanatic sect, of dangerous principles, who shew no respect to any man, magistrate or other, and seeme a melancholy proud sort of people, and exceedingly ignorant. One of these was said to have fasted 20 daies, but another endeavouring to do ye like, perish'd on the 10th, when he would have eaten but could not.

10. I return'd homeward, passing againe thro Colchester; and by the way neere the antient towne of Chelmsford, saw New Hall, built in a parke by Henry 7. and 8. and given by Queen Elizabeth to the Earle of Sussex, who sold it to the late greate Duke of Buckingham, and since seiz'd on by O. Cromwell (pretended Protector). It is a faire old house built with brick, low, being only of 2 stories, as the manner then was; ye Gate-house better; the Court large and pretty; the staire-case of extraordinary widenesse, with a piece representing *Sir F. Drake's action* in the year 1580, an excellent sea-piece; ye galleries are trifling; the hall is noble; the garden a faire plot, and the whole seate well accommodated with water; but above all I admir'd the faire avenue planted with stately lime-trees in 4 rowes, for neere a mile in length. It has three descents, which is the only fault, and may be reform'd. There is another faire walk of ye same at the mall and wildernesse, with a tennis-court, and pleasant terrace towards the park, which was well stor'd with deere and ponds.

11. Came home by Greenwich Ferry, where I saw Sir John Winter's new project of *charring sea-coale*, to burne out the sulphure and render it sweete. He did it by burning the coals in such earthen pots as the glasse-men mealt their mettal, so firing them without consuming them, using a barr of yron in each crucible or pot, which barr has a hook at one end, that so the coales being mealted in a furnace wth other crude sea-coales under them, may be drawn out of ye potts sticking to the yron, whence they are beaten off in greate halfe-exhausted cinders, which being rekindl'd make a cleare pleasant chamber fire, depriv'd of their sulphur and arsenic malignity. What successe it may have, time will discover *.

3 Aug. I went to London to receive the B. Sacrament, the first time the Church of England was reduced to a chamber and conventicle, so sharp was the persecution. The Parish Churches were fill'd with Sectaries of all sorts, blasphemous and ignorant mechanics usurping the pulpets every where. Dr. Wild † preach'd in a private house in Fleete Streete, where we had a greate meeting of zealous Christians, who were generaly much more devout and religious than in our greatest prosperity. In the afternoone I went to the French Church in the Savoy, where I heard Monsr. d'Espagne catechise, and so return'd to my house.

20. Was a confus'd election of Parliament cal'd by ye Usurper.

7 Sept. I went to take leave of my excellent neighbour and friend Sir H. Newton & Lady, now going to dwell at Warwick; and Mr. Needham, my dear and learned friend, came to visite me.

14. Now was old Sir Hen. Vane sent to Carisbrook Castle in Wight for a foolish booke he publish'd; the pretended Protector fortifying himselfe exceedingly, and sending many to prison.

2 Oct. Came to visit me my co. Stephens, and Mr. Pierce (since Head of Magdalen Coll. Oxford) a learned minister of Brington in Northamptonshire, and Capt. Cooke, both excellent musicians.

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* Some years ago Lord Dundonald, a Scotch nobleman, revived the project, but with the projected improvement of extracting and saving the Tar. Unfortunately his Lordship did not profit by it. The Gas-Light Company sell the coal thus charred, by the name of *Coke*, for fuel for many purposes (1818).

† See note, p. 319.

2 Nov. There was now nothing practical preached or that pressed reformation of life, but high and speculative points and straines that few understood, which left people very ignorant and of no steady principles, the source of all our sects and divisions, for there was much envy and uncharity in the world; God of his mercy amend it! Now indeed that I went at all to church whilst these usurpers possess'd the pulpets, was that I might not be suspected for a Papist, and that tho' the Minister was Presbyterianly affected, he yet was as I understood duly ordain'd, and preach'd sound doctrine after their way, and besides was an humble, harmlesse and peaceable man.

25 Dec. I went to London to receive the B. Communion this holy festival at Dr. Wild's lodgings, where I rejoiced to find so full an assembly of devout and sober Christians.

26. I invited some of my neighbours and tenants according to costome, and to preserve hospitality and charity.

28. A stranger preached on 18 Luke, 7, 8. on which he made a confused discourse, with a greate deale of Greeke and ostentation of learning to but little purpose.

30. Dined with me Sir W^m^. Paston's sonn, Mr. Henshaw and Mr. Clayton.

31. I begged God's blessing & mercys for his goodnesse to me the past yeere, and set my domestic affaires in order.

1657. January 1. Having praied w^h^ my family and celebrated ye Anniversarie, I spent some time in imploring God's blessing the yeare I was entred into.

7 Jan. Came Mr. Matthew Wren (since Secretary to ye Duke, slain in ye Dutch war) eldest son to the Bishop of Ely, now a prisoner in ye Tower; a most worthy and learned gentleman.

10. Came Dr. Joylife, that famous physician and anatomist, first detector of the lymphatic veins: also the old Marques of Argyle and another Scotch Earle.

5 Feb. Din'd at ye Holland Ambass^rs^; he told me the East India Company of Holland had constantly a stock of £.400,000 in India, and 48 men of war there: he spoke of their exact and just keeping their books & correspondence, so as no adventurer's stock could possibly

be lost or defeated; that it was a vulgar error that ye Hollanders furnished their enemies with powder and ammunition for their money, tho' engag'd in a cruell warr, but that they us'd to merchandize indifferently, and were permitted to sell to the friends of their enemies. He laugh'd at our Committee of Trade, as compos'd of men wholy ignorant of it, and how they were the ruine of commerce, by gratifying some for private ends.

10 Feb. I went to visit ye Governor of Havanna, a brave, sober, valiant Spanish gentleman, taken by Capt. Young of Deptford, when after 20 yeares being in the Indies, and amassing greate wealth, his lady and whole family except two sonns were burnt, destroy'd and taken within sight of Spaine, his eldest sonn, daughter and wife perishing with immense treasure *. One sonn, of about 17 years old, with his brother of one yeare old, were the onely ones sav'd. The young gentleman, about 17, was a well-complexion'd youth, not olive-colour'd; he spake Latine handsomly, was extreamely well-bred, and born in the Caraccas, 1000 miles South of the Equinoxial, neere the mountaines of Potosi; he had never ben in Europe before. The Governor was an ancient gentleman of greate courage, of ye order of St. Jago, sore wounded in his arme, and his ribs broken; he lost for his owne share £.100,000 sterling, which he seem'd to beare with exceeding indifference, and nothing dejected. After some discourse I went with them to Arundel House, where they din'd. They were now going back into Spaine, having obtain'd their liberty from Cromwell. An example of human vicissitude!

14. To London, where I found Mrs. Cary; next day came Mr. Mordaunt (since Viscount Mordaunt, younger sonn to ye Countesse of Peterborow) to see his Mistress, bringing with him two of my L^d^ of Dover's daughters: so after dinner they all departed.

5 Mar. Dr. Rand, a learned physitian, dedicated to me his Version of Gassendus's Vita Peiriskii.

25. Dr. Taylor shew'd me his MSS. of Cases of Conscience, or *Ductor dubitantium*, now fitted for ye presse.

* This disastrous event is particularly noticed in Waller's Poem on a War with Spain. Fight at Sea by General Montague 1656.

The Protector, Oliver, now affecting Kingship, is petition'd to take the Title on him by all his new-made sycophant Lords, &c. but dares not for feare of the Phanatics, not thoroughly purg'd out of his Rebell Army.

21 April. Came Sir Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer in Wales, to see me. I then waited on my Lord Hatton, w^h^ whom I dined: at my returne I stept into Bedlame, where I saw several poore miserable creatures in chaines; one of them was mad with making verses. I also visited the Charter-house, formerly belonging to the Carthusians, now an old neate fresh solitarie Colledge for decaied gentlemen. It has a grove, bowling-greene, garden, chapell, and a hall where they eate in common. I likewise saw Christ-church and Hospital, a very goodly Gotic building; the hall, school, and lodgings in greate order for bringing up many hundreds of poore children of both sexes; it is an exemplary charity. There is a large picture at one end of the hall, representing the Governors, Founders, and the Institution.

25. I had a dangerous fall out of ye coach in Covent Garden, going to my brother's, but without harme: the Lord be praised.

1 May. Divers souldiers were quarter'd at my house, but I thank God went away the next day towards Flanders.

5. I went with my cousin George Tuke to see Baynards in Surrey, an house of my brother Richard's, which he would have hir'd. This is a very faire noble residence, built in a park, and having one of the goodliest avenues of oakes up to it that ever I saw; there is a pond* of 60 acres neere it; the windows of ye cheife roomes are of very fine painted glasse. The situation is excessively dirty and melancholy†.

15. Laurence, President of Oliver's Council, and some other of his Court Lords, came in the afternoon to see my garden and plantations.

7 June. My fourth sonn was born, christen'd George (after my Grandfather): Dr. Jer. Taylor officiating in the drawing-room.

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* This pond belongs to Vachery in Cranley.

† It is in the lower part of the parish of Ewhurst in Surrey, adjoining to Rudgwick in Sussex, in a deep clay soil. It was formerly the seat of Sir Edward Bray. It belonged to the late Earl of Onslow, who carried the painted glass to his seat at Clandon.

18. At Greenwich I saw a sort of Catt* brought from the East Indies, shap'd and snouted much like the Egyptian racoon, in ye body like a monkey, and so footed; the eares and taile like a catt, onely the taile much longer, and the skin variously ringed with black and white; with the taile it wound up its body like a serpent, and so got up into trees, and with it would wrap its whole body round. Its haire was woolly like a lamb; it was exceedingly nimble, gentle, and purr'd as dos ye catt.

July 16. On Dr. Jer. Taylor's recommendation I went to Eltham, to help one Moody, a young man, to that living, by my interest with the Patron.

6 Aug. I went to see Col. Blount, who shewed me the application of the *Way-wiser* to a coach, exactly measuring the miles, and shewing them by an index as we went on. It had 3 circles, one pointing to ye number of rods, another to ye miles, by 10 to 1000, with all the subdivisions of quarters; very pretty and useful.

10. Our Vicar, from John 18. v. 36, declaim'd against ye folly of a sort of enthusiasts and desperate zealots, call'd ye *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, pretending to set up the kingdome of Christ with the sword. To this passe was this age ariv'd when we had no King in Israel.

21. Fell a most prodigious rain in London, and ye yeare was very sickly in the country.

1 Sept. I visited Sr Edmund Bowyer at his melancholy seate at Camerwell. He has a very pretty grove of oakes, and hedges of yew in his garden, and a handsom row of tall elmes before his court.

15. Going to London with some company, we stept in to see a famous Rope-dauncer call'd *The Turk* †. I saw even to astonishment ye agilitie with which he perform'd; he walk'd barefooted taking hold by his toes only of a rope almost perpendicular, and without so much as touching it with his hands; he daunc'd blindfold on ye high rope and with a boy of 12 yeares old tied to one of his feete about 20 foote beneath him, dangling as he daunc'd, yet he mov'd as nimbly as if it had

* This was probably the animal called a Mocock, well known at present.

† Mr. Evelyn again mentions this person in his *Numismata*, under the name of the *Funamble Turk*.

ben but a feather. Lastly he stood on his head on ye top of a very high mast, daunc'd on a small rope that was very slack, and finally flew downe ye perpendicular, on his breast, his head foremost, his legs and arms extended, with divers other activities. — I saw the hairy woman *, 20 years old, whom I had before seen when a child. She was borne at Augsburg in Germany. Her very eye-browes were comb'd upwards, and all her forehead as thick and even as growes on any woman's head, neatly dress'd; a very long lock of haire out of each eare; she had also a most prolix beard, and mustachios, with long locks growing on ye middle of her nose, like an Iceland dog exactly, the colour of a bright browne, fine as well-dress'd flax. She was now married, and told me she had one child that was not hairy, nor were any of her parents or relations. She was very well shap'd, and plaied well on ye harpsichord, &c.

17. I went to see Sr Robt Needham at Lambeth, a relation of mine; and thence to John Tradescant's Musæum, in which the cheifest rarities were, in my opinion, the ancient Roman, Indian and other nations armour, shields, and weapons; some habits of curiously-colour'd and wrought feathers, one from ye phœnix wing as tradition goes. Other innumerable things there were, printed in his catalogue by Mr. Ashmole, to whom after the death of the widow they are bequeath'd, and by him design'd as a gift to Oxford †.

22. To towne to visit ye Holland Ambass^r^, with whom I had now contracted much friendly correspondence, useful to ye intelligence I constantly gave his Majesty abroad.

19 Sept. I went to see divers gardens about London: returning I saw at Dr. Joyliffe's 2 Virginian rattle-snakes alive, exceeding a yard in length, small heads, slender tailes, but in the middle nearly the size of my leg; when vexed, swiftly vibrating and shaking their tailes, as loud as a child's rattle: this, by the collision of certaine grissly skinns curiously jointed, yet loose, and transparent as parchment, by which

* Barbara Vanbeck. There are two portraits of her, one an engraving, the other in mezzotinto, described by Mr. Granger in his Biography. There is also another representation of her in some German Book of Natural History.

† Where they now are in the Ashmolean Museum. See hereafter, under 1678, July.

they give warning: a providential caution for other creatures to avoid them. The Doctor tried their biting on ratts and mice, w^h^ they immediately killed: but their vigour must needes be much exhausted here, in another climate, and kept only in a barrell of bran.

26 Nov. I went to London to a Court of ye East India Company upon its new union, in Merchant Taylors' Hall, where was much dissorder by reason of the Anabaptists, who would have the adventurers oblig'd onely by an engagement, without swearing, that they still might pursue their private trade; but it was carried against them. Wednesday was fix'd on for a General Court for election of officers, after a sermon and prayers for good successe. The stock resolv'd on was 800,000*l.*

27. I tooke ye oath at the E. India House, subscribing 500*l.*

2 Dec. Dr. Raynolds (since Bishop of Norwich) preach'd before ye Company at St. Andrew Undershaft, on 13 Nehemiah, 31. shewing by the example of Nehemiah all the perfections of a trusty person in publique affaires, with many good precepts apposite to ye occasion, ending with a prayer for God's blessing on the Company and ye undertaking.

3. Mr Gunning preached on 3 John, 3. against ye Anabaptists, shewing ye effect and necessity of the Sacrament of Baptisme. This sect was now wonderfully spread.

25. I went to London with my wife, to celebrate Christmas-day, Mr. Gunning preaching in Exeter Chapell, on 7 Michah 2. Sermon ended, as he was giving us ye Holy Sacrament, the chapell was surrounded with souldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surpriz'd and kept prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away. It fell to my share to be confin'd to a roome in the house, where yet I was permitted to dine with the master of it, ye Countesse of Dorset, Lady Hatton, and some others of quality who invited me. In the afternoone came Col. Whaly, Goffe and others, from White-hall, to examine us one by one; some they committed to ye Marshall, some to prison. When I came before them they tooke my name and abode, examin'd me why, contrarie to an ordinance made that none should any longer observe ye superstitious time of the Nativity (so esteem'd by them), I durst offend, and particularly be at Common Prayers,

which they told me was but ye masse in English, and particularly pray for Charles Steuart, for which we had no Scripture. I told them we did not pray for Cha. Steuart, but for all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors. They replied, in so doing we praied for the K. of Spaine too, who was their enemie and a papist, with other frivolous and insnaring questions and much threatning; and finding no colour to detaine me, they dismiss'd me with much pitty of my ignorance. These were men of high flight and above ordinances, and spake spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to receive the Sacrament the miscreants held their muskets against us as if they would have shot us at the altar, but yet suffering us to finish the office of Communion, as perhaps not having instructions what to do in case they found us in that action. So I got home late the next day, blessed be God.

1658. 27 Jan. After six fits of a quartan ague with which it pleased God to visite him, died my deare son Richard, to our inexpressible griefe and affliction, 5 years and 3 days old onely, but at that tender age a prodigy for witt and understanding; for beauty of body a very angel; for endowment of mind of incredible and rare hopes. To give onely a little taste of some of them, and thereby glory to God, who out of the mouths of babes and infants does sometimes perfect his praises: at 2 years and halfe old he could perfectly reade any of ye English, Latine, French, or Gottic letters, pronouncing the three first languages exactly. He had before the 5th yeare, or in that yeare, not onely skill to reade most written hands, but to decline all the nouns, conjugate the verbs regular, and most of ye irregular; learn'd out Puerilis, got by heart almost ye entire vocabularie of Latine and French primitives and words, could make congruous syntax, turne English into Latine, and *vice versa*, construe and prove what he read, and did the government and use of relatives, verbs, substantives, elipses, and many figures and tropes, and made a considerable progress in Comenius's Janua; began himselfe to write legibly, and had a stronge passion for Greeke. The number of verses he could recite was prodigious, and what he remember'd of the parts of playes, which he would also act; and when seeing a Plautus in one's hand, he ask'd what booke it was, and being told it was comedy, and too difficult for him, he wept for sorrow. Strange

was his apt and ingenious application of fables and morals, for he had read Æsop; he had a wonderful disposition to mathematics, having by heart divers propositions of Euclid that were read to him in play, and he would make lines and demonstrate them. As to his piety, astonishing were his applications of Scripture upon occasion, and his sense of God; he had learn'd all his Catechisme early, and understood ye historical part of ye Bible and New Testament to a wonder, how Christ came to redeeme mankind, and how, comprehending these necessarys himselfe, his godfathers were discharg'd of their promise. These and the like illuminations far exceeding his age and experience, considering the prettinesse of his addresse and behaviour, cannot but leave impressions in me at the memory of him. When one told him how many dayes a Quaker had fasted, he replied that was no wonder, for Christ had said man should not live by bread alone, but by ye Word of God. He would of himselfe select ye most pathetic psalms, and chapters out of Job, to reade to his mayde during his sicknesse, telling her when she pittied him that all God's children must suffer affliction. He declaim'd against ye vanities of ye world before he had seene any. Often he would desire those who came to see him to pray by him, and a yeare before he fell sick, to kneel and pray with him alone in some corner. How thankfully would he receive admonition, how soone be reconciled! how indifferent, yet continualy chereful! He would give grave advice to his brother John, beare with his impertinencies, and say he was but a child. If he heard of or saw any new thing, he was unquiet till he was told how it was made; he brought to us all such difficulties as he found in books, to be expounded. He had learn'd by heart divers sentences in Latin and Greeke, which on occasion he would produce even to wonder. He was all life, all prettinesse, far from morose, sullen, or childish in any thing he said or did. The last time he had ben at church (wch was at Greenewich), I ask'd him, according to costome, what he remembered of ye sermon; two good things, father, said he, *bonum gratiæ* and *bonum gloriæ*, with a just account of what ye preacher said. The day before he died he cal'd to me, and in a more serious manner than usual told me that for all I loved him so dearly, I should give my house, land, and all my fine things, to his brother

Jack, he should have none of them; and next morning, when he found himself ill, and that I persuaded him to keepe his hands in bed, he demanded whether he might pray to God with his hands un-joyn'd; and a little after, whilst in greate agonie, whether he should not offend God by using his holy name so often calling for ease. What shall I say of his frequent pathetical ejaculations utter'd of himselfe; Sweete Jesus save me, deliver me, pardon my sinns, let thine angels receive me! So early knowledge, so much piety and perfection! But thus God having dress'd up a Saint fit for himselfe, would not longer permit him with us, unworthy of ye future fruites of this incomparable hopefull blossome. Such a child I never saw: for such a child I blesse God in whose bosome he is! May I and mine become as this little child, who now follows the child Jesus that Lamb of God in a white robe whithersoever he goes; Even so, Lord Jesus, *fiat voluntas tua!* Thou gavest him to us, Thou hast taken him from us, blessed be ye name of ye Lord! That I had any thing acceptable to Thee was from thy grace alone, since from me he had nothing but sin, but that Thou hast pardon'd! blessed be my God for ever, amen!

In my opinion he was suffocated by ye women and maids that tended him, and cover'd him too hot with blankets as he lay in a cradle, near an excessive hot fire in a close roome. I suffer'd him to be open'd, when they found that he was what is vulgarly call'd liver-growne. I caused his body to be coffin'd in lead and reposited on the 30th at 8 o'clock that night in the church of Deptford accompanied with divers of my relations and neighbours, among whom I distributed rings with this motto, *Dominus abstulit*; intending, God willing, to have him transported with my owne body to be interr'd in our dormitory in Wotton church, in my dear native county Surrey, and to lay my bones and mingle my dust with my fathers, if God be gracious to me and make me as fit for Him as this blessed child was. The Lord Jesus sanctify this and all other my afflictions, Amen! *

* In the Preface to his Translation of "The Golden Book of St. Chrysostom, concerning the Education of Children," is likewise given a very interesting account of this amiable and promising child.

Here ends the joy of my life, and for which I go even mourning to the grave.

15 Feb. The afflicting hand of God being still upon us, it pleased Him also to take away from us this morning my youngest sonn, George, now 7 weekes languishing at nurse, breeding teeth, and ending in a dropsie. God's holy will be done! He was buried in Deptford church ye 17th following.

25. Came Dr. Jeremy Taylor & my Brothers with other friends to visite and condole with us.

March 7. To London to hear Dr. Taylor in a private house on 13 Luke 23, 24. After the sermon followed the blessed Communion, of which I participated. In the afternoone Dr. Gunning at Excester House expounding part of the Creede.

This had ben ye severest winter that any man alive had known in England. The crowes feete were frozen to their prey. Islands of ice inclos'd both fish and fowl frozen, and some persons in their boates.

15 May was a public Fast to avert an epidemical sicknesse, very mortal this spring.

20. I went to see a coach-race in Hide Park, and collation'd in Spring Garden.

23. Dr. Manton, the famous Presbyterian, preach'd at Covent Garden, on 6 Matthew 10. shewing what the kingdome of God was, how pray for it, &c.

There was now a collection for persecuted and sequester'd Ministers of the Church of England, whereof divers are in prison. A sad day! The Church now in dens and caves of the earth.

31. I went to visite my Lady Peterborow, whose sonn, Mr. Mordaunt, prisoner in the Tower, was now on his trial, and acquitted but by one voice; but that holy martyr Dr. Hewer was condemn'd to die, without law, jury, or justice, but by a mock Council of State as they call'd it. A dangerous, treacherous time!

2 June. An extraordinary storm of haile and raine, ye season as cold as winter, the wind Northerly neere 6 moneths.

3. A large whale was taken betwixt my land butting on the Thames and Greenewich, which drew an infinite concourse to see it, by water,

horse, coach, and on foote, from London and all parts. It appear'd first below Greenewich at low water, for at high water it would have destroyed all ye boates, but lying now in shallow water incompass'd with boates, after a long conflict it was kill'd with a harping yron, struck in ye head, out of which spouted blood and water by two tunnells, and after an horrid grone it ran quite on shore and died. Its length was 58 foote, heighth 16; black skin'd like coach leather, very small eyes, greate taile, onely 2 small finns, a picked snout, and a mouth so wide that divers men might have stood upright in it; no teeth, but suck'd the slime onely as thro' a grate of that bone which we call whale-bone; the throate yet so narrow as would not have admitted the least of fishes. The extreames of the cetaceous bones hang downewards from the upper jaw, and was hairy towards the ends and bottom within side: all of it prodigious, but in nothing more wonderfull then that an animal of so greate a bulk should be nourished onely by slime thro' those grates.

9. I went to see the Earl of Northumberland's pictures, whereof that of y^e^ *Venetian Senators** was one of the best of Titian's, and another of Andrea del Sarto, viz. a *Madona, Christ, St. John,* and an *Old Woman*; &c. a *St. Catharine* of Da Vinci, with divers portraits of Van Dyke; a *Nativity* of Georgioni; the last of our blessed Kings *(Charles I.)* and y^e^ *Duke of York*, by Lely; a rosarie by ye famous Jesuits of Bruxelles, and severall more. This was in Suffolk House: the new front towards ye gardens is tollerable, were it not drown'd by a too massie and clomsie pair of stayres of stone, without any neate invention.

8. That excellent preacher and holy man Dr. Hewer was martyr'd for having intelligence with his Majesty †, thro' the Lord Marques of Ormond.

10. I went to see ye Medical Garden at Westminster, well stored with plants, under Morgan, a very skilfull botanist.

26. To Eltham to visite honest Mr. Owen.

3 July. To London, and din'd with Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Dorell,

* The Cornaro Family, still one of the grand ornaments of Northumberland House. There is a fine Print of it, engraved by Baron.

† He was beheaded on Tower Hill. He was Minister of St. Gregory's, London.

and Mr. Ashmole, founder of ye Oxford repository of rarities, with divers doctors of physic and virtuosos.

15. Came to see me my Lord Kilmurrey & Lady, Sr. Robert Needham, Mr Offley, and two daughters of my Lord Willoughby of Parham.

3 August. Went to Sir John Evelyn at Godstone. The place is excellent, but might be improved by turning some offices of the house, and removing the garden. The house being a noble fabric tho' not comparable to what was first built by my uncle, who was master of all ye powder-mills.

5. We went to Squirries * to visit my cousin Leech, daughter to Sir John; a pretty, finely wooded, and well water'd seate, the stables good, the house old, but convenient. 6. Returned to Wotton.

10. I din'd at Mr. Carew Raleigh's, at Horsley, son to the famous Sir Walter.

14. We went to Durdans [at Epsom] to a challeng'd match at bowls for 10*l.* which we wonn.

18. To Sir Ambrose Brown at Betchworth Castle, in that tempestuous wind which threw downe my greatest trees at Sayes Court, and did so much mischeife all over England. It continued the whole night and till 3 in the afternoone of the next day, in the South West, and destroy'd all our winter fruit.

3 Sept. Died that arch rebell Oliver Cromwell, cal'd Protector.

16. Was publish'd my Translation of St. Chrysostome on Education of Children, which I dedicated to both my Brothers, to comfort them on the loss of their children.

21. My Lord Berkeley of Berkeley Castle invited me to dinner.

26. Mr. King preach'd at Ashted on 15 Proverbs 24; a Quaker would have disputed with him. In the afternoone we heard Dr. Hacket (since Bp. of Lichfield) at Cheame, where the family of the Lumlies lie buried.

27. To Bedington, that ancient seate of the Carews, a fine old hall, but a scambling house, famous for the first Orange gardens in England, being now over-growne trees, planted in ye ground, and secur'd in winter with a wooden tabernacle and stoves. This seate is rarely watred,

* At Westerham, in Kent.

lying low, & inviron'd with good pastures. The pomegranads beare here. To the house is also added a fine park. Thence to Casshalton, excellently watred, and capable of being made a most delicious seate, being on the sweete downes, and a champion about it full planted with walnut and cherry-trees, which afford a considerable rent.

Riding over these downes and discoursing with the shepherds, I found that digging about ye bottom neere Sir Christopher Buckle's *, neere Bansted, divers medails have ben found, both copper and silver, with foundations of houses, urns, &c. Here indeede anciently stood a Citty of ye Romans. See Antonine's Itinerary.

29. I return'd home after 10 weekes absence.

Oct. 2. I went to London to receive the H. Sacrament. On the 3d Dr Wild preached in a private place on the 1 Isaiah 4: shewing the parallel betwixt the sinns of Israel and those of England. In the afternoone Mr. Hall (sonn to Joseph Bp. of Norwich) on 1 Cor. 6. 2. of the dignitie of the Saints, a most excellent discourse.

4. I din'd with ye Holland Ambassador at Derby House: returning I diverted to see a very *white raven*, bred in Cumberland; also a porcupine, of that kind that shoots its quills, of wch see Claudian; it was headed like a rat, the fore feete like a badger, the hind feete like a beare.

19. I was summoned to London by ye Commissioners for new buildings; afterwards to ye Commission of Sewers; but because there was an oath to be taken of fidelity to the Government as now constituted without a King, I got to be excus'd, and return'd home.

22. Saw ye superb funerall of ye Protector. He was carried from Somerset House in a velvet bed of state drawn by six horses, houss'd wth ye same; the pall held up by his new Lords; Oliver lying in effigie in royal robes, and crown'd with a crown, sceptre, and globe, like a king. The pendants and guidons were carried by ye Officers of the Army; the imperial banners, acheivements, &c. by ye hereaulds in their coates; a rich caparison'd horse, embroider'd all over with gold; a knight of

* This house is not far from the course of the Roman road from Chichester through Sussex, and passing through Ockley and Dorking church-yard. Considerable remains of a Roman building have been found on Walton Heath, South of this house.

honour arm'd cap-a-pie, and after all, his guards, souldiers, and innumerable mourners. In this equipage they proceeded to Westminster: but it was the joyfullest funerall I ever saw, for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streetes as they went. I returned not home till the 17th November.

I was summon'd againe to London by the Commissioners for new foundations to be erected within such a distance of London.

6 Dec. Now was publish'd my "French Gardener," the first and best of that kind that introduc'd ye use of the Olitorie garden to any purpose.

23. I went with my wife to keep Christmas at my co. Geo. Tuke's, at Cressing Temple in Essex. Lay that night at Brentwood.

25. Here was no publiq service, but what we privately us'd. I blessed God for his mercies the yeare past, and 1 Jany begged a continuance of them. Thus for three Sundays, by reason of the incumbent's death, here was neither praying nor preaching, tho' there was a Chapell in the house.

1659. 17 Jan. Our old Vicar preach'd, taking leave of the parish in a pathetical speech, to go to a living in the Citty.

24 Mar. I went to London to speake to ye patron Alderman Cuttler about presenting a fit pastor for our destitute parish church.

5 April. Came ye Earle of Northampton and the famous painter Mr. Wright* to visite me.

10 April. One Mr. Littler being now presented to ye living of our parish, preach'd on 6 John 55, a sermon preparatory to the Holy Sacrament.

25. A wonderfull and suddaine change in ye face of ye publiq; ye new Protector Richard slighted; several pretenders and parties strive for ye government: all anarchy and confusion; Lord have mercy on us!

5 May. I went to visite my brother in London, and next day to see a new Opera†, after ye Italian way, in recitative music and sceanes,

* Mr. Michael Wright, who painted the twelve Judges in Guildhall after the great fire. There is a long account of him in "Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting." See more of him under 1662, Oct.

† Probably Sir William Davenant's Opera, in which the crüelty of the Spaniards in Peru was expressed by instrumental and vocal music, and by art of perspective in scenes, 4to, 1658. See the "Biographia Dramatica."

much inferior to ye Italian composure and magnificence; but it was prodigious that in a time of such publiq consternation such a vanity should be kept up or permitted. I being engag'd with company could not decently resist the going to see it, tho' my heart smote me for it.

7. Came ye Ambassr of Holland and his Lady to visite me, and staid the whole afternoone.

12. I return'd ye visite; discoursing much of ye revolutions, &c.

19 May. Came to dine with me my Lord Galloway and his son, a Scotch Lord and learned; also my Brother and his Lady, Lord Berkeley and his Lady, Mrs. Shirley, and ye famous singer Mrs. Knight *, and other friendes.

23. I went to Rookwood †, and din'd with Sr Wm. Hicks, where was a great feast and much company. 'Tis a melancholy old house, inviron'd with trees and rooks.

26. Came to see me my Lord Geo. Berkeley, Sir Will. Ducy, and Sir George Pott's sonn of Norfolk.

29. The Nation was now in extreame confusion and unsettl'd, between the Armies and the Sectaries, the poor Church of England breathing as it were her last, so sad a face of things had overspread us.

7 June. To London, to take leave of my brother, and see ye foundations now laying for a long streete and buildings in Hatton Garden, design'd for a little towne, lately an ample garden.

1 Sept. I communicated to Mr. Robt Boyle, son to ye Earle of Corke, my proposal for erecting a philosophic mathematic College.

15. Came to see me Mr. Brereton, a very learned gentleman, son to my Lord Brereton, with his and divers other ladies. Also Henry Howard of Norfolk, since Duke of Norfolk.

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* Afterwards one of Charles the Second's mistresses.

† This was a house in Layton in Essex, better known by the name of Rockholt, or Ruckholt, built by Mr. Parvish, a former owner of the estate; but a new house was afterwards erected near the site of the former by the family of Hicks, of whom William was created a baronet in 1619. King Charles II, was entertained here one day when he was hunting, and knighted William the son of the Baronet. Morant, in his "History of Essex," vol. I. p. 24, printed 1768, speaks of the new house as having been a beautiful one, pulled down some years ago. Previous to this it had been a place of public entertainment in a morning, at which visitors were regaled with tea and music, which is not mentioned by Morant.

30. I went to visite S^r^ W^m^. Ducie and Col. Blount; where I met Sir Henry Blount ye famous traveller and water-drinker.

10. I came with my wife and family to London: tooke lodgings at ye 3 Feathers in Russell Street, Covent Garden, for all the winter, my sonn being very unwell.

11 Oct. Came to visite me Mr. W^m^. Coventry (since Secretary to the Duke) son to the Lord Keeper, a wise and witty gentleman.

The Armie now turn'd out the Parliam^t^. We had now no Government in the Nation; all in confusion; no Magistrate either own'd or pretended but ye Souldiers, and they not agreed. God Almighty have mercy on and settle us!

17. I visited Mr. Howard at Arundel house, who gave me a faire onyx set in gold, and shew'd me his designe of a Palace there.

21. A private Fast was kept by the Church of England Protestants in towne, to beg of God the removal of His judgments, with devout prayers for His mercy to our calamitous Church.

7 Nov. Was publish'd my bold *Apologie* for the King in this time of danger, when it was capital to speake or write in favour of him. It was twice printed, so universaly it took.

9. We observ'd our solemn Fast for ye calamity of our Church.

12. I went to see the severall drougs for the confection of *Treacle*, *Dioscordium*, and other Electuaries, which an ingenious Apothecarie had not onely prepared and rang'd on a large and very long table, but cover'd every ingredient with a sheete of paper, on which was very lively painted ye thing in miniature, well to the life, were it plant, flowre, animal, or other exotic drug.

15 Nov. Din'd with ye Dutch Ambass^r^. He did in a manner acknowledge that his Nation mind only their own profit, do nothing out of gratitude, but collateraly as it relates to their gaine or security; and therefore the English were to look for nothing of assistance to the banish'd King. This was to me no very grateful discourse, tho' an ingenuous confession.

18. Mr. Gunning celebrated ye wonted Fast, and preached on 2 Phil. 12, 13. — Nov. 24. Sir John Evelyn [of Godstone] invited us to the 41st wedding-day feast, where was much company of friends.

26. I was introduced into the acquaintance of divers learned and worthy persons, Sir John Marsham, Mr. Dugdale, Mr. Stanley, and others.

9 Dec. I supp'd with Mr. Gunning, it being our Fast-day, Dr. Fearne, Mr. Thrisco, Mr. Chamberlain, Dr. Henchman, Dr. Wild *, and other devout and learned Divines, firm Confessors and excellent persons. Note: Most of them since made Bishops.

10. I treated privately with Col. Morley †, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and in greate trust and power, concerning delivering it to ye King and the bringing of him in, to the greate hazard of my life, but ye Coll. had ben my scholefellow, and I knew would not betray me.

12. I spent in publiq concerns for his Majesty, pursuing the point to bring over Coll. Morley, and his brother-in-law Fay, Governor of Portsmouth.

18. Preached y^t^ famous divine Dr. Sanderson (since Bp. of Linc.) now 80 yeares old, on 30 Jer. 13. concerning the evil of forsaking God.

29. Came my Lord Count Arundel of Wardour to visite me. I went also to see my Lord Vis^c^ Montague.

31. Settling my domestic affaires in order, blessed God for his infinite mercies and preservations the past yeare.

Annus Mirabilis 1660. Jan. 1. Begging God's blessings for the following yeare, I went to Excester Chapell, when Mr. Gunning began the yeare on 4 Galatians v. 3 to 7, shewing the love of Christ in shedding his blood so early for us.

12. Wrote to Col. Morley againe to declare for his Majesty.

22. I went this afternoone to visit Coll. Morley. After dinner I discours'd with him, but he was very jealous, and would not believe Monk came in to do the King any service; I told him he might do it without him, and have all the honour. He was still doubtfull, and would resolve on nothing yet, so I tooke leave †.

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* See p. 302. He was of St. John's College, Oxford, Chaplain to Abp. Laud, Vicar of St. Giles, Reading. Adhering to the King he preach'd before the Parl^t^ at Oxford. After the Restoration he was made Bp. of Londonderry in Ireland. He had kept up a religious meeting for the Royalists in Fleet Street. Wood's Athenæ, vol. II. p. 251.

† See a detailed account of Mr. Evelyn's communications with Col. Morley, in the Illustrations at the end of this Volume, No. II.

3 Feb. Kept ye Fast. Generall Monk came now to London out of Scotland, but no man knew what he would do, or declare, yet he was met on all his way by the Gentlemen of all the Counties which he pass'd, with petitions that he would recall the old long interrupted Parliament and settle the nation in some order, being at this time in most prodigious confusion and under no government, every body expecting what would be next and what he would do.

10. Now were the Gates of the Citty broken down by Genl Monke, which exceedingly exasperated the Citty, the souldiers marching up and down as triumphing over it, and all the old army of the phanatics put out of their posts, and sent out of towne.

11. A signal day. Monk, perceiving how infamous and wretched a pack of knaves would have still usurped the supreame power, and having intelligence that they intended to take away his commission, repenting of what he had don to ye Citty, and where he and his forces quartered, marches to White-hall, dissipates that nest of robbers, and convenes the old Parliament, the Rump Parliament (so call'd as retaining some few rotten members of ye other) being dissolv'd; and for joy whereoff were many thousand of rumps roasted publiqly in ye streetes at the bonfires this night*, with ringing of bells, and universal jubilee. This was the first good omen.

From 17 Feb. to 5 April I was detain'd in bed with a kind of double tertian, the cruell effects of the spleene and other distempers, in that extremity that my physicians, Drs. Wetherborn, Needham, and Claude, were in great doubt of my recovery, but it pleas'd God to deliver me out of this affliction, for which I render him hearty thanks: going to Church the 8th and receiving the blessed Eucharist.

During this sicknesse came divers of my relations and friends to visite me, and it retarded my going into the country longer than I intended; however I writ and printed a letter in defence of his Majesty†,

* Pamphlets with cuts representing this were printed at the time.

† The title of it is, "The late News or Message from Brussels unmask'd." This and the pamphlet which gave occasion for it are printed in "A Collection of interesting Tracts selected from the Sommers Collection of Tracts," 1 vol. 4to, 1795.

against a wicked forg'd paper, pretended to be sent from Bruxells to defame his Majesties person and vertues, and render him odious, now when every body was in hope and expectation of the General and Parliament recalling him, and establishing ye Government on its antient and right basis. The doing this towards the decline of my sicknesse, and setting up long in my bed, had caus'd a small relapse, out of which it yet pleas'd God also to free me, so as by the 14th I was able to go into ye country, which I did to my sweete and native aire at Wotton.

3 May. Came the most happy tidings of his Majesty's gracious declaration and applications to the Parliament, Generall, and People, and their dutiful acceptance and acknowledgment, after a most bloudy and unreasonable rebellion of neere 20 yeares. Praised be for ever the Lord of Heaven, who onely doeth wondrous things, because His mercy endureth for ever!

8. This day was his Majestie proclaim'd in London, &c.

9 May. I was desir'd, and design'd to accompany my Lord Berkeley with the public Addresse of the Parliament, Generall, &c. to the King, and invite him to come over and assume his Kingly Government, he being now at Breda; but I was yet so weake I could not make that journey by sea, which was not a little to my detriment; so I went to London to excuse myselfe, returning the 10th, having yet receiv'd a gracious message from his Majestie by Major Scot and Coll. Tuke.

24. Came to me Col. Morley, about procuring his pardon, now too late seeing his error and neglect of the counsel I gave him, by which if he had taken it he had certainly done ye great work with ye same ease that Monk did it, who was then in Scotland, and Morley in a post to have done what he pleas'd, but his jealousie and feare kept him from that blessing and honor. I address'd him to Lord Mordaunt, then in greate favour, for his pardon, wch he obtain'd at the cost of 1000*l.* as I heard. O ye sottish omission of this gentleman! what did I not undergo of danger in this negotiation to have brought him over to his Majesty's interest, when it was intirely in his hands!

29. This day his Majestie Charles the Second came to London after a sad and long exile and calamitous suffering both of the King and Church, being 17 yeares. This was also his birth-day; and with a

triumph of above 20,000 horse and foote, brandishing their swords and shouting with inexpressible joy; the wayes strew'd with flowers, the bells ringing, the streetes hung with tapissry, fountaines running with wine; the Maior, Aldermen, and all the Companies in their liveries, chaines of gold, and banners; Lords and Nobles clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet; the windowes and balconies all set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven houres in passing the Citty, even from 2 in ye afternoone till 9 at night.

I stood in the Strand and beheld it, and bless'd God. And all this was don without one drop of bloud shed, and by that very army which rebell'd against him; but it was ye Lord's doing, for such a Restauration was never mention'd in any history antient or modern, since the returne of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity; nor so joyfull a day and so bright ever seene in this Nation, this hapning when to expect or effect it was past all human policy.

4 June. I receiv'd letters of Sir Rich^d^. Browne's landing at Dover, and also letters from the Queene, which I was to deliver at White-hall, not as yet presenting myselfe to his Majesty by reason of the infinite concourse of people. The eagerness of men, women, and children to see his Majesty and kisse his hands was so greate, that he had scarce leisure to eate for some dayes, coming as they did from all parts of the Nation; and the King being as willing to give them that satisfaction, would have none kept out, but gave free accesse to all sorts of people.

Addressing myselfe to the Duke, I was carried to his Majestie when very few noblemen were with him, and kiss'd his hands, being very graciously receiv'd. I then return'd home to meete Sir Richd Browne, who came not till the 8th, after a 19 yeares exile, during all which time he kept up in his chapell the Liturgie and Offices of the Church of England, to his no small honour, aud in a time when it was so low, and as many thought utterly lost, that in various controversies both with Papists and Sectaries our Divines us'd to argue for the visibility of the Church, from his chapell and congregation.

I was all this week too and fro at Court about buisinesse.

16. The French, Italian, and Dutch Ministers came to make their

addresse to his Majesty, one Monsr. Stoope pronouncing the harangue with greate eloquence.

18. I propos'd ye Ambassy of Constantinople for Mr. Henshaw, but my Lord Winchelsea struck in*.

Goods that had ben pillag'd from White-hall during ye Rebellion were now daily brought in and restor'd upon proclamation; as plate, hangings, pictures, &c.

21. The Warwickshire gentlemen (as did all the shires and cheif townes in all the three Nations) presented their congratulatory Addresse. It was carried by my Lord Northampton.

30. The Sussex gentlemen presented their Addresse, to which was my hand. I went with it and kiss'd his Maties hand, who was pleas'd to own me more particularly by calling me his old acquaintance and speaking very graciously to me.

3 July. I went to Hide-park, where was his Matie and aboundance of gallantrie.

4. I heard Sir Sam. Tuke harangue to the House of Lords in behalfe of ye Roman Catholics, and his account of the transaction at Colchester in murdering Lord Capel, and the rest of those brave men that suffer'd in cold bloud, after articles of rendition.

5. I saw his Matie go with as much pompe and splendour as any earthly prince could do to the greate Citty feast, the first they had invited him to since his returne, but the exceeding raine which fell all that day much eclips'd its lustres. This was at Guild-hall, and there was also all ye Parliament men, both Lords and Commons. The streetes were adorn'd with pageants at immense cost.

6. His Majestie began first to *touch for ye evil*, according to costome, thus: his Matie sitting under his State in ye Banquetting House, the Chirurgeons cause the sick to be brought or led up to the throne, where they kneeling, ye King strokes their faces or cheekes with both his hands at once, at which instant a Chaplaine in his formalities says,

* It was on his return from this embassy that his Lordship visiting Sicily was an eye-witness of the dreadful eruption of Mount Ætna in 1669, a short account of which was afterwards published in a small pamphlet, with a cut by Hollar of the Mountain, &c.

"He put his hands upon them and he healed them." This is sayd to every one in particular. When they have ben all touch'd they come up againe in the same order, and the other Chaplaine kneeling, and having Angel gold* strung on white ribbon on his arme, delivers them one by one to his Matie, who puts them about the necks of the touched as they passe, whilst the first Chaplaine repeats, "That is ye true light who came into ye world." Then followes an Epistle (as at first a Gospell) with the Liturgy, prayers for the sick, with some alteration, lastly ye blessing; and then the Lo. Chamberlaine and Comptroller of the Household bring a basin, ewer and towell, for his Matie to wash.

The King receiv'd a congratulatory addresse from the Citty of Cologne in Germany, where he had ben some time in his exile; his Matie saying they were the best people in ye world, the most kind and worthy to him that he ever met with.

I recommended Monsr Messeroy to be Judge Advocate in Jersey, by the Vice-Chamberlain's mediation with the Earle of St. Albans; and saluted my excellent and worthy noble friend my Lord Ossory, sonn to the Marquess of Ormond, after many yeares absence returned home.

8. Mr. Henchman preached on 5 Ephes. 5, concerning Christian circumspection. From henceforth was the Liturgie publiquely used in our Churches, whence it had ben for so many yeares banished.

15. Came Sir Geo. Carterett and Lady to visite us: he was now Treasurer of the Navy.

28. I heard his Maties Speech in the Lords House, on passing the Bills of Tonnage and Poundage; restauration of my Lord Ormond to his estate in Ireland; concerning the Commission of Sewers, and continuance of the Excise.—In the afternoone I saluted my old friend the Archbishop of Armagh, formerly of Londonderry (Dr. Bramhall). He presented several Irish Divines to be promoted as Bishops in that kingdom, most of the Bishops in the 3 kingdoms being now almost worne out, and the Sees vacant.

31. I went to visite Sr Philip Warwick, now Secretary to the Ld Treasurer, at his house in North Cray.

* Pieces of money so called from having the figure of an angel on them.

Aug. 19. Our Vicar read the 39 Articles to the Congregation, the National Assemblies beginning now to settle, and wanting instruction.

23. Came Duke Hamilton, Lord Lothian, and several Scottish Lords,. to see my garden.

25. Coll. Spencer, Collonel of a Regiment of Horse in our County of Kent, sent to me and intreated that I would take a Commission for a Troope of Horse, and that I would nominate my Lieutenant and Ensigns; I thank'd him the honour intended me, but would by no means undertake ye trouble.

4 Sept. I was invited to an Ordination by ye Bishop of Bangor in Henry 7^ths^ Chapell, Westm^r^, and afterwards saw the audience of an Envoyée from the D. of Anjou, sent to compliment his Maties return.

5. Came to visit and dine with me ye Envoyée of ye King of Poland and Resident of ye King of Denmark, &c.

7. I went to Chelsey, to visite Mr. Boyle, and see his pneumatic engine performe divers experiments. Thence to Kensington, to visite Mr. Henshaw, returning home y^t^ evening.

13. I saw in Southwark at St. Margaret's Faire, monkies and apes dance and do other feates of activity on ye high rope; they were gallantly clad *à la mode*, went upright, saluted the company, bowing and pulling off their hatts; they saluted one another with as good a grace as if instructed by a dauncing-master; they turn'd heels over head with a basket having eggs in it, without breaking any; also with lighted candles in their hands and on their heads without extinguishing them, and with vessells of water without spilling a drop. I also saw an Italian wench daunce and performe all the tricks on ye high rope to admiration; all the Court went to see her. Likewise here was a man who tooke up a piece of iron cannon of about 400 lb. weight with the haire of his head onely.

17 Sept. I went to London to see ye splendid entry of ye Prince de Ligne, Ambass^r^ extraordinary from Spaine; he was Generall of ye Spanish King's horse in Flanders, and was accompanied wth divers greate persons from thence, and an innumerable retinue. His train consisted of 17 coaches with 6 horses of his owne, besides a greate number of English, &c. Greater bravery had I never seene. He was

receiv'd in the Banquetting House in exceeding state, all ye greate Officers of Court attending.

13. In the midst of all this joy and jubilee the Duke of Glocester died of ye small pox in the prime of youth, and a prince of extraordinary hopes.

27. The King receiv'd the Merchants Addresses in his closet, giving them assurance of his persisting to keepe Jamaica, choosing Sr Edw. Massy Governor. In the afternoone the Danish Amb^rs^ condolencies were presented, on the death of the D. of Gloucester. This evening I saw the Princesse Royal, mother to ye Pr. of Orange, now come out of Holland in a fatal period.

6 Oct. I paid the greate Tax of Poll Money levied for disbanding the Army, till now kept up. I paid as an Esquire £.10, and one shilling for every servant in my house.

7 Oct. There din'd with me a French Count, with Sr George Tuke, who came to take leave of me, being sent over to the Queene Mother to breake the marriage of the Duke with the daughter of Chancell^r^ Hide The Queene would fain have undon it, but it seemes matters were reconcil'd on greate offers of the Chancellor's to befriend ye Queene, who was much in debt, and was now to have the settlement of her affaires go through his hands.

11 Oct. The Regicides who sat on the life of our late King, were brought to tryal in the Old Bailey, before a Commission of Oyer and Terminer.

14. Axtall, Carew, Clements, Hacker, Hewson, and Peters, were executed.

17. Scot, Scroope, Cook, and Jones, suffered for reward of their iniquities at Charing Crosse, in sight of the place where they put to death their natural Prince, and in the presence of the King his sonn whom they also sought to kill. I saw not their execution, but met their quarters mangl'd and cutt and reeking as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdle. Oh the miraculous providence of God!

28. His Majesty went to meet ye Queene Mother.

29. Going to London, my Lord Maior's shew stopp'd me in

Cheapside; one of ye pageants represented a greate Wood, with ye Royal Oake and historie of his Majesty's miraculous escape at Boscobel.

Oct. 31. Arived now to my Fortieth year, I rendered to Almighty God my due and hearty thanks.

Nov. 1. I went with some of my relations to Court, to shew them his Maties cabinet and closset of rarities; the rare miniatures of Peter Oliver after Raphael, Titian, and other masters, which I infinitely esteeme; also that large piece of ye Dutchesse of Lennox don in enamaile by Petitot, and a vast number of achates, onyxes and intaglios, especially a medalion of Cæsar, as broad as my hand; likewise rare cabinets of Pietra Commessa; a landscape of needlework, formerly presented by the Dutch to King Cha. I. Here I saw a vast book of mapps in a volume neere 4 yards large; a curious ship modell; and amongst the clocks, one that shew'd the rising and setting of the Sun in ye Zodiaq, the Sunn represented by a face and raies of gold, upon an azure skie, observing ye diurnal and annual motion, rising and setting behind a landscape of hills, the work of our famous Fromantel; and severall other rarities.

3. Ariv'd the Queene Mother in England, whence she had ben banish'd almost 20 yeares; together with her illustrious daughter the Princesse Henrietta, divers Princes and Noblemen accompanying them.

15. I kiss'd the Queene Mother's hand.

20. I din'd at ye Clerk Comptroler's of the Greene Cloth, being the first day of ye re-establishment of the Court Diet and settling of his Majesty's Household.

23. Being this day in ye Bedchamber of ye Prineess Henrietta, where were many greate beauties and noblemen, I saluted divers of my old friends and acquaintances abroad; his Majesty carrying my wife to salute the Queene and Princesse, and then led her into his closet, and with his owne hands shew'd her divers curiosities.

25. Dr. Rainbow preach'd before ye King, on 2 Luke 14. of the glory to be given God for all his mercies, especialy for restoring the Church and government; now ye service was perform'd with musiq, voices, &c. as formerly.

27. Came downe ye Cleark Comptroler [of ye Green Cloth] by the Lord Steward's appointment, to survey ye land at Says Court, on which I had pretence, and to make his report *.

Dec. 6. I waited on my brother and sister Evelyn to Court. Now were presented to his Majestie those two rare pieces of Drolery, or rather a *Dutch Kitchin*, painted by Dowe so finely as hardly to be distinguish'd from enamail. I was also shew'd divers rich jewells and chrystal vases; the rare *head of Jo. Belino*, Titian's master; *Christ in ye Garden*, by Hannibal Caracci; two incomparable heads by Holbein; the *Queene Mother* in a miniature, almost as big as the life; an exquisite piece of carving, 2 unicorns' hornes, &c. This in ye Closset.

13. I presented my son John to the Queene Mother, who kissed him, talked with and made extraordinary much of him.

14. I visited my Lady Chancellor, the Marchionesse of Ormond, and Countesse of Guildford, all of whom we had knowne abroad in exile.

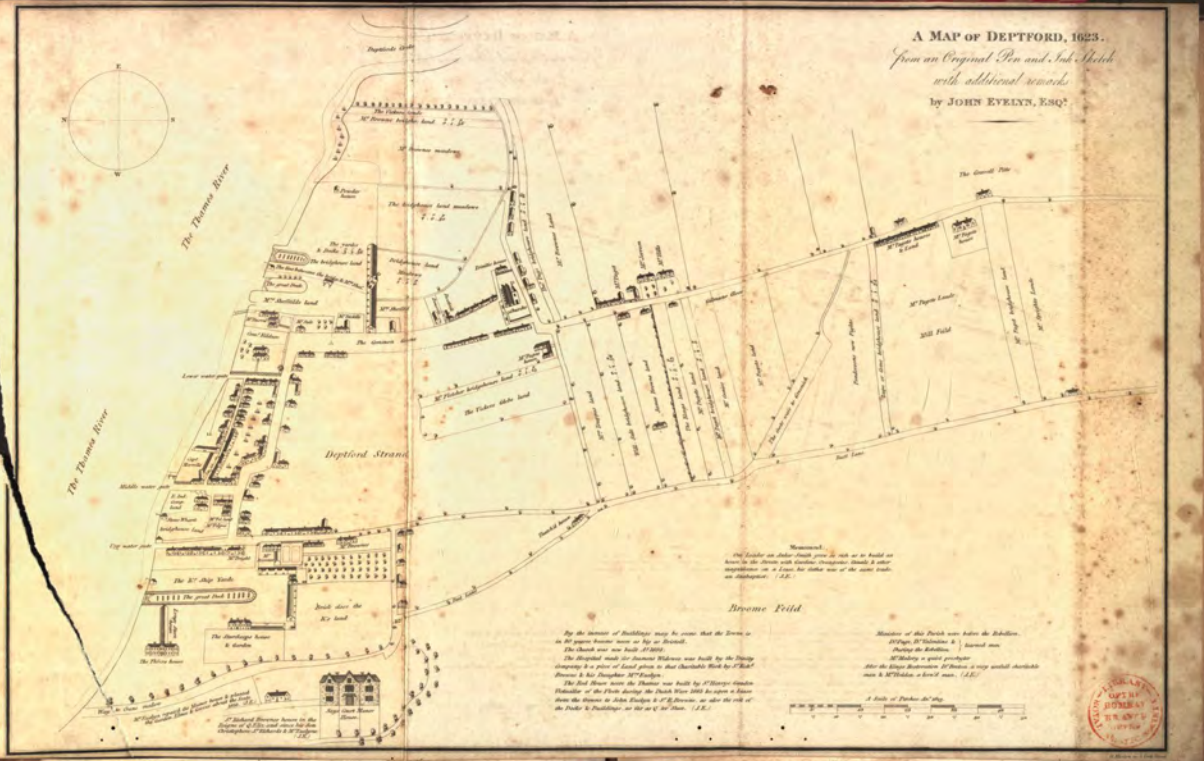
18. I carried Mr. Spellman, a most ingenious gentleman, grandchild to the learned Sir Henry, to my Lord Mordaunt, to whom I had recommended him as Secretary.

22. The marriage of ye Chancellor's daughter being now newly owned, I went to see her, she being Sir Rich^d^. Browne's intimate acquaintance when she waited on the Princesse of Orange; she was now at her father's at Worcester House in the Strand. We all kiss'd her hand, as did also my Lord Chamberlain (Manchester) and Countesse of Northumberland. This was a strange change—can it succeed well!—I spent the evening at St. James's, whither the Princesse Henrietta was retir'd during the fatal sicknesse of her sister the Princesse of Orange, now come over to salute ye King her brother. The Princesse gave my wife an extraordinary compliment and gracious accept-

* The King's Household used to be supplied with corn and cattle from the different Counties; and oxen being sent up, pasture grounds of the King near town were allotted for them: amongst these were lands at Deptford and Tottenham Court, which were under the direction of the Lord Steward and Board of Green Cloth. Sir Richard Browne had the keeping of the lands at Deptford.

A Map of Deptford, 1623.

from an Original Pen and Ink Sketch with additional remarks by John Evelyn, Esq.ᵉ


The Thames River
The Thames River
Deptford Strand
Broome Field
The Great Dock
The Victualling Office
The Storehouse & Garden
The Master Attendant's House
The Ropeyard
The Ship Yards
Mr Shuttleworth's house
Mr Pepys Lands
Mill Field
Mr Pepys Lane
Mr Evelyn's Lands
Mr Evelyn's Lane
Mr Evelyn's Lands
Mr Evelyn's Lane
Mr Evelyn's Lands
Mr Evelyn's

ance, for the "Character" she had presented her the day before, and which was afterwards printed.

21. This day died the Princesse of Orange, of ye small pox, wch wholy alter'd ye face and gallantry of the whole Court.

25. Preached at the Abbey Dr. Earle, Cleark of his Maties Closet and my deare friend, now Deane of Westminster, on 2 Luke 13. 14. condoling the breache made in the publiq joy by the lamented death of ye Princesse.

30. I din'd at Court with Mr. Crane, Cleark of ye Greene Cloth.

31. I gave God thankes for his many signal mercies to my selfe, Church and Nation, this wonderfull yeare.

1661. 2 Jan. The Queene Mother, with ye Princesse Henrietta, began her journey to Portsmouth, in order to her returne into France.

5. I visited my Lord Chancellor Clarendon, w^h^ whom I had ben well acquainted abroad.

6. Dr. Allestree preach'd at ye Abby, after which 4 Bishops were consecrated, Hereford, Norwich . . . .

This night was suppress'd a bloudy insurrection of some *Fifth-Monarchy enthusiasts*. Some of them were examin'd at the Council the next day, but could say nothing to extenuate their madnesse and unwarrantable zeale.

I was now chosen (and nominated by his Majestie for one of ye Council) by suffrage of the rest of ye Members, a Fellow of ye Philosophic Society now meeting at Gressham College, where was an assembly of divers learned gentlemen. This being the first meeting since the King's return; but it had ben begun some yeares before at Oxford, and was continued with interruption here in London during the Rebellion.

There was another rising of ye Phanatics, in which some were slaine.

16. I went to ye Philosophic Club, where was examin'd ye Torricellian experiment. I presented my Circle of Mechanical Trades, and had recommended to me ye publishing what I had written of Chalcography.

25. After divers yeares since I had seen any play, I went to see acted "The Scornful Lady," at a new Theater in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

30. Was the first solemn fast and day of humiliation to deplore y sinns which so long had provok'd God against this afflicted church and people, order'd by Parliament to be annually celebrated to expiate the guilt of y^t^ execrable murder of the late King.

This day (O the stupendious and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcasses of those arch rebells Cromwell, Bradshaw the Judge who condemn'd his Majestie, and Ireton, sonn-in-law to ye Usurper, dragg'd out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the Kings, to Tyburne, and hang'd on the gallows there from 9 in ye morning till 6 at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deepe pitt; thousands of people who had seene them in all their their pride being spectators. Looke back at Nov. 22, 1658 *, [Oliver's funeral,] and be astonish'd! and feare God and honor ye King; but meddle not with them who are given to change!

6 Feb. To London to our Society, where I gave notice of ye visit of ye Danish Ambassador Extraordinary, and was ordered to return him their acceptance of that honour, and to invite him the next meeting day.

10. Dr. Baldero preach'd at Ely House, on 6 Matthew v. 33. of seeking early the kingdome of God; after sermon ye Bishop (Dr. Wren) gave us the blessing very pontifically.

13 Feb. I conducted the Danish Ambassador to our meeting at Gressham College, where were shew'd him divers experiments in *vacuo*, and other curiosities.

21. Prince Rupert first shewed me how to grave in Mezzo Tinto.

26. I went to Lord Mordaunt's at Parson's Green †.

27. Ash Wednesday. Preached before the King ye Bishop of London (D^r^. Sheldon) on 18 Matt. 25. concerning charity & forgivenesse.

8 March. I went to my Lord Chancellor's, and deliver'd to him ye state of my concernement at Says Court.

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* P. 315.

† This house remained in the family till 17.., when the Earl of Peterboro' sold it to Mr. Heaviside, who a few years after sold it to Mr. Merrick, an army agent; he pulled down the old house, and built the new one, now standing there (1816).

9. I went with that excellent person and philosopher Sr Robt. Murray, to visit Mr. Boyle at Chelsey, and saw divers effects of the Eolipile for weighing aire.

13. I went to Lambeth with Sr R. Browne's pretence to ye Wardenship of Merton Coll. Oxford, to which, as having ben about 40 years before a student of that house, he was elected by the votes of every Fellow except one; but ye Statutes of ye house being so that unlesse every Fellow agree, ye election devolves to ye Visitor, who is ye Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Juxon), his Grace gave his nomination to Sir T. Clayton, resident there and the Physick Professor; for which I was not at all displeas'd, because, tho' Sir Rich^d^ miss'd it by much ingratitude and wrong of ye Archbishop (Clayton being no Fellow), yet it would have hinder'd Sir Rich^d^ from attending at Court to settle his greater concernes, and so have prejudic'd me, tho' he was much inclin'd to have pass'd his time in a collegiate life, very unfit for him at that time, for many reasons. So I tooke leave of his Grace, who was formerly Ld Treasurer in the reigne of Charles I.

This afternoone Prince Rupert shew'd me with his owne hands ye new way of graving call'd *Mezzo Tinto*, which afterwards by his permission I publish'd in my History of Chalcography; this set so many artists on worke, that they soone ariv'd to y^t^ perfection it is since come, emulating the tenderest miniatures.

Our Society now gave in my relation of ye Pic of Teneriffe in the Greate Canaries, to be added to more queries concerning divers natural things reported of that Island.

I return'd home with my cousin Tuke, now going for France, as sent by his Ma^ty^, to condole the death of that greate minister and politican Card^l^. Mazarine.

29. Dr. Heylin (author of ye Geography) preach'd at ye Abby, on 5 Cant. 25. concerning Friendship & Charitie; he was, I think, at this time quite darke, and so had ben for some yeares.

31. This night his Matie promis'd to make my wife Lady of the Jewels (a very honourable charge) to the future Queene (but which he never perform'd).

1 April. I din'd with that great mathematician and virtuoso Monsr. Zulichem *, inventor of ye pendule clock, and discoverer of the phænomenon of Saturn's annulus; he was elected into our Society.

19. To London, and saw ye bathing and rest of ye ceremonies of the Knights of ye Bath, preparatory to ye Coronation; it was in ye Painted Chamber, Westm^r. I might have receiv'd this honour, but declined it. The rest of ye ceremonie was in the Chapell at White-hall, when their swords being laid on ye altar, the Bishop deliver'd them.

22. Was ye splendid cavalcade of his Matie from ye Tower of London to White-hall, when I saw him in the Banquetting House create 6 Earls, and as many Barons, *viz.*

Edward Lord Hide †, Lord Chancellor, Earle of Clarendon; supported by ye Earles of Northumberland and Sussex; ye Earle of Bedford carried the cap and coronet, the Earle of Warwick the sword, the Earle of Newport the mantle.

Next, was Capel, created Earle of Essex;
Brudenell, - - - Cardigan;
Valentia, - - - Anglesea;
Greenvill, - - - Bath; and
Howard, Earle of Carlisle.

The Barons were: Denzill Holles; Cornwallis; Booth; Townsend; Cooper; Crew; who were all led up by severall Peers, with Garter and Officers of Armes before them; when, after obedience on their severall approches to ye Throne, their patents were presented by Garter King at Armes, which being receiv'd by ye Lord Chamberlaine and deliver'd to his Majesty, and by him to the Secretary of State, were read and then

* See hereafter, under 1664, July.

† In 1656 or 1657, attempts were made to remove the Chancellor (Hyde), by accusing him of betraying his Majesty's Counsels, and holding correspondence with Cromwell; but these allegations were so trivial and frivolous, that they manifestly appeared to be nothing but the effects of malice against him, and therefore produced the contrary effects to those which some desired, and strengthened the King's kindness to him; as giving him just occasion to believe that these suggestions against him proceeded all from one and the same cause, namely, from the ambition which some people had to enter in his room into the first trust of his Majesty's affairs, if once they could remove him from his station. Life of King James II. from his own papers, 1816, vol. I. p. 274.

againe deliver'd to his Matie, and by him to the severall Lords created; they were then rob'd, their coronets and collers put on by his Matie, and they were plac'd in rank on both sides the State and Throne, but the Barons put off their caps and circles and held them in their hands, the Earles keeping on their coronets as cousins to the King.

I spent the rest of ye evening in seeing the severall arch-triumphals built in ye streetes at severall eminent places thro' which his Majesty was next day to passe, some of which, tho' temporary, and to stand but one yeare, were of good invention and architecture, with inscriptions.

23. Was the Coronation of his Majesty Charles the Second in ye Abby Church of Westminster; at all which ceremonie I was present. The King and all his Nobility went to ye Tower, I accompanying my Lord Viscount Mordaunt part of the way; this was on Sunday the 22d, but indeede his Matie went not til early this morning, and proceeded from thence to Westm^r in this order*:

First went the Duke of York's Horse Guards. Messengers of ye Chamber. 136 Esq^rs to ye Knights of the Bath, each of whom had two, most richly habited. The Knight Harbinger. Serjeant Porter. Sewers of the Chamber. Quarter Waiters. Six Clearks of Chancery. Clearke of the Signet. Clearke of the Privy Seale. Clearks of the Council, of the Parliament, and of the Crowne. Chaplaines in ordinary having dignities 10. Kings Advocats and Remembrancer. Council at Law. M^rs of the Chancery. Puisne Serjeants. Kings Attorney and Solicitor. Kings eldest Serjeant. Secretaries of the French and Latine tongue. Gent. Ushers, Daily Waiters, Sewers, Carvers, and Cupbearers in ordinary. Esquires of the Body 4. Masters of standing offices being no Councellors, *viz.* of ye Tents, Revels, Ceremonies, Armorie, Wardrobe, Ordnance, Requests. Chamberlaine of the Exchequer. Barons of the Exchequer. Judges. Lord Chiefe Baron. Lord C. Justice of the Common Pleas. Master of the Rolls. Lord C. Justice of England. Trumpets. Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. Knights of the Bath, 68, in crimson robes exceeding rich and the noblest

* There is a full account of this Ceremony, with fine Sculptures, in a folio volume, published by John Ogilby 1662.

shew of y^t^ whole cavalcade, his Matie excepted. Knt. Marshall. Treas^r^ of the Chamber. M^r^ of the Jewells. Lords of the Privy Council. Comptroller of the Household. Treasurer of the Household. Trumpets. Serjeant Trumpet. Two Pursuivants at Armes. Barons. Two Pursuivants at Armes. Viscounts. Two Heraulds. Earles. Lord Chamberlaine of the Household. Two Heraulds. Marquisses. Dukes. Heralds Clarencieux and Norroy. Lord Chancellor. Lord High Steward of England. Two persons representing ye Dukes of Normandy and Aquitain, *viz.* Sir Richd Fanshawe and Sr Herbert Price, in fantastiq habits of the time. Gentlemen Ushers. Garter. Lord Maior of London. The Duke of York alone (ye rest by two's). Lord High Constable of England. Lord Great Chamberlaine of England. The Sword borne by ye Earle Marshal of England. The KING in royal robes and equipage. Afterwards follow'd Equerries, Footemen, Gent. Pensioners. Master of the Horse leading a horse richly caparison'd. Vice Chamberlaine. Captain of the Pensioners. Captain of the Guard. The Guard. The Horse Guard. The Troope of Volunteers with many other Officers and Gentlemen.

This magnificent traine on horseback, as rich as embrodery, velvet, cloth of gold and silver, and jewells, could make them and their pransing horses, proceeded thro' the streetes strew'd with flowers, houses hung with rich tapessry, windoes and balconies full of ladies; the London Militia lining the ways, and the severall Companies with their banners and loud musiq rank'd in their orders; the fountaines running wine, bells ringing, with speeches made at the severall triumphal arches; at that of the Temple Barr (neere which I stood) ye Lord Maior was receiv'd by the Bayliff of Westminster, who in a scarlet robe made a speech. Thence with joyful acclamations his Matie passed to Whitehall. Bonfires at night.

The next day, being St. George's, he went by water to Westm^r^ Abby. When his Matie was enter'd, the Deane and Prebendaries brought all the regalia, and deliver'd them to severall Noblemen to beare before the King, who met them at the West dore of ye Church singing an anthem, to ye Quire. Then came the Peers in their robes, and coronets in their hands, til his Matie was plac'd in a throne elevated before y^e^

altar. Then the Bishop of London (ye Archbishop of Canterbury being sick) went to every side of ye throne to present the King to the People, asking if they would have him for their King and do him homage; at this they shouted 4 times *God save King Charles the Second!* Then an anthem was sung. Then his Matie attended by 3 Bishops went up to the altar, and he offer'd a pall and a pound of gold. Afterwards he sate downe in another chaire during ye sermon, which was preach'd by Dr. Morley then Bishop of Worcester. After sermon the King tooke his oath before the altar to maintain the Religion, Magna Charta, and Laws of the Land. The hymn *Veni S. Sp.* follow'd, and then the Litany by 2 Bishops. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury, present but much indispos'd and weake, said *Lift up your hearts;* at which the King rose up and put off his robes and upper garments, and was in a wastcoate so opened in divers places that ye Archb'p might commodiously anoint him, first in the palmes of his hands, when an anthem was sung and a prayer read; then his breast and twixt the shoulders, bending of both armes, and lastly on the crowne of ye head, with apposite hymns and prayers at each anoynting; this don, the Deane clos'd and button'd up ye wastcoate. Then was a coyfe put on, and ye cobbium, syndon or dalmatic, and over this a supertunic of cloth of gold, with buskins and sandals of ye same, spurrs, and the sword, a prayer being first said over it by the Archbishop on ye altar before 'twas girt on by the Lord Chamberlaine. Then the armill, mantle, &c. Then the Archbishop plac'd the crowne imperial on the altar, pray'd over it, and set it on his Maties head, at which all ye Peers put on their coronets. Anthems and rare musiq, with lutes, viols, trumpets, organs, and voices, were then heard, and the Archbishop put a ring on his Maties finger. The King next offer'd his sword on the altar, which being redeemed was drawn and borne before him. Then ye Archbishop deliver'd him ye sceptre with the dove in one hand, and in the other the sceptre with the globe. Then ye King kneeling, ye Archbishop pronounc'd the blessing. The King then ascending againe his Royal Throne, whilst *Te Deum* was singing, all the Peeres did their homage, by every one touching his crowne. The Archbishop and rest of the Bishops first kissing the King; who receiv'd ye holy sacrament, and so disrob'd, yet with the crowne impe-

rial on his head, and accompanied with all the Nobility in the former order, he went on foote upon blew cloth, which was spread and reach'd from ye West dore of ye Abby to Westmr stayres, when he tooke water in a triumphal barge to Whitehall, where was extraordinary feasting.

24. I presented his Matie with his Panegyric* in ye Privy Chamber, which he was pleas'd to accept most graciously; I gave copies to the Lord Chancellor and most of the Noblemen who came to me for it. I din'd at ye Marques of Ormonds, where was a magnificent feaste and many greate persons.

1 May. I went to Hide Park to take ye aire, where was his Majesty and an innumerable appearance of gallants and rich coaches, being now a time of universal festivitie and joy.

2. I had audience of my Lord Chancellor about my title to Says Court.

3. I went to see ye wonderfull engine for weaving silk stockings, said to have ben ye invention of an Oxford scholler 40 years since; and I return'd by Fromantil's ye famous clock-maker to see some pendules, Monsr Zulichem being with us.

This evening I was with my Lord Brouncker, Sr Robt Murray, Sr Pa. Neill, Monsr Zulichem, and Mr. Bull (all of them of our Society and excellent mathematicians), to shew his Matie, who was present, Saturn's annulus as some thought, but as Zulichem affirm'd with his Balleus (as that learned gentleman had publish'd), very neere eclips'd by ye Moon, neere ye Mons Porphyritis; also Jupiter and Satelites, thro' his Majesty's great telescope, drawing 35 foote; on which were divers discourses.

8 May. His Matie rod in state, with his imperial crowne on, and all the Peeres in their robes, in great pomp to ye Parliament now newly chosen (ye old one being dissolv'd); and that evening declar'd in Council his intention to marry the Infanta of Portugal.

9. At Sir Rob. Murray's, where I met Dr. Wallis, Professor of Geometry in Oxon, where was discourse of severall mathematicall subjects.

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* Viz. a Poem upon his Majesty's Coronation the 23 of April 1661, being St. George's Day.

11. My wife presented to his Majesty the Madona she had copied in miniature from P. Oliver's painting after Raphael, which she wrought with extraordinary pains and judgment. The King was infinitely pleas'd with it, and caus'd it to be plac'd in his cabinet amongst his best paintings.

13. I heard and saw such exercises at ye election of Scholars at Westm^r^ School to be sent to ye University, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, in themes and extemporary verses, as wonderfully astonish'd me in such youths, with such readiness and witt, some of them not above 12 or 13 years of age. Pity it is that what they attaine here so ripely, they either not retain or do not improve more considerably when they come to be men, tho' many of them do; and no lesse is to be blamed their odd pronouncing of Latine, so that out of England none were able to understand or endure it. The Examinants or Posers were, Dr. Duport, Greek Professor at Cambridge; Dr. Fell, Deane of Christ Church Oxon; Dr. Pierson, Dr. Alestree Deane of Westm^r^, and any that would.

14 May. His Majesty was pleas'd to discourse with me concerning several particulars relating to our Society, and ye planet Saturn, &c. as he sat at supper in the withdrawing room to his bed-chamber.

16. I din'd with Mr. Garmus, the Resident from Hamburgh, who continu'd his feast neere 9 whole hours, according to the custome of his country, tho' there was no greate excesse of drinking, no man being oblig'd to take more than he lik'd.

22. The *Scotch Covenant* was burnt by the common hangman in divers places in London. Oh prodigious change!

29. This was the first Anniversarie appointed by Act of Parliament to be observed as a day of General Thanksgiving for ye miraculous Restauration of his Majesty: our Vicar preaching on 118 Psalm 24. requiring us to be thankful & rejoice, as indeede we had cause.

4 June. Came Sir Cha. Harbord, his Majesties surveyor, to take an account of what grounds I challeng'd at Says Court.

27. I saw the Portugal Ambassador at dinner with his Matie in state, where was excellent musiq.

2 July. I went to see the New Spring Garden at Lambeth, a pretty contriv'd plantation.

19. We tried our *Diving Bell* or engine in ye water-dock at Deptford, in which our Curator continu'd half an hour under water; it was made of cast lead, let down with a strong cable.

August 3. Came my Lord Hatton, Comptroller of his Maties household, to visite me.

9. I tried several experiments on ye sensitive plant and humilis, which contracted with the least touch of ye sun thro' a burning glasse, tho' it rises and opens onely when it shines on it.

I first saw ye famous *Queen Pine** brought from Barbados and presented to his Matie; but the first that were ever seen in England were those sent to Cromwell foure years since.

I din'd at Mr. Palmer's† in Gray's Inn, whose curiosity excell'd in clocks and pendules, especialy one that had innumerable motions, and plaied 9 or 10 tunes on the bells very finely, some of them set in parts, which was very harmonious. It was wound up but once in a quarter. He had also good telescopes and mathematical instruments, choice pictures, and other curiosities. Thence we went to that famous mountebank Jo. Punteus.

Sir Kenelme Digby presented every one of us his Discourse of the Vegetation of Plants; and Mr. Henshaw, his History of Salt Petre and Gunpowder. I assisted him to procure his place of French Secretary to the King, which he purchas'd of Sr Hen. De Vic.

I went to that famous physitian Sir Fr. Prujean, who shew'd me his laboratorie, his work-house for turning, and other mechanics; also many excellent pictures, especialy y^e^ *Magdalen* of Caracci; and some incomparable *paisages* done in distemper; he plaied to me likewise on y^e^ *polythore*, an instrument having something of the harp, lute, theorbo, &c. It was a sweete instrument, by none known in England, or describ'd by any author, nor us'd but by this skilfull and learned Doctor.

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* At Kensington Palace is a curious picture of King Charles receiving a pine apple from his gardener Mr. Rose, who is presenting it on his knees. See hereafter, under 1668, August.

† See vol. II. p. 89.

15. I went to Tunbridge Wells, my wife being there for the benefit of her health. Walking about the solitudes, I greately admired at the extravagant turnings, insinuations, and growth of certaine birch trees among the rocks.

13 Sept. I presented my Fumifugium *, dedicated to his Ma^ty^, who was pleas'd I should publish it by his special commands, being much gratified with it.

18. This day was read our Petition to his Ma^ty^ for his Royal Grant authorizing our Society to meet as a Corporation, with several privileges.

An exceedingly sickly, wet autumn.

1 Oct. I sail'd this morning with his Ma^ty^ in one of his yachts (or pleasure-boats), vessells not known among us til the Dutch E. India Company presented that curious piece to the King, being very excellent sailing vessells. It was on a wager betweene his other new pleasure boate, built frigate like, and one of the Duke of York's; the wager 100*l.*; the race from Greenwich to Gravesend and back. The King lost it going, the wind being contrary, but sav'd stakes in returning. There were divers noble persons and lords on board, his Ma^ty^ sometimes steering himselfe. His barge and kitchen boate attended. I brake fast this morning with the King at return in his smaller vessell, he being pleas'd to take me and onely foure more, who were noblemen, with him; but din'd in his yatcht, where we all eate together with his Ma^ty^. In this passage he was pleas'd to discourse to me about my book inveighing against the nuisance of ye smoke of London and proposing expedients how by removing those particulars I mention'd †, it might be reform'd; commanding me to prepare a Bill against ye next Session of Parliament, being as he said resolv'd to have something don in it. Then he discours'd to me of ye improvement of gardens and buildings, now very rare in England comparatively to other countries. He then commanded me to draw up the matter of fact happening at the bloudy encounter which then had newly happen'd betweene the French and Spanish Ambass^rs^ neere ye Tower, contending for precedency, at y^e^

* This pamphlet having become extremely scarce, was handsomely reprinted for Messrs. White in Fleet Street, in 4to. in 1772.

† In the Fumifugium before mentioned.

reception of the Sweeds Ambass^{r}; giving me order to consult S^{r} W^{m}. Compton, Master of ye Ordnance, to informe me what he knew of it, and with his favourite Sr Cha. Berkley*, captaine of ye Duke's life guard, then present with his troope and 3 foote companies; with some other reflections and instructions, to be prepar'd with a declaration to take off the reports wch went about of his Ma^{tys} partiality in ye affaire, and of his officers and spectators rudenesse whilst ye conflict lasted. So I came home that night, and went next morning to London, where from ye Officers of the Tower, Sr Wm Compton, Sr Cha. Berkley, and others who were attending at this meeting of ye Ambass^{rs} 3 dayes before, having collected what I could, I drew up a narrative in vindication of his Ma^{ty} and the carriage of his Officers and standers by. On Thursday his Ma^{ty} sent one of the pages of the Back Staires for me to waite on him with my papers in his cabinet, where was present only Sr Henry Bennett† (Privy Purse), when beginning to read to his Ma^{ty} what I had drawn up, by the time I had read halfe a page, came in Mr. Secretary Morice with a large paper, desiring to speake with his Ma^{ty}, who told him he was now very buisy, and therefore order'd him to come againe some other time; ye Secretary replied that what he had in his hand was of extraordinary importance, so the King rose up, and commanding me to stay, went aside to a corner of the roome with the Secretary; after a while the Secretary being dispatch'd, his Ma^{ty} returning to me at the table, a letter was brought him from Madame out of France; this he read and then bid me proceede from where I left off. This I did til I had ended all the narrative, to his Ma^{tys} greate satisfaction; and after I had inserted one or two more clauses, in which his Ma^{ty} instructed me, commanded that it should that night be sent to ye Post-house directed to the Lord Ambass^{r} at Paris (the Earle of St. Alban's) and then at leasure to prepare him a copy which he would publish‡. This I did, and immediately sent my papers to the Secretary of State, with his Ma^{tys} expresse command of dispatching them that night for France. Before I went out of his Ma^{tys} closet,

* Afterwards Earl of Falmouth, who was killed by the side of the Duke of York, in the first Dutch war. † Afterwards Secretary of State, Earl of Arlington, and Lord Chamberlain.

‡ The Narrative is reprinted in vol. II. p. 338.

he cal'd me back to shew me some ivorie statues, and other curiosities that I had not seene before.

3. Next evening, being in ye withdrawing roome adjoining the bed-chamber, his Ma^ty^ espying me came to me from a greate crowde of noblemen standing neere the fire, and ask'd me if I had don; and told me he fear'd it might be a little too sharp, on second thoughts, for he had that morning spoken with ye French Ambass^r^, who it seemes had palliated ye matter and was very tame, and therefore directed me where I should soften a period or two before it was publish'd (as afterwards it was *). This night also he spake to me to give him a sight of what was sent, and to bring it to him in his bed-chamber; which I did, and receiv'd it againe from him at dinner next day. By Saturday having finish'd it with all his Ma^tys^ notes, the King being gon abroad, I sent ye papers to Sr Hen. Bennett (Privy Purse and a greate favourite), and slip'd home, being myselfe much indispos'd and harrass'd with going about, and sitting up to write.

19 Oct. I went to London to visite my Lord of Bristoll, having first ben with Sir John Denham (his Maties surveyor) to consult with him about the placing of his palace at Greenewich, which I would have had built between the river and the Queenes house, so as a large square cutt should have let in ye Thames like a bay; but Sir John was for setting it on piles at the very brink of the water, which I did not assent to, and so came away, knowing Sir John to be a better poet than architect, tho' he had Mr. Webb (Inigo Jones's man) to assist him †.

29. I saw the Lord Maior ‡ passe in his water triumph to Westminster, being the first solemnity of this nature after 20 yeares.

2 Nov. Came Sr Hen. Bennet, since Ld Arlington, to visite me, and to acquaint me that his Ma^ty^ would do me the honor to come and see my garden, but it then being late 'twas deferr'd.

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* Notwithstanding this positive assertion, it is very extraordinary that it has never been inserted in any Library or Auction Catalogue that a gentleman of the greatest research (Mr. Bindley) ever saw. Perhaps it was recalled.

† See p. 346.

‡ Sir John Frederick. The pageant for this day was called "London's Triumph, at the Charges of the Grocers Company. By John Tatham."

3. One Mr. Breton* preach'd his probation Sermon at our Parish Church, and indeede made a most excellent discourse on 1 John 29. of God's free grace to penitents, so that I could not but recommend him to the patron.

10. In the afternoone preach'd at the Abby Dr. Basire, that greate travailler, or rather French Apostle, who had ben planting ye Church of England in divers parts of ye Levant and Asia. He shew'd that ye Church of England was for purity of doctrine, substance, decency, and beauty, the most perfect under Heaven; that England was the very land of Goshen.

11. I was so idle as to go see a play call'd "Love and Honor†."— Din'd at Arundel House; and that evening discours'd with his Majestie about shipping, in which he was exceeding skilfull.

15. I din'd with ye Duke of Ormond, who told me there were no moles in Ireland, nor any rats till of late, and that but in one county; but it was a mistake that spiders would not live there, only they were not poysonous. Also that they frequently took salmon with dogs.

16. I presented my Translation of "Naudæus concerning Libraries" to my Lord Chancellor, but it was miserably false printed.

17. Dr. Creighton, a Scot, author of the "Florentine Council," and a most eloquent man and admirable Grecian, preached on 6 Cant. 13. celebrating the returne and restauration of ye Church and King.

20. At ye Royall Society Sr Wm Petty propos'd divers things for the improvement of shipping, a versatile keele that should be on hinges, and concerning sheathing ships with thin lead‡.

24. This night his Maty fell into discourse with me concerning bees, &c.

26. I saw Hamlet Prince of Denmark played, but now the old plays began to disgust this refined age, since his Majesties being so long abroad.

28. I din'd at Chiffinch's house-warming in St. James's Park; he was his Matys closet keeper§, and had his new house full of good pic-

* He obtained the Living.

† A Tragi-Comedy by Sir William Davenant; the performance appears to have been in the morning.

‡ Of which see more hereafter.

§ See vol. II. p. 130.

tures, &c. There din'd with us Russell, Popish Bishop of Cape Verde, who was sent out to negotiate his Maties match with ye Infanta of Portugal after ye Ambass^r^ was return'd.

29. I din'd at the Countesse of Peterborows, and went that eyening to Parsons Greene with my Ld Mordaunt, with whom I staid that night.

1 Dec. I went to take leave of my Lo. Peterborow going now to Tangier, which was to be delivered to the English on the match with Portugal.

3. By universal suffrage of our philosophic assembly an' order was made and register'd that I should receive their public thanks for the honourable mention I made of them by the name of Royal Society in my Epistle dedicatory to the Lord Chancellor before my Traduction of Naudeus. Too great an honor for a trifle.

4. I had much discourse with ye Duke of York concerning strange cures, he affirmed of a woman who swallow'd a whole ear of barley, which work'd out at her side. I told him of y^e^ *knife swallow'd** and ye pins.

I took leave of the Bishop of Cape Verde now going in the Fleet to bring over our new Queene.

7. I din'd at Arundel House, ye day when the greate contest in Parliament was concerning the restoring the Duke of Norfolk; however 'twas carried for him. I also presented my little trifle of Sumptuary Laws, intitl'd " Tyrannus" [or " The Mode."] †

14. I saw otter hunting with the King, and killed one.

16. I saw a French Comedy acted at White-hall.

20. The Bishop of Glocester ‡ preached at the Abby at ye funeral of ye Bishop of Hereford, brother to ye Duke of Albemarle. It was a decent solemnity. There was a silver mitre with episcopal robes, born by ye Herauld before ye herse, which was follow'd by the Duke his brother, and all the Bishops with divers noblemen.

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* This refers to the Dutchman, p. 18, and to an extraordinary case, contained in a " miraculous cure of the Prussian Swallow Knife, &c. by Dan. Lakin, P. C." quarto, London, 1642, with a wood cut representing the object himself and the size of the knife.

† Reprinted in vol. II. p. 309.

‡ Dr. William Nicholson.

23. I heard an Italian play and sing to the guittar wth extraordinary skill before the Duke.

1662, 1 Jan. I went to London, invited to the solemn foolerie of the Prince de la Grange at Lincoln's Inn, where came the King, Duke, &c. It began with a grand masque, and a formal pleading before the mock Princes, Grandees; Nobles, and Knights of the Sunn. He had his Lord Chancellor, Chamberlain, Treasurer, and other Royal Officers, gloriously clad and attended. It ended in a magnificent banquet. One Mr. Lort was the young spark who maintain'd the pageantry.

6 Jan. This evening, according to costome, his Majesty open'd the revells of that night by throwing the dice himselfe in the privy chamber, where was a table set on purpose, and lost his 100*l.* (The yeare before he won 1500*l.*) The ladies also plaied very deepe. I came away when the Duke of Ormond had won about 1000*l.* and left them still at *passage*, *cards*, &c. At other tables, both there and at ye Groom-porter's, observing the wicked folly and monstrous excesse of passion amongst some loosers; sorry I am that such a wretched costome as play to that excesse should be countenanc'd in a Court which ought to be an example of virtue to the rest of the kingdome.

9. I saw acted "The 3d Part of the Siege of Rhodes." In this acted ye faire and famous comedian call'd Roxalana from ye part she perform'd; and I think it was the last, she being taken to be the Earle of Oxford's *Misse* (as at this time they began to call lewd women.) It was in recitativa musiq.

10. Being call'd into his Ma^tys^ closet when Mr. Cooper, ye rare limner, was crayoning of the King's face and head, to make the stamps by for the new mill'd money now contriving, I had the honour to hold the candle whilst it was doing, he choosing the night and candle-light for ye better finding out the shadows. During this his Ma^ty^ discours'd with me on several things relating to painting and graving.

11 Jan. I din'd at Arundel House, where I heard excellent musiq perform'd by the ablest masters both French and English, on theorbos, viols, organs, and voices, as an exercise against the coming of ye Queene, purposely compos'd for her chapell. Afterwards my Lord Aubignie (her Majesty's Almoner to be) shew'd us his elegant lodging

and his wheele-chaire for ease and motion, with divers other curiosities; especialy a kind of artificial glasse or purcelan adorn'd with relievos of paste, hard and beautifull. Lord Aubignie (brother to the Duke of Lennox) was a person of good sense, but wholly abandon'd to ease and effeminacy.

I receiv'd of Sir Peter Ball, the Queene's Attorney, a draught of an Act against the nuisance of ye smoke of London, to be reform'd by removing severall trades which are the cause of it, and indanger the health of the King and his people. It was to have ben offer'd to ye Parliament as his Majestie commanded.

12. At St. James's Chapell preach'd, or rather harangu'd, the famous orator Monsr Morus*, in French. There was present the King, Duke, French Ambass^r^, Lo. Aubignie, Earle of Bristol, and a world of Roman Catholics, drawne thither to hear this eloquent Protestant.

15 Jan. There was a general fast thro ye whole nation, and now celebrated at London, to avert God's heavy judgments on this land. There had fallen greate raine without any frost or seasonable cold, not only in England, but in Sweden, and the most Northern parts, being here neere as warme as at midsommer in some yeares.

This solemn fast was held for ye House of Commons at St. Margarets. Dr. Reeves, Dean of Windsor, preach'd on 7 Joshua 12. shewing how ye neglect of exacting justice on offenders (by which he insinuated such of the old King's murderers as were yet reprieved and in ye Tower) was a maine cause of God's punishing a land. He brought in that of the Gibeonites as well as Achan and others, concluding with an eulogie of the Parliament for their loyaltie in restoring ye Bishops and Cleargie and vindicating the Church from sacrilege.

16. Having notice of ye Duke of York's intention to visit my poore habitation and garden this day, I return'd, when he was pleas'd to do me that honor of his owne accord, and to stay some time viewing such things as I had to entertaine his curiosity. Afterwards he caus'd me

* Probably the famous Alexander Morus (the antagonist of Milton) who was here in the year 1662. He was a very eloquent and much-admired preacher.

to dine with him at the Treasurer of ye Navy's house, and to sit with him cover'd at ye same table. There were with his Highness the Duke of Ormond and several lords. Then they view'd some of my grounds about a project for a receptacle for ships to be moor'd in*, wch was laied aside as a fancy of Sr Nich^s^ Crisp. After this I accompanied the Duke to an East India vessell that lay at Blackwall, where we had entertainment of several curiosities. Amongst other spirituous drinks, as punch, &c. they gave us Canarie that had ben carried to and brought from ye Indies, wch was indeede incomparably good. I return'd to London with his Highnesse. This night was acted before his Ma^ty^ "The Widow," a lewd play.

18. I came home to be private a little, not at all affecting the life and hurry of Court.

24. His Ma^ty^ entertain'd me with his intentions of building his Palace of Greenewich†, and quite demolishing the old one; on wch I declar'd my thoughts.

25. I dined with the Trinity Company at their house, that Corporation being by charter fixed at Deptford.

3 February. I went to Chelsey to see Sr Arthur Gorge's house.

11. I saw a comedy acted before ye Dutchesse of York at the Cockpit. The King was not at it.

17. I went with my Lord of Bristol to see his house at Wimbledon‡, newly bought of ye Queene Mother, to help contrive the garden after the moderne. It is a delicious place for prospect and ye thicketts, but the soile cold and weeping clay. Returned that evening with Sr Henry Bennet.

This night was buried in Westminster Abby the Queene of Bohemia§, after all her sorrows and afflictions being come to die in the arms of her nephew the King: also this night and the next day fell such a storm of

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* P. 296. † P. 341.

‡ It came afterwards to Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, who built a new house there, burnt down a few years since. Now belonging to Earl Spencer, who has built a smaller house. There are two scarce and curious views of the old house, engraved by Winstanley.

§ Elizabeth Electress Palatine, daughter of James I. a woman of excellent understanding and most amiable disposition.

hail, thunder and lightning, as never was seene the like in any man's memorie, especialy the tempest of wind, being South West, which subverted besides huge trees, many houses, innumerable chimnies (amongst others that of my parlour at Says Court), and made such havoc at land and sea that severall perish'd on both. Divers lamentable fires were also kindl'd at this time, so exceedingly was God's hand against this ungrateful and vicious Nation and Court.

20. I return'd home to repaire my house, miserably shatter'd by ye late tempest.

March 24. I returned home w^h^ my whole family, which had ben most part of the winter since October at London in lodgings neere the Abby of Westminster.

6 April. Being of the Vestry, in the afternoone we order'd that the Communion Table should be set as usual altar-wise, with a decent raile before it, as before the Rebellion.

17 April. The young Marquis of Argyle, whose turbulent father was executed in Scotland, came to see my garden. He seem'd a man of parts.

7 May. I waited on Prince Rupert to our Assembly, where were tried severall experiments in Mr. Boyle's *vacuum*. A man thrusting in his arme upon exhaustion of ye aire had his flesh immediately swelled so as the bloud was neare bursting the veines: he drawing it oute we found it all speckled.

14. To London, being chosen one of the Commiss^rs^ for reforming the buildings, wayes, streetes, and incumbrances, and regulating the hackney coaches in the Citty of London, taking my oath before my Lord Chancellor, and then went to his Ma^tys^ Surveyor's office in Scotland Yard about naming and establishing officers, adjourning till ye 16th, when I went to view how St. Martin's Lane might be made more passable into ye Strand. There were divers Gent^n^ of quality in this Commission.

25. I went this evening to London, in order to our journey to Hampton Court to see the new Queene, who having landed at Portsmouth had ben married to ye King a weeke before by the Bishop of London.

30. The Queene ariv'd with a traine of Portuguese ladies in their monstrous fardingals or guard-infantas, their complexions olivader* and sufficiently unagreeable. Her Ma^ty^ in the same habit, her foretop long and turn'd aside very strangely. She was yet of the handsomest countenance of all ye rest, and tho' low of stature pretily shaped, languishing and excellent eyes, her teeth wronging her mouth by sticking a little too far out; for the rest lovely enough.

31. I saw the Queene at dinner; the Judges came to compliment her arival, and after them the Duke of Ormond brought me to kisse her hand.

2 June. The Lord Mayor and Ald^n^ made their addresses to the Queene, presenting her £.1000 in gold. Now saw I her Portuguese ladies, and the Guarda-damas or Mother of her maids†, and the old Knight, a lock of whose haire quite cover'd the rest of his bald pate, bound on by a thred, very oddly. I saw the rich gondola sent to his Ma^ty^ from the State of Venice; but it was not comparable for swiftnesse to our common wherries, tho' manag'd by Venetians.

4. Went to visite the Earle of Bristoll at Wimbledon.

8 June. I saw her Ma^ty^ at supper privately in her bed-chamber.

9. I heard the Queene's Portugal musiq, consisting of pipes, harps, and very ill voices.

Hampton Court is as noble and uniforme a pile, and as capacious as any Gotiq architecture can have made it. There is incomparable furniture in it, especialy hangings design'd by Raphael, very rich with gold; also many rare pictures, especialy the *Cæsarian Triumphs* of Andr. Mantegna, formerly the Duke of Mantua's; of the tapessrys I believe the world can shew nothing nobler of the kind than the storys of Abraham and Tobit. The gallery of hornes is very particular for the vast beames of staggs, elks, antelopes, &c. The Queene's bed was an embrodery of silver on crimson velvet, and cost £.8000, being a pre-

* Of a dark olive complexion. It has been noticed in other accounts that the Queen's Portuguese Ladies of Honour who came over with her were uncommonly ill-favoured and disagreeable in their appearance. See Faithorn's curious print of her Majesty in the costume here described.

† A lady had this title in the reign of King George III.

sent made by ye States of Holland when his Ma^ty^ returned, and had formerly ben given by them to our King's sister ye Princesse of Orange, and being bought of her againe was now presented to ye King. The greate looking-glasse and toilet of beaten and massive gold was given by the Queene Mother. The Queene brought over with her from Portugal such Indian cabinets as had never before ben seene here. The greate hall is a most magnificent roome. The chapell-roof excellently fretted and gilt. I was also curious to visite the wardrobe and tents and other furniture of state. The park formerly a flat naked piece of ground, now planted with sweete rows of lime trees; and the canall for water now neere perfected; also the hare park. In ye garden is a rich and noble fountaine, with syrens, statues, &c. cast in copper by Fanelli, but no plenty of water. The cradle-walk of horne beame in ye garden is, for the perplexed twining of the trees, very observable. There is a parterre wch they call Paradise, in wch is a pretty banquetting-house set over a cave or cellar. All these gardens might be exceedingly improved, as being too narrow for such a palace.

10. I returned to London, and presented my History of Chalcographie (dedicated to Mr. Boyle) to our Society.

19 June. I went to Albury, to visite Mr. Hen. Howard soone after he had procured ye dukedom to be restor'd. This gentleman had now compounded a debt of £.200,000, contracted by his grandfather. I was much oblig'd to that greate virtuoso, and to this young gentleman, with whom I staied a fortnight.

2 July. We hunted and kill'd a buck in ye park, Mr. Howard inviting most of the gentlemen of the country neere him.

3. My wife met me at Woodcott whither Mr. Howard accompanied me to see my son John, who had ben much brought up amongst Mr. Howard's children at Arundel House, 'til for feare of their perverting him in the Catholic religion, I was forced to take him home.

8. To London, to take leave of ye Duke and Dutchesse of Ormond, going then into Ireland with an extraordinary retinue.

13. Spent some time with the Ld Chancellor, where I had discourse w^h^ my Lord Willoughby, Governor of Barbados, concerning divers particulars of that colonie.

28. His Ma^ty^ going to sea to meet the Queene Mother, now coming againe for England, met with such ill weather as greately endanger'd him. I went to Greenewich, to wait on the Queene now landed.

30. To London, where was a meeting about Charitable Uses, and particularly to enquire how the Citty had dispos'd of the revenues of Gressham College, and why the salaries of the professors there were no better improv'd. I was on this commission, with divers Bishops and Lords of the Council, but little was the progresse we could make.

31. I sate with ye Commiss^rs^ about reforming the buildings and streetes of London, and we ordered the paving of the way from St. James's North, which was a quagmire, and also of the Hay-market about Piqudillo [Piccadilly], and agreed upon instructions to be printed and published for the better keeping the streetes cleane.

1 Aug. Mr. H. Howard, his brothers Charles, Edward, Bernard, Philip * now ye Queens Almoner, (all brothers of the ye Duke of Norfolk still in Italy) came with a greate traine and din'd with me; Mr. H. Howard leaving with me his eldest and youngest sons Henry and Thomas for 3 or 4 days, my son John having ben sometime bred up in their fathers house.

4. Came to see me the old Countesse of Devonshire †, with that excellent and worthy person, my Lord, her sonn, from Rowhampton.

5. To London, and next day to Hampton Court about my purchase, and took leave of Sr R. Fanshawe now going Ambassador to Portugal.

13. Our Charter being now passed under the broad seale, constituting us a Corporation under the name of The Royal Society for the improvement of naturall knowledge by experiment, was this day read, and was all that was done this afternoone, being very large.

14. I sat on the commission for Charitable Uses, the Lord Maior and others of the Mercers Company being summon'd to answer some

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* Since Cardinal at Rome.

† Christian Countess of Devonshire. She was of considerable celebrity for her devotion, hospitality, her great care in the management of her son's affairs, and as a patroness of the wits of the age who frequently met at her house: also for her loyalty and correspondence to promote the Restoration. King Charles II. frequently visited her at this place with the Queen Mother and the Royal Family. There is a life of this lady written by Mr. Pomfret.

complaints of the professors grounded on a clause in the will of Sir Thos Gressham the founder.

This afternoone the Queene Mother with the Earle of St. Alban's and many greate ladies and persons, was pleas'd to honor my poore villa with her presence, and to accept of a collation. She was exceedingly pleas'd and stay'd till very late in the evening.

15. Came my Lord Chancellor (ye Earle of Clarendon) and his lady, his purse and mace borne before him, to visit me. They were likewise collation'd with us, and were very merry. They had all ben our old acquaintance in exile, and indeed this greate person had ever ben my friend. His sonn Lord Cornebery was here too.

17 Aug. Being the Sonday when the Common Prayer Booke reformed and ordered to be used for the future, was appointed to be read, and the solemn League and Covenant to be abjured by all the incumbents of England under penalty of looseing their livings; our Vicar read it this morning.

20. There were strong guards in ye Citty this day, apprehending some tumults, many of the Presbyterian Ministers not conforming. I dined with the Vice Chamberlaine, and then went to see the Queene Mother; who was pleas'd to give me many thanks for the entertainment she receiv'd at my house, when she recounted to me many observable stories of the sagacity of some dogs she formerly had.

21. I was admitted and then sworne one of ye Council of ye Royal Society, being nominated in his Matys original grant to be of this Council for the regulation of the Society, and making laws and statutes conducible to its establishment and progresse, for which we now set apart every Wednesday morning till they were all finished. Lord Visct. Brouncker (that excellent mathematician) was also by his Maty our Founder nominated our first President. The King gave us the armes of England to be borne in a canton in our armes, and sent us a mace of silver gilt of ye same fashion and bigness as those carried before his Maty, to be borne before our President on meeting daies. It was brought by Sr Gilb. Talbot, Master of his Matys Jewel-house.

22. I din'd with my Lord Brouncker and Sr Robt Morray, and then went to consult about a new-model'd ship at Lambeth, the

intention being to reduce that art to as certaine a method as any other part of architecture.

23 Aug. I was spectator of the most magnificent triumph that ever floated on the Thames *, considering the innumerable boates and vessells, dress'd and adorn'd with all imaginable pomp, but above all the thrones, arches, pageants, and other representations, stately barges of the Lord Maior and Companies, with various inventions, musiq and peales of ordnance both from ye vessels and the shore, going to meete and conduct the new Queene from Hampton Court to White-hall, at the first time of her coming to towne. In my opinion it far exceeded all ye Venetian Bucentoras, &c. on the Ascension, when they go to espouse the Adriatic. His Matie and the Queene came in an antiq-shap'd open vessell, cover'd with a state or canopy of cloth of gold, made in form of a cupola, supported with high Corinthian pillars, wreath'd with flowers, festoons, and garlands. I was in our new-built vessell, sailing amongst them.

29. The Council and Fellows of ye Royal Society went in a body to White-hall to acknowledge his Ma^tys^ royal grace in granting our charter, and vouchsafing to be himselfe our Founder; when the President made an eloquent speech, to which his Ma^ty^ gave a gracious reply, and we all kiss'd his hand. Next day we went in like manner with our addresse to my Lo. Chancellor, who had much promoted our Patent; he receiv'd us with extraordinary favour. In the evening I went to the Queene Mother's Court, and had much discourse with her.

1 Sept. Being invited by Lo. Berkley, I went to Durdans †, where din'd his Majestie, the Queene, Duke, Dutchesse, Prince Rupert, Prince Edward, and aboundance of Noblemen. I went after dinner to visit my brother of Woodcot, my sister having ben deliver'd of a son a little before, but who had now ben two days dead.

4 Sept. Commission for charitable uses, my Ld Maior and Aldermen being againe summon'd, and the improvements of Sir Tho.

* An account of this solemnity was published in "Aqua Triumphalis; being a true relation of the honourable City of London entertaining their sacred Majesties upon the River of Thames, and welcoming them from Hampton Court to White-hall, &c. Engraved by John Tatham," folio, 1662.

† At Epsom.

Gressham's estate examin'd. There were present the Bp. of London, the Lord Chief Justice, and the King's Attorney.

6. Dined wth me Sr Edward Walker, Garter King at Armes, Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, and severall others.

17. We now resolv'd that the armes of the Society should be, a field Argent, with a canton of the armes of England; the supporters two talbots Argent; Crest, an eagle Or holding a shield with the like armes of England, viz. 3 lions. The words *Nullius in verba.* It was presented to his Ma^ty^ for his approbation, and orders given to Garter King at Armes, to passe the diploma of their office for it.

20. I presented a petition to his Ma^ty^ about my own concerns, and afterwards accompanied him to Monsr Febure, his chymist, (and who had formerly ben my master in Paris) to see his accurate preparation for ye composing Sr Walter Raleigh's rare cordial; he made a learned discourse before his Ma^ty^ in French on each ingredient.

27. Came to visit me Sr Geo. Savell *, grandson to ye learned Sir Hen. Savell, who publish'd St. Chrysostome. Sr Geo. was a witty gentleman, if not a little too prompt and daring.

3 Oct. I was invited to the Colledge of Physitians, where Dr. Meret, a learned man and Library Keeper, shew'd me the Library, Theater for Anatomie, and divers natural curiosities; the statue and epigraph under it of that renowned physitian Dr. Harvey, discoverer of the circulation of the blood. There I saw Dr. Gilbert, Sr Wm Paddy's, and other pictures of men famous in their faculty.

Visited Mr. Wright †, a Scotsman, who had liv'd long at Rome and was esteem'd a good painter. The pictures of the Judges at Guild-hall are of his hand, and so are some pieces in White-hall, as ye roofe in his Majesties old bed-chamber, being Astrea, the St. Catherine, and a chimney-piece in the Queene's privy chamber; but his best, in my opinion, is Lacy the famous Roscius or comedian, whom he has painted in three dresses, as a gallant, a Presbyterian minister, and a Scotch highlander in his plaid. It is in his Ma^tys^ dining-room at Windsor; He had at his house an excellent collection, especialy that small piece

* Afterwards the celebrated Marquis of Halifax.

† See p. 316.

of Corregio, *Scotus of de la Marca*, a designe of Paulo, and above all those ruines of Polydore, with some good achates and medaills, especialy a Scipio, and a Cæsar's head of gold.

15. I this day deliver'd my Discourse concerning Forest Trees to the Society, upon occasion of certain queries sent to us by the Commissioners of his Ma^ty's Navy, being the first booke that was printed by order of the Society, and by their Printer, since it was a Corporation.

16. I saw "Volpone" acted at Court before their Maties.

21. To the Queene Mother's Court, where her Ma^ty related to us divers passages of her escapes during the Rebellion and Warrs in England.

28 Oct. To Court in ye evening, where ye Queene Mother, ye Queene Consort, and his Ma^ty, being advertis'd of some disturbance, forbore to go to the Lord Maior's shew and feast appointed next day, the new Queene not having yet seen y^t triumph.

29. Was my Lo. Maior's* shew, with a number of sumptuous pageants, speeches, and verses. I was standing in an house in Cheapeside against the place prepar'd for their Maties. The Prince and heire of Denmark was there, but not our King. There were also ye maids of honor. I went to Court this evening, and had much discourse with Dr. Basiers †, one of his Ma^ty's chaplains, the greate traveller, who shew'd me the syngraphs and original subscriptions of divers Eastern Patriarchs and Asian Churches to our Confession.

4 Nov. I was invited to the wedding of ye daughter of Sr Geo. Carterat (ye Treasurer of ye Navy and King's Vice-Chamberlain), married to Sir Nich^s. Slaning, Kn^t of the Bath; by the Bishop of London in ye Savoy Chapell; after which was an extraordinary feast.

5. The Council of ye R. Society met to amend the Statutes, and dined together: afterwards meeting at Gressham College, where was a discourse suggested by me concerning planting his Ma^tys Forest of Deane with oake, now so much exhausted of ye choicest ship-timber in the world.

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* Sir John Robinson, Knt. and Bart. Clothworker. The pageant on this occasion was called "London's Triumph, at the Charge of the Clothworkers Company." By John Tatham."

† Isaac Basire. See p. 342, and an account of him in Wood's "Athenæ."

20. Dined w^h^ the Comptroller Sir Hugh Pollard; afterwards saw "The Young Admiral" * acted before ye King.

21. Spent the evening at Court, Sr Kenelm Digby giving me greate thanks for my *Sylva*.

27. Went to London to see ye entrance of ye Russian Ambass^r^, whom his Ma^ty^ order'd to be received with much state, the Emperor not only having ben kind to his Ma^ty^ in his distress, but banishing all commerce with our Nation during ye Rebellion.

First the Citty Companies and Train'd Bands were all in their stations: his Ma^ty's^ Army and Guards in greate order. His Excellency came in a very rich coach, with some of his chiefe attendants; many of the rest on horseback, clad in their vests after ye Eastern manner, rich furrs, caps, and carrying the presents, some carrying hawkes, furrs, teeth, bows, &c. It was a very magnificent shew.

I din'd with the Master of the Mint †, where was old Sir Ralph Freeman ‡; passing my evening at the Queene Mother's Court, at night saw acted "The Committee," a ridiculous play of Sir R. Howard, where ye mimic Lacy acted the Irish Footeman to admiration.

30. St. Andrewes day. Invited by ye Deane of Westminster § to his consecration dinner and ceremony, on his being made Bishop of Worcester. Dr. Bolton preach'd in ye Abby Church; then follow'd the consecration by the Bishops of London, Chichester, Winchester, Salisbury, &c. After this was one of the most plentifull and magnificent dinners that in my life I ever saw; it cost neere £.600 as I was inform'd. Here were the Judges, Nobility, Clergy, and Gentlemen innumerable, this Bishop being universally belov'd for his sweete and gentle disposition. He was author of those Characters which go under ye name of Blount ||. He translated his late Ma^tys^ Icon into Latine, was Clearke of his Closet, Chaplaine, Deane of Westm^r^, and yet a most humble, meeke, but cheerfull man, an excellent scholar, and rare preacher. I had the honour to be loved by him. He married me at

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* A Tragi-Comedy by James Shirley.

† Mr. Slingsby. ‡ Of Betchworth in Surrey.

§ Dr. John Earle. Translated afterwards to Salisbury.

|| These Characters were several times printed, and are still read with some interest.

Paris, during his Majesties and ye Churches exile. When I tooke leave of him he brought me to the Cloysters in his episcopal habit. I then went to evening prayers at White-hall, where I pass'd that evening.

1 Dec. Having seene the strange and wonderful dexterity of the sliders on the new Canal in St. James's Park, perform'd before their Maties by divers gentlemen and others with Scheets after the manner of the Hollanders, with what swiftness they passe, how suddainely they stop in full carriere upon the ice, I went home by water, but not without exceeding difficultie, the Thames being frozen, greate flakes of ice incompassing our boate.

17. I saw acted before ye King "The Law against Lovers." *

21 Dec. One of his Maty's Chaplains preach'd, after which, instead of ye antient, grave, and solemn wind musiq accompanying ye organ, was introduc'd a concert of 24 violins betweene every pause, after ye French fantastical light way, better suiting a tavern or playhouse than a church. This was ye first time of change, and now we no more heard the cornet wch gave life to ye organ, that instrument quite left off in which the English were so skillfull. I din'd at Mr. Povey's, where I talk'd with Cromer, a greate musician.

23. I went with Sr George Tuke to hear the Comedians con and repeate his new comedy, "The Adventures of 5 Hours," a play whose plot was taken out of y famous Spanish poet Calderon.

27. I visited Sir Theophilus Biddulph.

29. Saw the audience of the Muscovy Ambassr which was with extraordinary state, his retinue being numerous, all clad in vests of severall colours, with buskins after ye Eastern manner; their caps of furr; tunicks richly embrodred with gold and pearls made a glorious shew. The King being seated under a canopie in ye Banquetting-house, the Secretary of ye Embassy went before ye Ambassr in a grave march, holding up his master's letters of credence in a crimson taffeta scarfe before his forehead. The Ambassador then deliver'd it with a profound reverence to ye King, who gave it to our Secretary of State;

* A Tragi-Comedy by Sir William Davenant, taken almost entirely from Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure," and "Much Ado about Nothing," blended together.

it was written in a long and lofty style. Then came in the present, borne by 165 of his retinue, consisting of mantles and other large pieces lined with sable, black fox and ermine; Persian carpets, the ground cloth of gold and velvet; hawks, such as they sayd never came the like; horses said to be Persian; bowes and arrows, &c. These borne by so long a traine rendered it very extraordinary. Wind musiq play'd all the while in ye galleries above. This finish'd, ye Ambassador was convey'd by ye Master of ye Ceremonies to York House, where he was treated with a banquet wch cost £.200 as I was assur'd *.

1663. 7 Jan. At night I saw ye Ball, in which his Ma^ty^ daunc'd with several great ladys.

8. I went to see my kinsman Sir Geo. Tuke's comedy acted at ye Duke's Theater, which took so universally that it was acted for some weekes every day, and 'twas believ'd it would be worth to the Comedians 4 or £.500. The plot was incomparable, but the language stiffe and formal.

10. I saw a Ball againe at Court, daunc'd by the King, the Duke, and Ladies in great pompe.

21. Dined at Mr. Treasurer's of the Household, Sr Chas Berkeley's, where were the Earle of Oxford, Ld Bellassis, Ld Gerard, Sr Andrew Scroope, Sr William Coventry, Dr. Fraser, Mr. Windham, and others.

5 Feb. I saw "The Wild Gallant," a comedy †; and was at ye greate Ball at Court, where his Ma^ty^, the Queene, &c. daunc'd.

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* "The Czar of Muscovy sent an Embass^r^ to compliment K. Cha. II. on his Restoration. The K. sent the Earl of Carlisle as his Embass^r^ to Moscow, to desire the re-establishment of the antient privileges of the English Merchants at Archangel, wch had been taken away by the Czar, who abhorring the murder of the K^s^ father accused them as favorers of it. But by the means of the Czar's ministers, his lordship was very ill received, and met with what he deemed affronts, and had no success as to his demands, so that at coming away he refused the presents sent him by the Czar. The Czar sent an Ambass^r^ to England to complain of Lord Carlisle's conduct, but his Lordship vindicated himself so well, that the King told the Embass^r^ he saw no reason to condemn his lordship's conduct." Relation of this Embassie by G. M. authenticated by Lord Carlisle, printed 1669.

† By Mr. Dryden. It did not succeed on its first representation, but was considerably altered to the form in which it now appears.

6. Dined at my Lord Maior's, S^r^ Jo. Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower.

15. This night some villains brake into my house and study below, and robbed me to ye value of £.60 in plate, money, and goods. This being the third time I have ben thus plundered.

26 Mar. I sat at ye Commission of Sewers, where was a greate case pleaded by his Ma^ty's^ Counsel; he having built a wall over a water-course, denied the jurisdiction of the Court. The verdict went for the Plaintiff [*i. e.* against ye King].

30 April. Came his Ma^ty^ to honor my poore villa with his presence, viewing the gardens and even every roome of the house, and was pleas'd to take a small refreshment. There were with him the Duke of Richmond, E. of St. Albans, Lord Lauderdale, and several persons of quality.

14 May. Dined with my Lord Mordaunt, and thence went to Barnes, to visite my excellent and ingenious friend Abraham Cowley.

17. I saluted the old Bishop of Durham, Dr. Cosin, to whom I had ben kind and assisted in his exile, but which he little remember'd in his greatnesse.

29. Dr. Creighton preach'd his extravagant Sermon at St. Margaret's, before the House of Commons.

30. This morning was pass'd my Lease of Says Court from the Crown, for ye finishing of which I had ben oblig'd to make such frequent journies to London. I return'd this evening, having seene the Russian Ambassador take leave of their Maties with greate solemnity.

2 July. I saw the greate masq at Court, and lay that night at Arundel-house.

4. I saw his Ma^ty's^ guards, being of horse and foote 4000, led by the General the Duke of Albemarle in extraordinary equipage and gallantry, consisting of gentlemen of quality and veteran souldiers, excellently clad, mounted and ordered, drawn up in battalia before their Maties in Hide Park, where the old Earle of Cleveland trail'd a pike and led the right-hand file in a foote company commanded by ye Lord Wentworth his son, a worthy spectacle and example, being both of them old and valiant souldiers. This was to shew ye French Ambass^r^, Monsr Comminges; there being a greate assembly of coaches, &c. in ye park.

7. Dined at the Comptroler's; after dinner we met at the Commission about the streetes, and to regulate hackney coaches, also to make up our accompts to passe the Exchequer.

16. A most extraordinary wet and cold season.

Sr Geo. Carteret, Treasurer of the Navy, had now married his daughter Caroline to Sr Tho. Scot, of Scottshall, in Kent *. This gent: was thought to be the sonn of Prince Rupert.

2 Aug. This evening I accompanied Mr. Treasurer and Vice Chamberlain Carteret to his lately-married son-in-law's, Sr Tho. Scot, to Scottshall. We tooke barge as far as Graves-end, thence by post to Rochester, whence in coach and 6 horses to Scottshall; a right noble seate, uniformely built, with a handsome gallery. It stands in a park well stor'd, the land fat and good. We were exceedingly feasted by the young knight, and in his pretty chapell heard an excellent sermon by his chaplaine. In the afternoone preach'd the learned Sr Norton Knatchbull † (who has a noble seate hard by, and a plantation of stately fir-trees). In the church-yard of the parish church I measur'd an over-grown yew-tree that was 18 of my paces in compasse, out of some branches of which, torne off by ye winds, were saw'd divers goodly planks.

10. We return'd by Sir Norton's, whose house is likewise in a park. This gent^n^ is a worthy person, and learned critic, especialy in Greek and Hebrew. Passing by Chatham we saw his Ma^tys^ Royal Navy, and din'd at Commiss^r^ Pett's, master-builder there, who shewed me his study and models, with other curiosities belonging to his art. He is esteem'd for ye most skillfull ship-builder in the world. He hath a pretty garden and banquetting-house, pots, statues, cypresses, resembling some villas about Rome. After a greate feast we rod post to Graves-end, and sending the coach to London, came by barge home that night.

18. To London to see my Lo. Chancellor, where I had discourse with my Lo. Archbp. of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester, who injoyned me to write to Dr. Pierce, President of Magd. Coll.

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* See Hasted's "Kent," vol. III. p. 293.

† Id. vol. II. p. 444.

Oxon. about a letter sent him by Dr. Goff, a Romish Oratorian, concerning an answer to Dean Cressy's late book *.

20. I din'd at ye Comptroller's [of the Household] with ye Earle of Oxford and Mr. Ashburnham; it was said it should be the last of the public diets or tables at Court, it being determined to put down the old hospitality, at which was greate murmuring, considering his Ma^tys^ vast revenue and the plenty of ye Nation. Hence I went to sit in a Committee to consider about the regulation of the Mint at the Tower, in which some small progresse was made.

27 Aug. Din'd at S^r^ Ph. Warwick's, Secretary to my Lo. Treasurer, who shew'd me the accompts and other private matters relating to the revenue. Thence to the Commiss^rs^ of the Mint, particularly about coynage, and bringing his Ma^tys^ rate from 15 to 10 shillings for every pound weight of gold.

31. I was invited to the Translation of Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London, from that see to Canterbury, the ceremonie performed at Lambeth. First went his grace's mace bearer, steward, treasurer, comptroller, all in their gownes and with white staves; next, the Bishops in their habites, eight in number; Dr. Sweate Deane of the Arches, Dr. Exton Judge of ye Admiralty, Sr Wm Merick, Judge of the Prerogative Court, with divers Advocates in scarlet. After divine service in ye chapel, perform'd with musiq extraordinary, Dr. French and Dr. Stradling (his grace's chaplaines) saied prayers. The Archb^p^ in a private roome looking into ye Chapel, the Bishops who were Commissioners went up to a table plac'd before the altar, and sat round it in chaires. Then Dr. Chaworth presented ye commission under the broad seal to ye Bishop of Winchester, and it was read by Dr. Sweate. After which the Vicar-general went to ye vestry, and brought his Grace into ye Chapell, his other officers marching before. He being

* Of Dr. Pierce, who was also Dean of Salisbury, Wood gives a very unfavourable account in his "Fasti." He appears to have been engaged in disputes both in his College and at Salisbury. Dean Cressy was bred in the Church of England, and was appointed Canon of Windsor and Dean of Leighlin in Ireland, in the time of King Charles I. but, from the troubles of that time, had no benefit from either; he afterwards became a Papist. The book here referred to is "Exomologetis," or the motives of his conversion. Wood's Fasti.

presented to the Commiss^rs was seated in a greate arm chaire at one end of ye table, when the definitive sentence was read by the Bishop of Winchester, and subscribed by all the Bishops, and proclamation was three times made at the Chapell dore, which was then set open for any to enter and give their exceptions, if any they had. This don, we all went to dinner in ye greate hall to a mighty feast. There were present all ye nobility in towne, ye Lord Maior of London, Sheriffs, Duke of Albemarle, &c. My Lo. Archb^p did in particular most civily welcome me. So going to visite my Lady Needham who liv'd at Lambeth, I went over to London.

10 Sept. I din'd with Mr. Treasurer of ye Navy, where setting by Mr. Secretary Morice, we had much discourse about bookes and authors, he being a learned man, and had a good collection.

24 Oct. Mr. Edwd Phillips came to be my sonns preceptor: this gentleman was nephew to Milton, who wrote against Salmasius's "Defensio," but was not at all infected with his principles, tho' brought up by him.

5 Nov. Dr. South, my Ld Chancellor's Chaplain, preached at Westminster Abby an excellent discourse concerning obedience to Magistrates, against the Pontificians and Sectaries. I afterwards dined at Sir Ph: Warwick's, where was much company.

6. To Court, to get Sir John Evelyn of Godstone off from being Sheriff of Surrey *.

30. Was the first anniversary of our Society for the choice of new officers, according to the tenor of our Patent and Institution. It being St. Andrew's day, who was our patron, each fellow wore a St. Andrew's Crosse of ribbon on the crowne of his hatt. After ye election we din'd together, his Ma^ty sending us venison.

16 Dec. To our Society where Mr. P. Balle, our treasurer at the late election, presented the Society with an iron chest, with 3 locks, and in it £100. as a gift.

18. Dined with ye gentlemen of his Ma^tys bedchamber at White-hall.

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* In which he succeeded.

1664, 2 Jan. To Barne Elmes, to see Abraham Cowley after his sicknesse; and returned that evening to London.

4 Feb. Dined at Sr Philip Warwick's; thence to Court, where I had discourse with the King about an invention of Glasse Granados, and severall other subjects.

5. I saw "The Indian Queene" * acted, a tragedie well written, so beautified with rich scenes as the like had never ben seene here, or haply (except rarely) elsewhere on a mercenary theater.

16. I presented my "Sylva" to the Society; and next day to his Majestie, to whom it was dedicated; also to the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Chancellor.

24. My Lord Geo. Berkeley of Durdens, and Sr Saml Tuke, came to visite me. We went on board Sr William Petty's double bottom'd vessell, and so to London.

26. Dined with my Lord Chancellor; and thence to Court, where I had greate thanks for my "Sylva," and long discourse with the King of divers particulars.

2 March. Went to London, to distribute some of my books amongst friends.

4. Came to dine with me the Earle of Lauderdale, his Majestie's greate favorite, and Secretary of Scotland; the E. of Tividale; my Ld Visc^t^. Brouncker, Presid^t^. of the R. Society; Dr. Wilkins, Deane of Rippon; Sir Robt Morrey, and Mr. Hooke, Curator to ye Society.

This Spring I planted the Home-field and West-field about Says Court with elmes, being the same yeare that the elmes were planted by his Ma^ty^ in Greenewich Park.

9. I went to the Tower, to sit in Commission about regulating the Mint; and now it was that the fine new mill'd coin both of white money and guineas was establish'd.

26. It pleas'd God to take away my sonn Richard, being now a moneth old, yet without any sicknesse of danger perceivably, being to all appearance a most likely child; we suspected much the nurse had

* Written by Sir Robert Howard and Mr. Dryden.

overlayne him: to our extreame sorrow, being now againe reduced to one: but God's will be done!

29. After evening prayers was my child buried neere the rest of his brothers—my very deare Children.

27 April. Saw a facetious Comedy called "Love in a Tub;" and supped at Mr. Secretary Bennet's.

3 May. Came ye Earle of Kent my kindsman, and his Lady, to visite us.

5. Went with some company a journey of pleasure on ye water in barge with musick, and at Mortlack had a greate banquet, returning late. The occasion was, Sr Rob. Carr now courting Mrs. Bennet, sister to ye Secretary of State.

6. Went to see Mr. Wrighte the painter's collection of rare shells, &c.

8 June. Went to our Society, to w^h^ his Matie had sent that wonderfull horne of ye fish which struck a dangerous hole in ye keel of a Ship in the India Sea, w^h^ being broke off with the violence of ye fish and left in ye timber, preserved it from foundering.

9. Sr Samuel Tuke * being this morning married to a lady, kinswoman to my Lord Arundel of Wardour, by ye Queenes Lord Almoner L Aubignie in St: James's Chapell, solemniz'd his wedding-night at my house with much companie.

22. One Tomson a Jesuite shew'd me such a collection of rarities, sent from ye Jesuites of Japan and China to their Order at Paris, as a present to be reserv'd in their repository, but brought to London by the East India ships for them, as in my life I had not seene. The cheife things were, large rhinoceros's horns; glorious vests wrought and embrodered on cloth of gold, but with such lively colours, that for splendour and vividness we have nothing in Europe that approches it; a girdle studded with achats and rubies of greate value and size; knives of so keene an edge as one could not touch them, nor was the mettal of our colour, but more pale and livid; fanns like those our ladies use, but much larger, and with long handles curiously carved and filled with Chinese characters; a sort of paper very broad, thin and fine like abor-

* A Roman Catholic.

tive parchment and exquisitely polished, of an amber yellow, exceeding glorious and pretty to looke on, and seeming to be like that which my Lo. Verulame describes in his "Nova Atlantis;" several other sorts of paper, some written, others printed; prints of landskips, their idols, saints, pagods, of most ugly serpentine monstrous and hideous shapes, to which they paid devotion; pictures of men and countries rarely painted on a sort of gum'd calico transparent as glasse; flowers, trees, beasts, birds, &c. excellently wrought in a kind of sleve silk very naturall; divers drougs that our drouggists and physitians could make nothing of, especialy one which the Jesuite call'd *Lac Tygridis*, it look'd like a fungus, but was weighty like metall, yet was a concretion or coagulation of some other matter; several booke MSS.; a grammar of ye language writen in Spanish; with innumerable other rarities.

1 July. Went to see Mr. Povey's* elegant house in Lincoln's-inn-fields, where the perspective in his court, painted by Streeter, is indeede excellent, with ye vasas in imitation of porphyrie, and fountains; the inlaying of his closet; above all, his pretty cellar and ranging of his wine bottles.

7. To Court, where I subscribed to Sr Arthur Slingsby's lottery a desperate debt owing me long since in Paris.

14. I went to take leave of ye two Mr. Howards, now going for Paris, and brought them as far as Bromley; thence to Eltham, to see Sr John Shaw's new house now building; the place is pleasant if not too wett, but the house not well contriv'd, especialy the roofe and roomes too low pitch'd, and the kitchen where the cellars should be; the orangerie and aviarie handsome, & a very large plantation about it.

19. To London to see the event of the lottery which his Ma^ty^ had permitted Sr Arthur Slingsby to set up for one day in the Banqueting House at White-hall. I gaining only a trifle, as well as did the King, Queene-consort and Queene-mother for neere 30 lotts; which was thought to be contrived very unhandsomely by the master of it, who was, in truth, a meer shark.

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* A Mr. Povey lived at Bellsize House in Hampstead in 1718, who was a coal merchant, though not trained to the business; he wrote many books, some discovering indirect practices in the coal trade, in government offices, &c. (See under 1676, Feb.) Park's Hist. of Hampstead, p. 156.

21. I dined with my L. Treasurer at Southampton House, where his Lordship used me with singular humanitie. I went in the afternoone to Chelsey to waite on the Duke of Ormond, and returned to London.

28. Came to see me old Monsr Zulichem, Secretary to the Prince of Orange, an excellent Latin poet, now neere 80 yeares of age, a rare Lutinist, with Monsr Oudart.

3 Aug. To London; a concert of excellent musitians, especialy one Mr. Berkenshaw, that rare artist who invented a mathematical way of composure very extraordinary, true as to the exact rules of art, but without much harmonie.

8. Came ye sad and unexpected newes of ye death of Lady Cotton, wife to my brother George, a most excellent lady.

9. Went w^{h} my brother Richard to Wotton, to visite & comforte my disconsolate brother; and on the 13th saw my friend Mr. Charles Howard at Dipden neere Darking.

16. I went to see Sr Wm Ducie's house at Charleton, which he purchas'd of my excellent friend Sr Hen. Newton, now nobly furnish'd.

22. I went from Londoñ to Wotton to assist at the funerall of my sister-in-law, the Lady Cotton, buried in our dormitorie there, she being put up in lead. Dr. Owen made a profitable and pathetic discourse, concluding with an eulogie of that virtuous, pious, and deserving lady. It was a very solemn funerall, with about 50 mourners. I came back next day w^{h} my wife to London.

2 Sept. Came Sr Constantine Hugens, Dr. Zulichem, Sr Robt. Morris, Mr. Oudart, Mr. Carew, and other friends, to spend the day w^{h} us.

5 Oct. To our Society. There was brought a new invented instrument of musiq, being a harpsichord with gut strings, sounding like a concert of viols with an organ, made vocal by a wheele, and a zone of parchment that rubb'd horizontaly against the strings.

6. I heard the anniversary oration in praise of Dr. Harvey, in the Anatomie Theater in the Coll. of Physitians, after which I was invited by Dr. Alston the President to a magnificent feast.

7. I dined at Sr Nich^{s}. Strood's, one of the Masters of Chancery, in

greate S^t. Bartholomews; passing ye evening at White-hall with the Queene, &c.

8. Sr William Curtius, his Ma^tys Resident in Germany, came to visite me; he was a wise and learned gentleman, and, as he told me, scholar to Henry Alstedius the Encyclopædist.

15. Din'd at ye Lo. Chancellors, where was the Duke of Ormond, Earle of Corke, & Bp. of Winchester. After dinner my Lord Chanc^r and his lady carried me in their coach to see their palace* (for he now liv'd at Worcester House in ye Strand) building at the upper end of St. James's Streete, and to project the garden. In the evening I presented him with my booke of Architecture, as before I had don to his Ma^ty and ye Queene Mother. His Lordship caus'd me to stay with him in his bed-chamber, discoursing of severall matters very late, even til he was going into his bed.

17. I went with my Lo. Visct. Cornebury to Cornebury in Oxfordshire, to assist him in the planting of the park, and beare him company, with Mr. Belin and Mr. May, in a coach with 6 horses; din'd at Uxbridge, lay at Wicckam (Wycombe).

18. At Oxford. Went thro' Woodstock, where we beheld the destruction of that royal seate and park by ye late rebels, and ariv'd that evening at Cornebury, an house lately built by the Earle of Denbigh in ye middle of a sweete park, wall'd with a dry wall. The house is of excellent freestone abounding in that part, a stone that is fine, but never sweats or casts any damp; 'tis of ample dimensions, has goodly cellars, the paving of ye hall admirable for its close laying. We design'd an handsom chapell that was yet wanting: as Mr. May had the stables, which indeed are very faire, having set out the walkes in the park and gardens. The lodge is a prety solitude, and the ponds very convenient; the parke well stor'd.

20. Hence we went to see ye famous wells, natural and artificial

* There is a large View of it engraved. The Chancellor in the Continuation of his Life laments the having built it, on account of the great cost, and the unpopularity which its magnificence created. He had little enjoyment of it, as will be seen hereafter.

grotts and fountains, call'd Bushells Wells at Enstone*. This Bushell had ben secretary to my Lo. Verulam. It is an extraordinary solitude. There he had two mummies; a grott where he lay in a hammock like an Indian. Hence we went to Dichley, an ancient seate of the Lees, now Sr Hen. Lee's; it is a low ancient timber-house, with a pretty bowling greene. My Lady gave us an extraordinary dinner. This gentleman's mother was Countesse of Rochester, who was also there, and Sir Walter Saint John. There were some pictures of their ancestors not ill painted; the great grand-father had ben Kn^t^ of ye Garter: there was the picture of a Pope and our Saviour's head. So we return'd to Cornbury.

24. We din'd at Sr Tim. Tyrill's at Shotover. This gent^n^ married the daughter and heyre of Dr. James Usher, Abp. of Armagh, that learned Prelate. There is here in ye grove a fountaine of ye coldest water I ever felt, and very cleere. His plantation of oakes, &c. is very commendable. We went in ye evening to Oxford, lay at Dr. Hide's, Principal of Magdalen Hall, (related to the Lo. Chancellor) brother to ye Lord Ch. Justice and that Sr Hen. Hide who lost his head for his loyalty. We were handsomly entertain'd two dayes. The Vice Chancellor, who with Dr. Fell, Deane of Christ Church, the learned Dr. Barlow, Warden of Queenes, and severall heads of houses, came to visite Lord Cornebury (his father being now Chancellor of the University), and next day invited us all to dinner. I went to visite Mr. Boyle (now here), whom I found with Dr. Wallis and Dr. Ch^r^ Wren in the Tower of the Scholes, with an inverted tube or telescope, observing the discus of the Sunn for ye passing of Mercury that day before it, but the latitude was so great that nothing appeared; so we went to see ye rarities in ye Library, where the keepers shewed me my name among ye benefactors. They have a cabinet of some medails, and pictures of ye muscular parts of man's body. Thence to the new Theater, now building at an exceeding and royal expence by the Lo.

* Bushell published a pamphlet respecting his contrivances here; and in Plott's Oxfordshire is an engraving of the rock, the fountains, &c. belonging to it. See an account of him in the History of Surrey, vol. III. p. 523, and Appendix cxlix.

Abp. of Canterbury [Sheldon], to keepe the Acts in for the future, till now being in St. Mary's church. The foundation had ben newly laied and the whole design'd by that incomparable genius my worthy friend Dr. Chr^r Wren, who shewed me the model, not disdaining my advice in some particulars. Thence to see ye picture on ye wall over ye Altar at All Soules, being the largest piece of fresco painting (or rather in imitation of it, for it is in oil of turpentine) in England, not ill design'd by the hand of one Fuller; yet I feare it will not hold long. It seems too full of nakeds for a chapell.

Thence to New College, and the painting of Magdalen Chapel, which is on blew cloth in *chiaro oscuro*, by one Greenborow, being a *Cœna Domini*, and a *Last Judgment* on the wall by Fuller, as is the other, but somewhat varied.

Next to Wadham, and the Physick Garden, where were two large locust trees, and as many platana, and some rare plants under ye culture of old Bobart*.

26. We came back to Beaconsfield; next day to London, where we dined at the Ld Chancellor's w^h my Lord Bellasis.

27. Being casually in the privy gallery at White-hall, his Ma^ty gave me thanks before divers lords and noblemen for my book of Architecture, and againe for my "Sylva," saying they were the best design'd and usefull for ye matter and subject, ye best printed and design'd (meaning y^e *taille douces* of ye Parallel of Architecture) that he had seene. He then caus'd me to follow him alone to one of ye windows, and ask'd me if I had any paper about me unwritten, and a crayon; I presented him with both, and then laying it on ye window-stool, he with his own hands design'd to me the plot for the future building of White-hall, together with the roomes of state, and other

* Jacob Bobart, a German, was appointed the first keeper of the Physic Garden at Oxford. There is a fine print of him after Loggan by Burghers, dated 1675. Also a small whole length in the frontispiece of Vertumnus, a poem on that garden. In this he is dressed in a long vest, with a beard. One of this family was bred up at College in Oxford, but quitted his studies for the profession of the whip, driving one of the Oxford coaches (his own property) for many years with great credit. In 1813 he broke his leg by an accident; and in 1814, from the respect he had acquired by his good conduct, he was appointed by the University to the place of one of the Esquire Beadles.

particulars. After this he talk'd with me of several matters, and asking my advice of many particulars, in wch I find his Ma^ty^ had an extraordinary talent becoming a magnificent prince.

The same day at Council, there being Commissioners to be made to take care of such Sick and Wounded and Prisoners of war as might be expected upon occasion of a succeeding war and action at sea, war being already declar'd against ye Hollanders, his Ma^ty^ was pleas'd to nominate me to be one, with three other gentlemen, Parliament men, *viz.* Sr Wm Doily Knt. and Bart. Sr Tho. Clifford *, and Bullein Rheymes Esq.; with a salary £.1200 a year amongst us, besides extraordinaries for our care and attention in time of station, each of us being appointed to a particular district, mine falling out to be Kent and Sussex, with power to constitute officers, physitians, chirurgeons, provost marshals, and to dispose of halfe of the hospitals thro' England. After ye Council we kiss'd his Ma^ty's^ hand. At this Council I heard Mr. Solicitor Finch † plead most elegantly for the Merchants trading to the Canaries, praying for a new Charter.

29. Was ye most magnificent triumph by water and land of ye Lord Maior ‡. I din'd at Guild-hall at ye upper table, plac'd next to Sr H. Bennett, Secretary of State, opposite to my Lo. Chancellor and the Duke of Buckingham who sate betweene Monsr Comminges the French Ambass^r^, Lord Treasurer, the Dukes of Ormond and Albemarle, Earl of Manchester Lord Chamberlaine, and the rest of ye great Officers of State. My Lord Maior came twice up to us, first drinking in the golden goblett his Ma^ty's^ health, then the French King's as a compliment to the Ambass^r^; then we return'd my Lo. Maior's health, the trumpets and drums sounding. The cheere was not to be imagined for the plenty and raritie, with an infinite number of persons at the rest of the tables in that ample hall. The feast was said to cost £.1000. I slipt away in ye crowd, and came home late.

31. I was this day 44 yeares of age, for which I returned thanks to Almighty God, begging his mercyfull protection for the yeare to come.

* Since Lord Treasurer of England. † Afterwards Earl of Nottingham, Lord Chancellor.

‡ Sir John Lawrence. The pageant for the day was called "London's Triumph, prepared at the cost of the Haberdashers Company, and written by John Tatham, Gent."

2 Nov. Her Ma^ty the Queene Mother came crosse the gallerie in White-hall to give me thanks for my book of Architecture which I had presented to her, with a compliment that I did by no means deserve.

16. We chose our Treasurer, Clearks, and Messengers, and appointed our seal wch I order'd should be the good Samaritan, with this motto, *Fac similiter.* Painters Hall was lent us to meete in. In the greate roome were divers pictures, some reasonably good, that had ben given to the Company by several of ye Wardens and Masters of the Company.

23. Our Statutes now finished, were read before a full assembly of the Royall Society.

24. His Ma^ty was pleas'd to tell me what the conference was with the Holland Ambassador, which, as after I found, was the heads of the speech he made at the re-convention of the Parliam^t, which now began.

2 Dec. We deliver'd the Privy Council's letters to the Gov^rs of St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark, that a moiety of the house should be reserv'd for such sick and wounded as should from time to time be sent from the Fleete during the war. This being deliver'd at their Court, the President and several Aldermen, Governors of that Hospital, invited us to a greate feaste in Fishmongers Hall.

20. To London our last sitting, taking order for our personal visiting our severall districts. I dined at Capt. Cock's (our Treasurer), w^h that most ingenious gent. Matthew Wren, sonn to the Bp. of Ely, and Mr. Joseph Williamson, since Secretary of State.

22. I went to ye launching of a new ship of two bottomes, invented by Sr Wm Petty, on which were various opinions; his Ma^ty being present gave her the name of The Experiment; so I returned home, where I found Sir Humphry Winch, who spent the day with me.

This yeare I planted the lower grove next the pond at Says Court. It was now exceeding cold and a hard long frosty season, and the Comet was very visible.

28. Some of my poore neighbours dined with me, and others of my tennants, according to my annual costome.

31. Set my affaires in order, gave God praise for his mercys the past yeare, and prepared for the reception of the Holy Sacrament, which I partook of the next day after hearing our Minister on the 4th Galatians 4. 5. of the Mysterie of Our Blessed Saviours Incarnation.

1665. 2 Jan. This day was publish'd by me that part of* "The Mysterie of Jesuitism" translated and collected by me, tho' without my name, containing the Imaginarie Heresy, with 4 letters and other pieces.

4. I went in a coach, it being excessive sharp frost and snow, towards Dover and other parts of Kent, to settle physitians, chirurgeons, agents, marshals and other officers in all the Sea Ports, to take care of

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* In a letter to Lord Cornbury 2 Jan. 1664, Mr. Evelyn says, "I came to present yr Lordship with yr owne booke [in the margin is written, 'The other part of the Mystery of Jesuitism translated and publish'd by me']: I left it with my Lord yr father, because I would not suffer it to be publiq till he had first seene it, who, on yr Lps score, has so just a title to it. The particulars wch you will find added after the 4th letter are extracted out of severall curious papers and passages lying by me, which for being very apposite to ye controversy, I thought fit to annex, in danger otherwise to have never ben produced."—In another letter to Lord Cornbury, 9 Feb. 1664, Mr. Evelyn says he undertook the Translation by command of his Lordship and of his father the Lord Chancellor (see vol. II. p. 142.)

The Authors of the "Biographia Britannica" speak of "The Mystery of Jesuitisme" as one volume; but in the library at Wotton there are three, in duodecimo, with the following titles and contents: the second in order is that translated by Mr. Evelyn.

1. Les Provinciales, or, The Mystery of Jesuitisme, discovered in certain Letters written upon occasion of the present difference at Sorbonne between the Jansenists and the Molinists, displaying the pernicious Maxims of the late Casuists. The second edition corrected, with large additionals. *Sicut Serpentes.* London: Printed for Richard Royston, and are to be sold by Robert Clavell at the Stag's Head near St. Gregorie's Church in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1658.—pp. 360. Additionals, pp. 147. At the end are the names of some of the most eminent Casuists.

2. Μυστήριον τῆς Ἀνομίας. That is, Another Part of the Mystery of Jesuitism; or the new Heresie of the Jesuites, publickly maintained at Paris, in the College of Clermont, the xii of December MDCLXI. declared to all the Bishops of France. According to the copy printed at Paris. Together with the Imaginary Heresie, in three Letters, with divers other particulars relating to the abominable Mysterie. Never before published in English. London: Printed by James Flesher, for Richard Royston, bookseller to his most sacred Majesty, 1664.—3 letters, pp. 206. Copy of a Letter from the revd Father Valerian, a Capuchin, to Pope Alexr 7th, pp. 207—239. The sense of the French Church, pp. 240—254.

3. The Moral Practice of the Jesuits demonstrated by many remarkable histories of their actions in all parts of the world. Collected either from books of the greatest authority, or most certain and unquestionable records and memorials. By the Doctors of the Sorbonne. Faithfully translated into English (by Dr. Tongue; see hereafter, under 1678, Oct, 1.) London: Printed for Simon Miller at the Star at the West end of St. Paul's, 1670.

such as should be set on shore, wounded, sick, or prisoners, in pursuance of our Commission reaching from the North Foreland in Kent to Portsmouth in Hampshire. The rest of ye Ports in England were allotted to ye other Commissrs. That evening I came to Rochester, where I deliver'd the Privy Council's letter to the Maior to receive orders from me.

5. I ariv'd at Canterbury, and went to the Cathedral, exceedingly well repair'd since his Matys returne.

6. To Dover, where Col. Stroode Lieut of the Castle, having receiv'd the letter I brought him from the Duke of Albemarle, made me lodge in it, and I was splendidly treated, assisting me from place to place. Here I settled my first Deputy. The Maior and Officers of the Costomes were very civil to me.—9. To Deal.—10. To Sandwich, a pretty towne, about 2 miles from the sea. The Maior and Officers of the Costomes were very diligent to serve me. I visited the Forts in ye way, and return'd that night to Canterbury.

11. To Rochester, when I tooke order to settle officers at Chatham. —12. To Gravesend, and return'd home. A cold, busy, but not unpleasant journey.

25. This night being at White-hall, his Maty came to me standing in the withdrawing roome, and gave me thanks for publishing "The Mysterie of Jesuitism," which he said he had carried two days in his pocket, read it, and encourag'd me; at which I did not a little wonder; I suppose Sr Robt Morray had given it to him.

27. Dined at the Lord Chancellor's, who caus'd me after dinner to sit 2 or 3 houres alone with him in his bed-chamber.

2 Feb. I saw a masq perform'd at Court by 6 gentlemen and 6 ladys, surprizing his Maty, it being Candlemas-day.

8. Ash-Wednesday. I visited our prisoners at Chelsey Colledge, and to examine how the Martial and Suttlers behav'd. These were prisoners taken in the warr; they only complain'd that their bread was too fine. I dined at Sr Henry Herbert's, Master of the Revells.

9. Din'd at my Lo. Treasurers the Earle of Southampton, in Blomesbury, where he was building a noble Square or Piazza*, a little

* The Italians do not mean what we do by Piazza; they only mean a Square.

Towne; his owne house stands too low, some noble roomes, a pretty cedar chapell, a naked garden to the North, but good aire*. I had much discourse with his Lordship, whom I found to be a person of extraordinary parts, but *valetudinarie*.—I went to St. James's Parke, where I saw various animals, and examined the throate of y^e^ *Onocratylus* or Pelican, a fowle betweene a Stork and a Swan; a melancholy water-fowl brought from Astracan by the Russian Ambassador, it was diverting to see how he would toss up and turn a flat fish, plaice or flounder, to get it right into its gullet at its lower beak, wch being filmy, stretches to a prodigious wideness when it devours a great fish. Here was also a small water-fowl not bigger than a more-hen, that went almost quite erect like the penguin of America; it would eate as much fish as its whole body weigh'd, I never saw so unsatiable a devourer, yet ye body did not appear to swell the bigger. The Solan geese here also are greate devourers, and are said soon to exhaust all ye fish in a pond. Here was a curious sort of poultry not much exceeding the size of a tame pidgeon, with legs so short as their crops seem'd to touch ye earth; a milk-white raven; a stork which was a rarity at this season, seeing he was loose and could flie loftily; two Balearian cranes, one of which having had one of his leggs broken and cut off above the knee, had a wooden or boxen leg and thigh, with a joynt so accurately made that ye creature could walke and use it as well as if it had ben natural; it was made by a souldier. The Parke was at this time stored with numerous flocks of severall sorts of ordinary and extraordinary wild fowle, breeding about the Decoy, which for being neere so greate a Citty, and among such a concourse of souldiers and people, is a singular and diverting thing. There were also deere of severall countries, white; spotted like leopards; antelopes; an elk; red deere; roebucks; staggs; Guinea goates; Arabian sheepe, &c. There were withy-potts or nests for the wild fowle to lay their eggs in, a little above ye surface of ye water.

* Afterwards it was called Bedford House, being the town residence for many years of the Russell family, but was pulled down in 1800, and on the site and the adjoining fields were erected many handsome houses, now called Russell Square, Bedford Place, Russell Place, &c.

23 Feb. I was invited to a greate feast at Mr. Rich's (a relation of my wife's, now Reader at Lincoln's Inn); where was the Duke of Monmouth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops of London and Winchester, the Speaker of the House of Commons, divers of the Judges, and severall other greate men.

24. Dr. Fell, Canon of Christ Church, preach'd before the King on 15 Romans 2, a very formal discourse, and in blank verse, according to his manner; however he is a good man.—Mr. Philips, preceptor to my sonn, went to be with the Earle of Pembroke's sonn, my Lord Herbert.

2 March. I went with his Ma^ty^ into the lobbie behind the House of Lords, where I saw the King and rest of the Lords robe themselves, and got into the Lords House in a corner neere the woolsack on wch the Lord Chancellor sits next below the Throne; the King sate in all the regalia, the crown imperial on his head, the scepter and globe, &c. The D. of Albemarle bare the sword, the D. of Ormond the cap of dignity. The rest of the Lords robed and in their places:—a most splendid and august convention. Then came the Speaker and the House of Commons, and at the barr made a speech, and afterwards presented severall bills, a nod onely passing them, the Cleark saying *Le Roy le veult*, as to public bills; as to private; *Soit faite comme il est desirè*. Then his. Ma^ty^ made a handsome but short speech, commanding my Lo. Privy Seale to prorogue the Parliam^t^, which he did, the Chancellor being ill and absent. I had not before seene this ceremony.

9. I went to receive the poore creatures that were saved out of the London fregat, blowne up by accident with above 200 men.

29 Mar. Went to Goring House *, now Mr. Secretary Bennett's, ill built, but the place capable of being made a pretty villa. His Ma^ty^ was now finishing the Decoy in the Parke.

2 April. Took order about some prisoners sent from Capt. Allen's ship, taken in the Solomon, *viz.* the brave man who defended her so gallantly.

* On the site whereof Arlington Street is now built. There is a small print of this house.

5. Was a day of public humiliation and for successe of this terrible warr, begun doubtlesse at secret instigation of the French to weaken the States and Protestant interest. Prodigious preparations on both sides.

6. In the afternoone I saw acted "Mustapha," a tragedy written by ye Earle of Orrery.

11. To London, being now left the onely Commiss^r^ to take all necessary orders how to exchange, remove, and keepe prisoners, dispose of hospitalls, &c. the rest of the Commiss^rs^ being gone to their severall districts, in expectation of a suddaine engagement.

19. Invited to a greate dinner at the Trinity House, where I had businesse with the Commiss^rs^ of the Navy, and to receive the second £5,000. imprest for the service of the sick and wounded prisoners.

20. To White-hall to ye King, who called me into his bed chamber as he was dressing, to whom I shew'd the letter written to me from the Duke of York from the fleete, giving me notice of Young Evertson, and some other considerable commanders newly taken in fight with ye Dartmouth and Diamond frigats*, whom he had sent me as prisoners at war; I went to know of his Ma^ty^ how he would have me treate them,

* In the publication of the Life of King James II. from his own papers (printed 1816), after describing the engagement with the Dutch fleet in 1665, he says, "Soon after this three Dutch men of war, which had been seen for some time to the windward of us, and were looking out for their own fleet, bore down in order to join it. One of them was a great ship of above 80 guns, which for want of some repairs had been left by Cornelius Evertson to his son, with orders to follow; the other two were not of the same force. These being to windward, endeavoured to join the head of their fleet, and young Evertson being a mettled man, and having a mind to distinguish himself, resolved to run on board of the Plimouth, hoping to bear her down; but Sir Tho. Allen, perceiving by Evertson's working what his design was, brought his ship to at once, so that Evertson miss'd his aim, tho' he came so near it that the yard-arms of both ships touch'd, and they gave each other a severe broadside in passing; after which Evertson and the other two made a shift to join their own fleet, and Sir Tho. Allen continued leading as before, till finding himself extreamly disabled, he was forced to ly by." P. 410.—"After this engagement was over, and the Dutch had retired to their own ports, the Duke of York had brought back the English fleet to the Nore, he took care to have his Scouts abroad, two of which, the Diamond Capt. Golding, and the Yarmouth Capt. Ayliffe, being sent to observe the motions of the Dutch, they happened to meet with two of the Direction Ships (as the Dutch call them) of 40 od guns each; the biggest was commanded by one Masters, the other by young Cornelius Evertson, who, tho' ours were of somewhat better force, did not avoid engaging. At the first broadside Golding was slain; but his Lieut. Davis managed the fight so well, as did the Capt. of the Yarmouth, that after some hours dispute, both the Dutch ships were taken, tho' bravely defended, for they lost many men and were very much

'when he commanded me to bring the young Captain to him, and to take the word of the Dutch Ambass^r (who yet remained here) for the other, that he should render himself to me whenever I called on him, and not stir without leave. Upon wch I desir'd more guards, the prison being Chelsey House. I went also to Lord Arlington (the Secretary Bennett lately made a Lord) about other businesse. Dined at my Lord Chancellor's, none with him but Sr Sackville Crowe, formerly Ambass^r at Constantinople; we were very chearfull and merry.

24. I presented young Capt. Evertson (eldest son of Cornelius, Vice Admiral of Zealand, and nephew of John, now Admiral, a most valiant person) to his Ma^ty in his bed chamber; the King gave him his hand to kisse, and restored him his liberty; ask'd many questions concerning the fight (it being ye first bloud drawne), his Ma^ty remembering the many civilities he had formerly receiv'd from his relations abroad, who had now so much interest in that considerable Province. Then I was commanded to go with him to the Holland Ambass^r, where he was to stay for his passport, and I was to give him 50 pieces in broad gold. Next day I had the Ambass^rs parole for ye other Captain, taken in Capt. Allen's fight before Cales. I gave the King an account of what I had don, and afterwards ask'd ye same favour for another Captain, which his Ma^ty gave me.

28 April. I went to Tunbridge, to see a solemn exercise at the free schoole there*:

Having taken orders with my martial about my prisoners, and with the doctor and chirurgeon to attend the wounded, enemies and of our

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disabled before they struck. The Duke gave young Evertson his liberty†, in consideration of his father Cornelius, who had performed severall services for the K. before his Restoration; and his R. H. freed also the other Captain for having defended himself so well, and made Lieut. Davis Capt. of one of those prizes." P. 419.

* There is an annual visitation by the Skinners Company of London, who are the patrons, at which verses, themes, &c. are spoken before them by the senior scholars. The Rev. Vicesimus Knox (D.D. by an American University), author of many works, some of which have gone through many editions, was master from about 1779 to 1812, when he resigned in favour of his son the Rev. Thomas Knox.

† i. e. he recommended it to the King to do so, for we see he was sent to London and presented to the King by Mr. Evelyn.

owne men, I went to London again and visited my charge, severall with legs and arms off; miserable objects God knows!

16 May. To London to consider of the poore orphans and widows made by this bloudy beginning, and whose husbands and relations perished in the London fregat, of which there were 50 widows, and 45 of them with child.

26. To treat with ye Holland Ambass^r^ at Chelsey for release of divers prisoners of warr in Holland on exchange here. After dinner being call'd into the Council Chamber at White-hall, I gave his Ma^ty^ an account of what I had don, informing him of ye vast charge upon us, now amounting to no less than £.1000 weekely.

29. I went with my little boy to visite my district in Kent, to make up accompts with my officers. Visited the Governor at Dover Castle, where were some of my prisoners.

3 June. In my return went to Graves-end; the Fleets being just now engaged, gave special orders for my officers to be ready to receive the wounded and prisoners.

5. To London, to speak with his Ma^ty^ and the Duke of Albemarle for horse and foote guards for the prisoners at warr, committed more particularly to my charge by a Commission apart.

8. I went againe to his Grace, thence to the Council, and mov'd for another privy seale for £.20,000, and that I might have the disposal of ye Savoy Hospital for the sick and wounded, all which was granted. Hence to ye Royal Society to refreshe among ye Philosophers.

Came newes of his Highness's victory, which indeede might have ben a compleate one, and at once ended ye warr, had it ben pursued, but the cowardice of some, or treachery, or both, frustrated that. We had however bonfires, bells and rejoicing in the Citty. Next day the 9th I had instant orders to repaire to the Downes, so as I got to Rochester this evening. Next day I lay at Deale, where I found all in readinesse; but the Fleete being hindred by contrary winds I came away on the 12th and went to Dover, and returned to Deale; and on the 13th hearing the Fleete was at Solebay, I went homeward, and lay at Chatham, and the 14th I got home. On the 15th came the eldest son of the present Secretary of State to the French King, with much other

companie, to dine with me. After dinner I went with him to London, to speake to my Lord Gen[l] for more guards, and gave his Ma[ty] an account of my journey to the Coasts under my inspection. I also waited on his R: Highnesse, now come triumphant from the Fleete, gotten in to repaire. See the whole history of this conflict in my History of y[e] Dutch Warr.

20. To London, and represented the state of the sick and wounded to his Ma[ty] in Council, for want of mony; he order'd I should apply to my Lo. Treass[r] and Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon what funds to raise the mony promised. We also presented to his Ma[ty] divers expedients for retrenchment of y[e] charge.

This evening making my court to the Duke, I spake to Mons[r]. Cominges the French Ambass[r], and his Highness granted me six prisoners, Emdeners, who were desirous to go to the Barbados with a merchant.

22. We waited on the Chanc[r] of the Excheq[r], and got an order of Council for our mony to be paid to the Treasurer of the Navy for our Receivers.

23. I din'd with S[r] Rob[t] Paston since Earle of Yarmouth, and saw the Duke of Verneuille base brother to the Q. Mother, a handsom old man, a greate hunter.

The Duke of Yorke told us that when they were in fight, his dog sought out absolutely y[e] very securest place in all y[e] vessell. — In the afternoone I saw the pompous reception and audience of El Conde de Molino, the Spanish Ambass[r], in the Banquetting-house, both their Ma[ties] sitting together under the canopy of state.

30. To Chatham; and 1 July, to the Fleete with Lord Sandwich, now Admiral, with whom I went in a pinnace to the Buoy of the Nore, where the whole Fleete rod at anker; went on board the Prince of 90 brasse ordnance, happly the best ship in the world both for building and sailing; she had 700 men. They made a greate huzza or shout at our approch 3 times. Here we dined with many noblemen, gentlemen and volunteers, served in plate and excellent meate of all sorts. After dinner came his Majestie, the Duke, and Prince Rupert. Here I saw the King knight Capt. Custance for behaving so bravely in the late

fight. It was surprizing to behold the good order, decency, and plenty of all things in a vessell so full of men. The ship received an hundred cannon shot in her body. Then I went on board the Charles, to which, after a gun was shot off, came all the Flag-officers to his Maty, who there held a Generall Council, wch determin'd that his R. Highnesse should adventure himselfe no more this Summer. I came away late, having seene the most glorious Fleete that ever spread sailes. We returned in his Maty's yacht with my Lo. Sandwich and Mr. Vice-Chamberlaine, landing at Chatham on Sunday morning.

5 July. I tooke order for 150 men who had ben recovered of their wounds, to be carried on-board the Clove Tree, Carolus Quintus, and Zeland, ships that had ben taken by us in the fight; and so re-turn'd home.

7. To London, to Sr Wm Coventrie; and so to Sion, where his Maty sat at Council during the contagion; when buisines was over, I viewed that seate belonging to ye Earle of Northumberland, built out of an old Nunnerie, of stone, and faire enough, but more celebrated for the garden than it deserves; yet there is excellent wall-fruit, and a pretty fountaine; nothing else extraordinarie.

9. I went to Hampton Court, where now the whole Court was, to solicite for mony; to carry intercepted letters; confer again with Sr Wm Coventrie, the Duke's secretary; and so home, having din'd with Mr. Secretary Morice.

16 July. There died of the plague in London this weeke 1100, and in the weeke following above 2000. 2 houses were shut up in our parish.

2 Aug. A solemn fast thro' England to deprecate God's displeasure against the land by pestilence and war; our Dr. preaching on 26 Levit: 41; 42. that the meanes to obtaine remission of punishment was not to repine at it, but humbly submit to it.

3. Came his Grace the Duke of Albemarle, L. Generall of all his Majesties Forces, to visite me, and carried me to dine with him.

4. I went to Wotton to carry my sonn and his tutor Mr. Bohun, Fellow of New Coll. (recommended to me by Dr. Wilkins and the Prest of New Coll. Oxfd), for feare of the pestilence, still increasing in

London and its environs. On my returne I call'd at Durdans, where I found Dr. Wilkins, Sr Wm Petty, and Mr. Hooke, contriving chariots, new rigging for ships, a wheele for one to run races in, and other mechanical inventions; perhaps three such persons together were not to be found elsewhere in Europe, for parts and ingenuity.

8. I waited on the D. of Albemarle, who was resolved to stay at the Cock-pit in St. James's Parke. Died this week in London 4000.

15. There perished this week 5000.

28. The contagion still increasing and growing now all about us, I sent my wife and whole family (two or three necessary servants excepted) to my brother's at Wotton, being resolved to stay at my house myselfe and to looke after my charge, trusting in the providence and goodnesse of God.

5 Sept. To Chatham to inspect my charge, with 900*l.* in my coach.

7. Came home, there perishing neere 10,000 poore creatures weekly; however I went all along the Citty and suburbs from Kent Streete to St. James's, a dismal passage, and dangerous to see so many coffines expos'd in the streetes, now thin of people; the shops shut up, and all in mourneful silence, as not knowing whose turn might be next. I went to ye Duke of Albemarle for a pest-ship, to wait on our infected men, who were not a few.

14. I went to Wotton; and on 16 Sept. to visite old Secretary Nicholas, being now at his new purchase of West Horsley, once mortgag'd to me by Lord Visc^t^ Montagu: a pretty drie seate on ye Downe. Return'd to Wotton.

17. Receiving a letter from Lord Sandwich of a defeate given to ye Dutch, I was forc'd to travell all Sunday. I was exceedingly perplex'd to find that neere 3000 prisoners were sent to me to dispose of, being more than I had places fit to receive and guard.

25. My Lord Adm^l^ being come from ye fleete to Greenewich, I went thence with him to ye Cock-pit to consult with the Duke of Albemarle. I was peremptory that unlesse we had 10,000*l.* immediately, the prisoners would starve, and 'twas propos'd it should be rais'd out of the E. India prizes now taken by Lord Sandwich. They being but two of ye Commission, and so not impower'd to determine,

sent an expresse to his Ma^ty and Councíl to know what they should do. In the meane time I had 5 vessells with competent guards to keepe the prisoners in for ye present, to be placed as I should think best. After dinner (wch was at the Gen^ls) I went over to visite his Grace the A. Bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth.

28. To the Generall againe, to acquaint him of ye deplorable state of our men for want of provisions; return'd with orders.

29. To Erith to quicken ye sale of ye prizes lying there, with order to ye Commiss^r who lay on board till they should be dispos'd of, 5000*l.* being proportion'd for my quarter. Then I deliver'd ye Dutch Vice Adm^l, who was my prisoner, to Mr. Lo.* of ye Marshalsea, he giving me bond in 500*l.* to produce him at my call. I exceedingly pittied this brave unhappy person, who had lost with these prizes 40,000*l.* after 20 yeares negotiation [trading] in ye East Indies. I din'd in one of these vessells, of 1200 tonns, full of riches.

1 October. This afternoone, whilst at evening prayers, tidings were brought me of the birth of a daughter at Wotton, after six sonns, in the same chamber I had first tooke breath in, and at the first day of that moneth, as I was on the last, 45 yeares before. — 4. The monthly fast.

11. To London, and went thro' ye whole Citty, having occasion to alight out of the coach in severall places about buisinesse of mony, when I was environ'd with multitudes of poore pestiferous creatures begging almes; the shops universaly shut up, a dreadful prospect! I din'd with my Lo. General; was to receive 10,000*l.* and had guards to convey both myselfe and it, and so returned home, thro' God's infinite mercy.

17. I went to Gravesend, next day to Chatham, thence to Maidstone, in order to ye march of 500 prisoners to Leeds Castle, which I had hired of Lord Culpeper. I was earnestly desir'd by the learned Sir Roger Twisden and Deputy Lieutenants to spare Maidstone from quartering any of my sick flock. Here Sr Edw. Brett sent me some horse to bring up ye reare. This country from Rochester to Maidstone by the Medway and the Downs is very agreeable for the prospect.

* Mr. Lowman.

21. I came from Gravesend, where Sir Jo. Griffith, the Governor of the Fort, entertain'd me very handsomely.

31. I was this day 45 yeares of age, wonderfully preserved, for which I blessed God for his infinite goodness towards me.

23 Nov. Went home, the contagion having now decreas'd considerably.

27. The Duke of Albemarle was going to Oxford, where both Court and Parliament had ben most part of ye summer. There was no small suspicion of my Lord Sandwich having permitted divers commanders who were at ye taking of ye East India prizes, to break bulk and take to themselves jewels, silkes, &c.: tho' I believe some whom I could name fill'd their pockets, my Lo. Sandwich himselfe had the least share. However he underwent the blame, and it created him enemies, and prepossess'd ye Lo. Gen^ll^, for he spake to me of it with much zeale and concerne, and I believe laid load enough on Lo. Sandwich at Oxford.

8 Dec. To my Lo. of Albemarle (now return'd from Oxon), who was declar'd Generall at Sea, to ye no small mortification of that excellent person the Earle of Sandwich, whom ye Duke of Albemarle not onely suspected faulty about ye prizes, but less valiant; himselfe imagining how easie a thing it were to confound the Hollanders, as well now as heretofore he fought against them upon a more disloyal interest.

25. Kept Christmas with my hospitable brother at Wotton.

30. To Woodcott, when I supp'd at my Lady Mordaunt's at Ashted, where was a roome hung with *Pintado*, full of figures greate and small, prettily representing sundry trades and occupations of ye Indians, with their habits; here supp'd also Dr. Duke, a learned and facetious gentleman.

31. Now blessed be God for his extraordinary mercies and preservation of me this yeare, when thousands and ten thousands perish'd and were swept away on each side of me, there dying in our parish this yeare 406 of ye pestilence!

1666. 3 Jan. I supp'd in None-such House*, whither the office of

* There is a small print of it in Speed's Map of Surrey, but a larger one by Hoefnagle in a Collection of Views, some in England, but chiefly abroad. Mr. Lysons has copied this in his "Environs of Lundon," edit. 1796, vol. I. p. 153.

the Exchequer was transferr'd during the plague, at my good friend's Mr. Packer's, and tooke an exact view of ye plaster statues and bass relievos inserted 'twixt the timbers and punchions of the outside walles of the Court; which must needs have ben the work of some celebrated Italian. I much admir'd how it had lasted so well and intire since the time of Hen. VIII. expos'd as they are to the aire; and pitty it is they are not taken out and preserv'd in some drie place; a gallerie would become them. There are some mezzo-relievos as big as the life, the storie is of ye Heathen Gods, emblems, compartments, &c. The Palace consists of two courts, of which the first is of stone, castle-like, by ye Lo. Lumlies (of whom 'twas purchas'd), ye other of timber, a Gotiq fabric, but these walls incomparably beautified. I observ'd that the appearing timber punchions, entrelices, &c. were all so cover'd with scales of slate, that it seem'd carv'd in the wood and painted, ye slate fastened on the timber in pretty figures, that has, like a coate of armour, preserv'd it from rotting. There stand in the garden two handsome stone pyramids, and the avenue planted with rows of faire elmes, but the rest of these goodly trees, both of this and of Worcester Park adjoyning, were fell'd by those destructive and avaricious rebells in the late warr, wch defac'd one of the stateliest seates his Ma^ty^ had.

12. After much, and indeede extraordinary mirth and cheere, all my brothers, our wives and children being together, and after much sorrow and trouble during this Contagion, which seperated our families as well as others, I returned to my house, but my wife went back to Wotton, I not as yet willing to adventure her, the Contagion, tho' exceedingly abated, not as yet wholy extinguished amongst us.

29. I went to waite on his Ma^ty^, now return'd from Oxford to Hampton Court, where the Duke of Albemarle presented me to him; he ran towards me, and in a most gracious manner gave me his hand to kisse, with many thanks for my care and faithfullnesse in his service in a time of such greate danger, when every body fled their employments; he told me he was much oblig'd to me, and said he was severall times concern'd for me, and the peril I underwent, and did receive my service most acceptably (tho' in truth I did but my duty, and O that I had perform'd it as I ought!) After this his Ma^ty^ was pleas'd to talke with

me alone, neere an houre, of severall particulars of my employment, and order'd me to attend him againe on the Thursday following at Whitehall. Then the Duke came towards me, and embrac'd me with much kindnesse, telling me if he had thought my danger would have ben so greate, he would not have suffer'd his Ma^ty^ to employ me in that station. Then came to salute me my Lo. of St. Albans, Lord Arlington, Sir W^m^. Coventrie, and severall greate persons; after which I got home, not being very well in health.

The Court was now in deepe mourning for the French Queene Mother.

2 Feb. To London, his Ma^ty^ now come to White-hall, where I heard and saw my Lo. Maior (and breathren) make his speech of welcome, and the two Sheriffs were knighted.

6. My wife and family return'd to me from the country, where they had ben since August, by reason of the contagion, now almost universally ceasing. Blessed be God for his infinite mercy in preserving us! I having gone thro' so much danger, and lost so many of my poore officers, escaping still myselfe, that I might live to recount and magnifie his goodnesse to me.

8. I had another gracious reception by his Ma^ty^ who call'd me into his bed-chamber, to lay before and describe to him my project of an Infirmarie, wch I read to him, who with greate approbation, recommended it to his R. Highnesse.

20 Feb. To ye Commiss^rs^ of the Navy, who having seene the project of the Infirmary, encourag'd the work, and were very earnest it should be set about immediately; but I saw no mony, tho' a very moderate expense would have saved thousands to his Ma^ty^, and ben much more commodious for the cure and quartering our sick and wounded, than the dispersing them into private houses, where many more chirurgeons and attendants were necessary, and ye people tempted to debaucherie.

21: Went to my Lo. Treas^rs^ for an assignm^t^ of £.40,000 upon ye two last quarters for support of the next yeares charge. Next day to Duke of Albemarle and Secretary of State, to desire them to propose it to ye Council.

1 Mar. To London, and presented his Ma^ty^ my book intituled

"The pernicious Consequences of the new Heresy of the Jesuits against Kings and States." *

7. Dr. Sandcroft, since Abp. of Canterbury, preached before the King about the identity and immutability of God, on 102 Psalm 27.

13. To Chatham, to view a place design'd for an Infirmarie.

15. My charge now amounted to neere £.7000 [weekly.]

22. The Royal Society re-assembled after the dispersion from the contagion.

24. Sent £.2000 to Chatham.

1 Aprill. To London, to consult about ordering the natural rarities belonging to ye repositorie of the Royall Society; referred to a Committee.

10. Visited S^r^ W^m^ D'Oylie, surprized with a fit of apoplexie, and in extreame danger.

11. Dr. Bathurst preached before the King, from "I say unto you all, watch"—a seasonable and most excellent discourse. When his Ma^ty^ came from Chapell, he call'd to me in the Lobby, and told me he must now have me sworn for a Justice of Peace (having long since made me of the Commission), wch I declin'd as inconsistent with the other service I was engag'd in, and humbly desired to be excused. After dinner, waiting on him, I gave him the first notice of the Spaniards referring the umpirage of the Peace 'twixt them and Portugal to the French King, which came to me in a letter from France before ye Secretaries of State had any newes of it. After this his Majestie againe asked me if I had found out any able person about our parts that might supply my place of Justice of Peace (the office in the world I had most industriously avoided, in reguard of the perpetual trouble thereoff in these numerous parishes), on w^h^ I nominated one, whom the King commanded me to give immediate notice of to my Ld Chancellor, and I should be excus'd; for which I rendered his Matie many thanks.—From thence I went to the R^l^ Society, where I was chosen by 27 voices to be one of their Council for ye ensuing yeare; but upon my earnest

* See before, p. 371.

suite, in respect of my other affaires, I got to be excused; — and so home.

15. Our parish was now more infected with the plague than ever, and so was all the countrie about, tho' almost quite ceas'd at London.

24. To London about our Mint Commission, and sat in the inner Court of Wards.

8 May. To Queenboro', where finding the Richmond Fregate, I sail'd to the Buoy of the Nore to my Lo. Genl. and Prince Rupert, where was the rendezvous of the most glorious Fleet in the world, now preparing to meete ye Hollander. — Went to visite my Co. Hales at a sweetly-water'd place at Chilston neere Bockton. The next morning to Leedes Castle, once a famous hold, now hired by me of my Lord Culpeper for a prison. Here I flowed the drie moate, made a new drawbridge, brought spring water into the court of ye castle to an old fountaine, and tooke order for ye repaires.

22. Waited on my Lo. Chancellor at his new palace; and Lord Berkeley's built next to it.

24. Dined with Lord Cornbury, now made L. Chamberlaine to the Queene; who kept a very honorable table.

1 June. Being in my garden at 6 o'clock in the evening, and hearing ye greate gunns go thick off, I tooke horse, and rod that night to Rochester; thence next day towards ye Downes and sea-coast, but meeting ye Lieut^t of the Hampshire Fregat, who told me what pass'd, or rather what had not pass'd, I return'd to London, there being no noise or appearance at Deale, or on that coast, of any engagement. Recounting this to his Ma^ty, whom I found at St. James's Park, impatiently expecting, and knowing that Prince Rupert was loose about 3 at St. Helen's Point at N. of the Isle of Wight, it greately rejoic'd him; but he was astonish'd when I assur'd him they heard nothing of the guns in ye Downs, nor did the Lieutenant, who landed there by 5 that morning.

3 June. Whitsunday. After sermon came newes that the Duke of Albemarle was still in fight, and had ben all Saturday, and that Capt. Harman's ship (the Henrie) was like to be burnt. Then a letter from Mr. Bertie that Pr. Rupert was come up with his squadron (according

to my former advice of his being loose and in the way), and put new courage into our Fleete, now in a manner yielding ground, so that now we were chasing the chasers; that the Duke of Albemarle was slightly wounded, and ye rest still in greate danger. So having ben much wearied with my journey, I slipp'd home, the gunns still roaring very fiercely.

5. I went this morning to London, where came severall particulars of the fight.

6. Came Sr Dan. Harvey from the Genll, and related the dreadfull encounter, on which his Maty commanded me to dispatch an extraordinary physitian and more chirurgeons. 'Twas on the solemn fast day when ye newes came; his Maty being in the Chapell, made a suddaine stop to heare the relation, which being with much advantage on our side, his Maty commanded that publiq thanks should immediately be given as for a victory. The Deane of the Chapell going down to give notice of it to the other Deane officiating; and notice was likewise sent to St. Paul's and Westminster Abby.* But this was no sooner over, than newes came that our losse was very greate both in ships and men; that the Prince fregat was burnt, and as noble a vessell of 90 brass guns lost, and ye taking of Sr Geo. Ayscue, and exceeding shattering of both Fleetes, so as both being obstinate, both parted rather for want of ammunition and tackle than courage, our Genll retreating like a lyon; which exceedingly abated of our former joy. There was however order given for bonfires and bells; but God knows it was rather a deliverance than a triumph. So much it pleas'd God to humble our late over-confidence that nothing could withstand ye Duke of Albemarle, who in good truth made too forward a reckoning of his successe now, because he had once beaten the Dutch in another quarrell, and being ambitious to outdo the Earle of Sandwich, whom he had prejudicated as deficient in courage.

7. I sent more chirurgeons, linnen, medicaments, &c. to the severall ports in my district.

8. Dined with me Sir Alexr Fraser, prime physitian to his Matie; afterwards went on board his Maty's pleasure-boate, when I saw the London Frigate launch'd, a most stately ship, built by ye Citty to

supply that which was burnt by accident some time since. The King, Lord Maior and Sheriffs, being there with a greate banquet.

11. Trinity Monday, after a sermon, applied to the re-meeting of the Corporation of the Trinity House after the late raging and wasting pestilence: I dined with them in their new roome in Deptford, the first time since it was rebuilt.

15. I went to Chatham.—16. In the Jemmy Yacht (an incomparable sailer) to sea, ariv'd by noone at the Fleete at the Buoy of the Nore, din'd with Prince Rupert and the Generall.

17. Came his Ma^ty, the Duke, and many Noblemen. After Council we went to prayers. My business being dispatch'd, I return'd to Chatham, having layne but one night in the Royal Charles; we had a tempestuous sea. I went on shore at Sheerness, where they were building an arsenal for the Fleete, and designing a royal fort with a receptacle for greate ships to ride at anker; but here I beheld ye sad spectacle, more than halfe that gallant bulwark of the kingdom miserably shatter'd, hardly a vessell intire, but appearing rather so many wrecks and hulls, so cruely had the Dutch mangl'd us. The losse of ye Prince, that gallant vessell, had ben a loss to be universally deplor'd, none knowing for what reason we first engag'd in this ungrateful warr; we lost besides 9 or 10 more, and neere 600 men slaine and 1100 wounded, 2000 prisoners; to ballance which perhaps we might destroy 18 or 20 of the enemies ships, and 7 or 800 poore men.

18. Weary of this sad sight I return'd home.

2 July. Came S^r Jo. Duncomb* and Mr. Thos Chichley, both Privy Councillors and Commiss^rs of his Ma^ty's Ordnance, to visite me and let me know that his Ma^ty had in Council nominated me to be one of the Commiss^rs for regulating ye farming and making of Saltpetre thro' the whole kingdom, and that we were to sit in ye Tower the next day. When they were gone, came to see me Sir Jo. Cotton, heir to the

* "Duncomb was a judicious man, but very haughty, and apt to raise enemies against himself. He was an able Parliament man, but could not go into all the designs of the Court, for he had a sense of religion, and a zeal for the liberty of his country." Bp. Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, folio, vol. I. p. 265.

famous Antiquary Sir Robt Cotton: a pretended greate Grecian, but had by no meanes the parts or genius of his grandfather.

3. I went to sit with ye Commissrs at the Tower, where our Commission being read, we made some progresse in businesse, our Secretary being Sir Geo. Wharton, that famous mathematician who writ ye yearly Almanac during his Matys troubles. Thence to Painters Hall, to our other Commission, and dined at my Lo. Maior's.

4. The solemn Fast Day. Dr Megot preach'd an excellent discourse before the King on the terrors of God's judgements. After sermon I waited on my Ld Abp. of Canterbury and Bp. of Winchester, where the Deane of Westmr spake to me about putting into my hands the disposal of £.50 which the charitable people at Oxford had sent to be distributed among the sick and wounded seamen since ye battaile. Hence I went to ye Lord Chancellor's, to joy him of his Royal Highnesses second sonne now born at St. James's, and to desire ye use of ye Star Chamber for our Commissrs to meete in, Painters Hall not being so convenient.

12 July. We sat ye first time in ye Star Chamber. There was now added to our Commission Sir Geo. Downing (one that had ben a great . . . against his Maty but now insinuated into his favour, and from a pedagogue and fanatic preacher not worth a groate had become excessive rich) to inspect the hospitals and treate about prisons.

14. Sat at the Tower with Sir J. Duncomb and Lo. Berkeley to signe deputations for undertakers to furnish their proportions of saltpetre.

17. To London to prepare for ye next engagement of ye Fleetes, now gotten to sea againe.

22. Our parish still infected with the contagion.

25. The Fleetes engag'd. I dined at Ld Berkeley's at St. James's, where din'd my Lady Harrietta Hyde, Ld Arlington, & Sr John Duncomb.

29. The pestilence now afresh increasing in our parish, I forbore going to church. In the afternoone came tidings of our victorie over the Dutch, sinking some and driving others aground and into their ports.

1 Aug. I went to Dr. Keffler, who married ye daughter of ye famous chymist Drebbell, inventor of ye boedied scarlet. I went to see his

yron ovens, made portable (formerly) for the Pr. of Orange's army: supp'd at the Rhenish Wine House with divers Scots gentlemen.

6. Dined with Mr. Povey, and then went with him to see a country-house he had bought neere Brainford; returning by Kensington, which house stands to a very graceful avenue of trees, but 'tis an ordinary building, especialy one part.

8. Dined at Sr Stephen Fox's with severall friends, and on the 10th with Mr. Odart, Secretary of the Latine tongue.

17. Din'd with the Lo. Chancellor, whom I entreated to visite the Hospital of the Savoy, and reduce it (after ye greate abuse that had ben continu'd) to its original institution for ye benefit of the poore, which he promis'd to do.

25. Waited on S^r^ W^m^ D'Oylie, now recover'd as it were miraculously. In the afternoone visited the Savoy Hospital; where I staied to see the miserably dismember'd and wounded men dressed, and gave some necessary orders. Then to my Lo. Chancellor, who had, with the Bishop of London and others in the Commission, chosen me one of the three Surveyors of the repaires of Paules, and to consider of a model for the new building, or, if it might be, repairing of the steeple, which was most decay'd.

26 Aug. The Contagion still continuing, we had the Church service at home.

27. I went to St. Paule's Church, where with Dr. Wren, Mr. Prat, Mr. May, Mr. Thos Chichley, Mr. Slingsby, the Bishop of London, the Deane * of St. Paule's, and several expert workmen, we went about to survey the generall decays of that ancient and venerable church, and to set downe in writing the particulars of what was fit to be don, with the charge thereof, giving our opinion from article to article. Finding the maine building to recede outwards, it was the opinion of Mr. Chichley and Mr. Prat that it had ben so built *ab origine* for an effect in perspective, in reguard of the height; but I was, with Dr. Wren, quite of another judgment, and so we entered it; we plumb'd the uprights in severall places. When we came to the stee-

* Dr. Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

ple, it was deliberated whether it were not well enough to repaire it onely on its old foundation, with reservation to the 4 pillars; this Mr. Chichley and Mr. Prat were also for, but we totaly rejected it, and persisted that it requir'd a new foundation, not onely in reguard of the necessitie, but for that the shape of what stood was very meane, and we had a mind to build it with a noble cupola, a forme of church-building not as yet known in England, but of wonderfull grace: for this purpose we offer'd to bring in a plan and estimate, which, after much contest, was at last assented to, and that we should nominate a Committee of able workemen to examine the present foundation. This concluded, we drew all up in writing, and so went with my Lord Bishop to the Deanes.

28. Sate at the Star Chamber. Next day to the R^l. Society, where one Mercator, an excellent mathematician, produced his rare clock & new motion to performe the equations, and Mr Rooke his new pendulum.

2 Sept. This fatal night about ten, began that deplorable fire neere Fish Streete in London.

3. I had public prayers at home. The fire continuing, after dinner I took coach with my wife and sonn and went to the Bank side in Southwark, where we beheld that dismal spectacle, the whole Citty in dreadfull flames neare the water side; all the houses from the Bridge, all Thames Street, and upwards towards Cheapeside, downe to the Three Cranes, were now consum'd: and so returned exceedinge astonished what would become of the rest.

The fire having continu'd all this night (if I may call that night which was light as day for 10 miles round about, after a dreadfull manner) when conspiring with a fierce Eastern wind in a very drie season; I went on foote to the same place, and saw ye whole South part of ye Citty burning from Cheapeside to ye Thames, and all along Cornehill (for it likewise kindl'd back against ye wind as well as forward), Tower Streete, Fen-church Streete, Gracious Streete, and so along to Bainard's Castle, and was now taking hold of St. Paule's Church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly. The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonish'd, that from the beginning, I know not by what despondency or fate, they hardly stirr'd to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seene but crying out and lamentation,

running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods; such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it burned both in breadth and length, the Churches, Publiq Halls, Exchange, Hospitals, Monuments, and ornaments, leaping after a prodigious manner from house to house and streete to streete, at greate distances one from ye other; for ye heate with a long set of faire and warme weather had even ignited the aire and prepar'd the materials to conceive the fire, which devour'd after an incredible manner houses, furniture, and every thing. Here we saw the Thames cover'd with goods floating, all the barges and boates laden with what some had time and courage to save, as, on ye other, ye carts, &c. carrying out to the fields, which for many miles were strew'd with moveables of all sorts, and tents erecting to shelter both people and what goods they could get away. Oh the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as happly the world had not seene the like since the foundation of it, nor be outdon till the universal conflagration of it. All the skie was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seene above 40 miles round about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame; the noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, ye shreiking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of Towers, Houses and Churches, was like an hideous storme, and the aire all about so hot and inflam'd that at the last one was not able to approch it, so that they were forc'd to stand still and let ye flames burn on, which they did for neere two miles in length and one in bredth. The clowds also of smoke were dismall and reach'd upon computation neer 50 miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoone burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. It forcibly call'd to my mind that passage — *non enim hìc habemus stabilem civitatem:* the ruines resembling the picture of Troy. London was, but is no more! Thus I returned.

Sept. 4. The burning still rages, and it was now gotten as far as the Inner Temple; all Fleet Streete, the Old Bailey, Ludgate Hill, Warwick Lane, Newgate, Paules Chaine, Watling Streete, now flaming, and most of it reduc'd to ashes; the stones of Paules flew like granados, ye mealting lead running downe the streetes in a streame, and the very

pavements glowing with fiery rednesse, so as no horse nor man was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopp'd all the passages, so that no help could be applied. The Eastern wind still more impetuously driving the flames forward. Nothing but ye Almighty power of God was able to stop them, for vaine was ye help of man.

5. It crossed towards White-hall; but oh, the confusion there was then at that Court! It pleas'd his Ma^ty^ to command me among ye rest to looke after the quenching of Fetter Lane end, to preserve if possible that part of Holborn whilst the rest of ye gentlemen tooke their several posts, some at one part, some at another (for now they began to bestir themselves, and not till now, who hitherto had stood as men intoxicated, with their hands acrosse) and began to consider that nothing was likely to put a stop but the blowing up of so many houses as might make a wider gap than any had yet ben made by the ordinary method of pulling them downe with engines; this some stout seamen propos'd early enough to have sav'd neare ye whole Citty, but this some tenacious and avaritious men, aldermen, &c. would not permitt, because their houses must have ben of the first. It was therefore now commanded to be practic'd, and my concerne being particularly for the Hospital of St. Bartholomew neere Smithfield, where I had many wounded and sick men, made me the more diligent to promote it; nor was my care for the Savoy lesse. It now pleas'd God by abating the wind, and by the industrie of ye people, when almost all was lost, infusing a new spirit into them, that the furie of it began sensibly to abate about noone, so as it came no farther than ye Temple Westward, nor than ye entrance of Smithfield North: but continu'd all this day and night so impetuous toward Cripple-gate and the Tower as made us all despaire; it also brake out againe in the Temple, but the courage of the multitude persisting, and many houses being blown up, such gaps and desolations were soone made, as with the former three days consumption, the back fire did not so vehemently urge upon the rest as formerly. There was yet no standing neere the burning and glowing ruines by neere a furlongs space.

The coale and wood wharfes and magazines of oyle, rosin, &c. did infinite mischeife, so as the invective which a little before I had dedi-

cated to his Maty and publish'd *, giving warning what might probably be the issue of suffering those shops to be in the Citty, was look'd on as a prophecy.

The poore inhabitants were dispers'd about St. George's Fields, and Moorefields, as far as Highgate, and severall miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable hutts and hovells, many without a rag or any necessary utensills, bed or board, who from delicatenesse, riches, and easy accomodations in stately and well furnish'd houses, were now reduc'd to extreamest misery and poverty.

In this calamitous condition I return'd with a sad heart to my house, blessing and adoring the distinguishing mercy of God to me and mine, who in the midst of all this ruine was like Lot, in my little Zoar, safe and sound.

Sept. 6, Thursday. I represented to his Maty the case of the French prisoners at war in my custodie, and besought him that there might be still the same care of watching at all places contiguous to unseised houses. It is not indeede imaginable how extraordinary the vigilance and activity of the King and the Duke was, even labouring in person, and being present to command, order, reward, or encourage workmen, by which he shewed his affection to his people and gained theirs. Having then dispos'd of some under cure at the Savoy, I return'd to White-hall, where I din'd at Mr. Offley's †, the groome porter, who was my relation.

7. I went this morning on foote from White-hall as far as London Bridge, thro' the late Fleete Street, Ludgate Hill, by St. Paules, Cheapeside, Exchange, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, and out to Moore-fields, thence thro' Cornehill, &c. with extraordinary difficulty, clambering over heaps of yet smoking rubbish, and frequently mistaking where I was. The ground under my feete so hot, that it even burnt the soles of my shoes. In the mean time his Majesty got to the Tower by water, to demolish ye houses about the graff, which being built

* The Fumifugium.. See p. 339.

† Dr. Offley was rector of Abinger, and donor of farms to Okewood Chapel in the parish of Wotton, in the patronage of the Evelyn family.

intirely about it, had they taken fire and attack'd the White Tower where the magazine of powder lay, would undoubtedly not only have beaten downe and destroy'd all ye bridge, but sunke and torne the vessells in ye river, and render'd ye demolition beyond all expression for several miles about the countrey.

At my returne I was infinitely concern'd to find that goodly Church St. Paules now a sad ruine, and that beautifull portico (for structure comparable to any in Europe, as not long before repair'd by the late King) now rent in pieces, flakes of vast stone split asunder, and nothing remaining intire but the inscription in the architrave, shewing by whom it was built, which had not one letter of it defac'd. It was astonishing to see what immense stones the heate had in a manner calcin'd, so that all ye ornaments, columns, freezes, capitals, and projectures of massie Portland stone flew off, even to ye very roofe, where a sheet of lead covering a great space (no lesse than 6 akers by measure) was totally mealted; the ruines of the vaulted roofe falling broke into St. Faith's, which being fill'd with the magazines of bookes belonging to ye Stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were all consum'd, burning for a weeke following. It is also observable that the lead over ye altar at ye East end was untouch'd, and among the divers monuments, the body of one Bishop remain'd intire. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable Church, one of the most antient pieces of early piety in ye Christian world, besides neere 100 more. The lead, yron worke, bells, plate, &c. mealted; the exquisitely wrought Mercers Chapell, the sumptuous Exchange, ye august fabriq of Christ Church, all ye rest of the Companies Halls, splendid buildings, arches, enteries, all in dust; the fountaines dried up and ruin'd, whilst the very waters remain'd boiling; the voragos of subterranean cellars, wells, and dungeons, formerly warehouses, still burning in stench and dark clowds of smoke, so that in five or six miles traversing about, I did not see one loade of timber unconsum'd, nor many stones but what were calcin'd white as snow. The people who now walk'd about ye ruines appear'd like men in some dismal desart, or rather in some greate Citty laid waste by a cruel enemy; to which was added the stench that came from some poore creatures bodies, beds, and other combustible goods. Sir Tho.

Gressham's statue, tho' fallen from its nich in the Royal Exchange, remain'd intire, when all those of ye Kings since ye Conquest were broken to pieces; also the standard in Cornehill, and Q. Elizabeth's effigies, with some armes on Ludgate, continued with but little detriment, whilst the vast yron chaines of the Citty streetes, hinges, barrs and gates of prisons were many of them mealted and reduced to cinders by ye vehement heate. Nor was I yet able to passe through any of the narrower streetes, but kept the widest; the ground and air, smoake and fiery vapour, continu'd so intense that my haire was almost sing'd, and my feete unsufferably surbated. The bie lanes and narrower streetes were quite fill'd up with rubbish, nor could one have possibly knowne where he was, but by ye ruines of some Church or Hall, that had some remarkable tower or pinnacle remaining. I then went towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seene 200,000 people of all ranks and degrees dispers'd and lying along by their heapes of what they could save from the fire, deploring their losse, and tho' ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for reliefe, which to me appear'd a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld. His Majesty and Council indeede tooke all imaginable care for their reliefe by proclamation for the country to come in and refresh them with provisions. In ye midst of all this calamity and confusion, there was, I know not how, an alarme begun that the French and Dutch, with whom we were now in hostility, were not onely landed, but even entering the Citty. There was in truth some days before greate suspicion of those two nations joyning; and now, that they had ben the occasion of firing the towne. This report did so terrifie, that on a suddaine there was such an uproare and tumult that they ran from their goods, and taking what weapons they could come at, they could not be stopp'd from falling on some of those nations whom they casualy met, without sense or reason. The clamor and peril grew so excessive that it made the whole Court amaz'd, and they did with infinite paines and greate difficulty reduce and appease the people, sending troops of soldiers and guards to cause them to retire into ye fields againe, where they were watch'd all this night. I left them pretty quiet, and came home sufficiently weary and broken. Their spirits thus a little calmed, and the

affright abated, they now began to repaire into ye suburbs about the Citty, where such as had friends or opportunity got shelter for the present, to which his Mat^ys^ Proclamation also invited them.

Still ye plague continuing in our parish, I could not without danger adventure to our church.

10. I went againe to ye ruines, for it was now no longer a Citty.

13 Sept. I presented his Ma^ty^ with a survey of the ruines, and a plot for a new Citty*, with a discourse on it; whereupon after dinner his Ma^ty^ sent for me into the Queene's bed-chamber, her Ma^ty^ and ye Duke onely being present; they examin'd each particular, and discours'd on them for neere an houre, seeming to be extreamly pleas'd with what I had so early thought on. The Queene was now in her cavalier riding habite, hat and feather, and horseman's coate, going to take the aire.

16. I went to Greenewich Church, where Mr. Plume preached very well from this text: "Seeing therefore all these things must be dissolved," &c. taking occasion from ye late unparalell'd conflagration to mind us how we ought to walke more holyly in all manner of conversation.

27. Dined at Sir W^m^ D'Oylie's, with that worthy gent. Sr John Holland of Suffolke.

10 Oct. This day was order'd a generall fast thro' the Nation, to humble us on ye late dreadfull conflagration, added to the plague and warr, the most dismall judgments that could be inflicted, but which indeede we highly deserv'd for our prodigious ingratitude, burning

* See a letter of Mr. Evelyn to Sir Samuel Tuke on the subject of the Fire, and his plan for rebuilding the City, in vol. II. pp. 170—172. Part of this plan was to lessen the declivities, and to employ the rubbish in filling up the shore of the Thames to low water mark, so as to keep the Basin always full.—In a letter to Mr. Oldenburg, Secretary to the Royal Society, 22 Dec. 1666, he says, after mentioning the presenting his reflections on re-building the City to his Maty, that "the want of a more exact plot, wherein I might have marked what the Fire had spared, and accommodated my designe to the remaining parts, made me take it as a *rasa tabula*, and to forme mine idea thereof accordingly: I have since lighted upon Mr. Hollar's late Plan, which looking upon as the most accurate hitherto extant, has caus'd me something to alter what I had so crudely don, though for the most part I still persist in my former discourse, and wiche I heare send you as compleate as an imperfect copy will give me leave, and the suppliment of an ill memory, for since that tyme I hardly euer look'd on it, and it was finish'd within two or three dayes after the Incendium."

lusts, dissolute Court, profane and abominable lives, under such dispensations of God's continu'd favour in restoring Church, Prince, and People from our late intestine calamities, of which we were altogether unmindfull, even to astonishment. This made me resolve to go to our parish assemblie, where our Doctor preached on ye 19 Luke 41, piously applying it to the occasion. After wch was a collection for ye distress'd loosers in the late fire.

18. To Court. It being ye first time his Ma^ty^ put himself solemnly into the Eastern fashion of vest, changeing doublet, stiff collar, bands and cloake, into a comely vest, after ye Persian mode, with girdle or straps, and shoe strings and garters into bouckles, of which some were set with precious stones*, resolving never to alter it, and to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtain'd to our greate expence and reproch. Upon which divers courtiers and gentlemen gave his Ma^ty^ gold by way of wager that he would not persist in this resolution. I had sometime before presented an invective against that unconstancy, and our so much affecting the French fashion, to his Ma^ty^, in which I tooke occasion to describe the comelinesse and usefulnesse of the Persian clothing, in ye very same manner his Ma^ty^ now clad himselfe. This pamphlet I intitl'd "Tyrannus, or the Mode," and gave it to his Ma^ty^ to reade. I do not impute to this discourse the change which soone happen'd, but it was an identity that I could not but take notice of.

This night was acted my Lord Broghill's† tragedy call'd "Mustapha" before their Maties at Court, at which I was present, very seldom going to the publiq theaters for many reasons, now as they were abused to an atheistical liberty, fowle and undecent women now (and never till now) permitted to appeare and act, who inflaming severall young noblemen and gallants, became their misses, and to some their wives‡; witness ye Earl of Oxford, Sir R. Howard, P. Rupert, the

* It would be curious to see a portrait of the King in this costume, which was however shortly after abandoned and laid aside.

† Richard Lord Broghill, created shortly after this Earl of Orrery; he wrote several other plays besides that here noticed.

‡ Mrs. Margaret Hughes, Nell Gwynn, who left the Earl for his Majesty, to whom were added Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Knight.

Earle of Dorset, and another greater person than any of them, who fell into their snares, to ye reproch of their noble families, and ruine of both body and soule. I was invited by my Lo. Chamberlaine to see this tragedy, exceedingly well written, tho' in my mind I did not approve of any such pastime in a season of such judgments and calamities.

21. This season, after so long and extraordinarie a drowth in August and September, as if preparatory for the dreadfull fire, was so very wett and rainy as many feared an ensuing famine.

28. The pestilence, thro' God's mercy, began now to abate considerably in our towne.

30. To London to our office, and now had I on the vest and surcoat or tunic as 'twas call'd, after his Ma^ty^ had brought the whole Court to it. It was a comely and manly habit, too good to hold, it being impossible for us in good earnest to leave ye Monsieurs vanities long.

31. I heard the signal cause of my Ld Cleaveland pleaded before the House of Lords, and was this day 46 yeares of age, wonderfully protected by the mercies of God, for which I render him immortal thanks.

14 Nov. I went my winter circle thro' my district, Rochester & other places, where I had men quarter'd and in custody.—15. To Leeds Castle.

16. I muster'd ye prisoners being about 600 Dutch and French, order'd their proportion of bread to be augmented, and provided cloaths and fuell. Monsr Colbert, Ambass^r^ at the Court of England, this day sent mony from his master the French King to every prisoner of that nation under my guard.

17. I return'd to Chatham. My chariott overturning on the steepe of Bexley Hill, wounded me in two places on the head; my sonn Jack being with me was like to have ben worse cutt by the glasse; but I thanke God we both escaped without much hurt, tho' not without exceeding danger.—18. At Rochester.—19. Return'd home.

23. At London I heard an extraordinary case before a Committee of the whole House of Commons, in the Commons House of Parliament, between one Capt. Taylor and my Lo. Visc^t^ Mordaunt*, where after the lawyers had pleaded, and the witnesses ben examin'd, such foul

* See the whole proceedings in this affair in the Journals of Lords and Commons under this year.

and dishonourable things were produc'd against his Lordship, of tyranny during his government of Windsor Castle, of wch he was Constable, incontinence, and suborning witnesses (of which last one Sr Richard Breames was most concerned), that I was exceedingly interested for his Lordship, who was my special friend, and husband of the most virtuous lady in the world. We sate till neere 10 at night, and yet but halfe the Council had don on behalfe of ye Plaintiffe. The question then was put for bringing in of lights to sit longer; this lasted so long before it was determin'd, and rais'd such a confus'd noise among the Members, that a stranger would have ben astonish'd at it. I admire that there is not a rationale to regulate such trifling accidents, which consume a world of time, and is a reproch to the gravity of so greate an assembly of sober men.

27. Sir Hugh Pollard, Comptroller of the Household, died at White-hall, and his Ma^ty^ conferr'd the white staffe on my brother Commiss^r^ for sick and wounded, Sr Tho. Clifford *, a bold young gentleman, of a small fortune in Devon, but advanc'd by Lo. Arlington, Secr. of State, to ye greate astonishment of all the Court. This gentleman was somewhat related to me by ye marriage of his mother to my neerest kinsman Gregory Coale †, and was ever my noble friend, a valiant and daring person, but by no means fit for a supple and flattering courtier.

28. Went to see Clarendon House ‡, now almost finish'd, a goodly pile to see to, but had many defects as to ye architecture, yet plac'd most gracefully. After this I waited on the Ld Chancellor, who was now at Berkshire House §, since the burning of London.

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* Afterwards Lord Treasurer.

† Of this gentleman and his family, seated at Petersham in Surrey, see Hist. of that County, vol. I. pp. 439, 441, but his connection with the Evelyns does not appear.

‡ Since quite demolished: see hereafter. It was situated where Albemarle Street now is. After Lord Clarendon's exile, the Duke of Albemarle occupied this noble mansion, of which there are two engraved views at least, one a small one by John Dunstall, and another upon a very large scale by J. Spilbergh.

§ Berkshire or Cleaveland House belonged to the Howards Earls of Berkshire, and stood very near the royal residence. It was afterwards purchased and presented by Charles II. to Barbara Dutchess of Cleveland. It was then of great extent; she however afterwards sold part, which was built into various houses.

2 Dec. Din'd with me Monsr Kiviet, a Dutch gent^n pensioner of Roterdam, who came over for protection, being of the Prince of Orange's party; now not wellcome in Holland. The King knighted him for some merit in ye Prince's behalf. He should, if caught, have ben beheaded with Monsr Buat, and was brother-in-law to Van Tromp, the Sea Generall. With him came Mr. Gabriel Sylvius *, and Mr. Williamson * Secretarie to Lord Arlington; Sr Kiviet came to examine whether the soile about the river of Thames would be proper to make clinker-bricks, and to treate with me about some accomodation in order to it †.

1667. 9 Jan. To the Royal Society, which since ye sad conflagration were invited by Mr. Howard to sit at Arundel House in the Strand, who at my instigation likewise bestow'd on the Society that noble library which his grandfather especialy, and his ancestors had collected. This gentleman had so little inclination to bookes, that it was the preservation of them from imbezzlement.

24. Visited my Lo. Chancellor, and presented my son John to him, now preparing to go to Oxford, of which his Lordship was Chancellor. This evening I heard rare Italian voices, two eunuchs and one woman, in his Ma^tys greene chamber next his cabinet.

29 Jan. To London in order to my son's Oxford journey, who being very early enter'd both in Latin and Greek, and prompt to learn beyond most of his age, I was persuaded to trust him under ye tutorage of Mr. Bohun, fellow of New College, who had ben his preceptor in my house some years before; but at Oxford under ye inspection of Dr. Bathurst, President of Trinity Coll., where I plac'd him, not as yet 13 years old. He was newly out of long coates ‡.

15 Feb. My little booke in answer to Sir Geo. Mackenzie on Solitude, was now published, intitled, "Public Employment and an active Life with its Appanages preferred to Solitude." §

* More is said of these gentlemen afterwards. † See pp. 402, 409.

‡ At the Swan Inn at Letherhead in Surrey is a picture of 4 children, dates of birth between 1640 and 1650; one of them is a boy about this age, in a coat or vest, reaching almost to his ancles.

§ In a letter to Mr. Cowley 12 Mar. 1666 he apologizes for having written against that life, which he had joined with Mr. Cowley in so much admiring, assuring him he neither was, nor could be, serious.

19. I saw a comedy acted at Court. In the afternoone I saw a wrestling-match for £.1000 in St. James's Park, before his Maty, a world of lords and other spectators, 'twixt the Western and Northern men, Mr. Secretary Morice and Lo. Gerard being the judges. The Western men won. Many greate sums were betted.

18. I saw a magnificent ball or masque in the Theater at Court, where their Maties and all the greate Lords and Ladies daunced, infinitely gallant, the men in their richly embrodred most becoming vests.

6 March. I proposed to my Lo. Chancellor Monsr Kiviet's undertaking to warfe the whole river of Thames, or Key, from the Temple to the Tower, as far as ye fire destroied, with brick, without piles, both lasting and ornamental*.—Great frosts, snow and winds, prodigious at the vernal equinox; indeede it had ben a yeare of prodigies in this nation, plague, warr, fire, rains, tempest, and comet.

14. Saw "The Virgin Queene," a play written by Mr. Dryden.

22. Din'd at Mr. Sec. Morice's, who shew'd me his library, wch was a well-chosen collection. This afternoone I had audience of his Maty concerning the proposal I had made of building the Key.

26. Sr John Kiviet din'd with me. We went to search for brick earth in order to a greate undertaking.

4 April. The cold so intense that there was hardly a leaf on a tree.

18. I went to make court to the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle at their house at Clerkenwell †, being newly come out of the North. They receiv'd me with great kindnesse, and I was much pleas'd with the extraordinary fanciful habit, garb, and discourse of the Dutchess.

22. Saw the sumptuous supper in the Banquetting-house at Whitehall on the eve of St. George's day, where were all the Companions of the Order of the Garter.

23. In the morning his Maty went to Chapell with the Knights of the Garter all in their habits and robes, usher'd by ye Heraulds; after the first service they went in procession, the youngest first, the Sove-

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* See pp. 401, 409.

† The Duke spent a princely fortune in the service of Charles I. and II. He wrote on Horsemanship, a curious and splendid volume. Part of the old house is still standing in Clerkenwell Close (1816).

reigne last, with the Prelate of the Order and Dean, who had about his neck ye booke of the Statutes of the Order, and then the Chancellor of the Order (old Sr Hen. de Vic) who wore ye purse about his neck; then the Heraulds and Garter King at Arms, Clarencieux, Black Rod. But before ye Prelate and Deane of Windsor went the Gentlemen of the Chapell, and Choristers singing as they marched; behind them two Doctors of Musick in damask robes; this procession was about the Courts of White-hall. Then returning to their stalls and seates in the Chapell, plac'd under each Knights coate armour and titles, the second service began: then the King offer'd at ye altar, an anthem was sung, then ye rest of the Knights offer'd, and lastly proceeded to the Banquetting-house to a greate feast. The King sat on an elevated throne at the upper end at a table alone, the Knights at a table on the right hand, reaching all the length of ye roome; over against them a cupboard of rich gilded plate; at the lower end the musick; on the balusters above, wind musick, trumpets and kettle-drums. The King was serv'd by ye Lords and Pensioners, who brought up the dishes. About the middle of the dinner the Knights drank the King's health, then ye King theirs, when the trumpets and musick plaid and sounded, the guns going off at the Tower. At ye banquet came in the Queene and stood by the King's left hand, but did not sit. Then was the banquetting stuff flung about the roome profusely. In truth the croud was so greate, that tho' I staied all the supper ye day before, I now staied no longer than this sport began for feare of disorder. The cheere was extraordinary, each Knight having 40 dishes to his messe, piled up 5 or 6 high. The roome hung with ye richest tapessry.

25. Visited again ye Duke of Newcastle, with whom I had ben acquainted long before in France, where the Dutchess had obligation to my wives mother, for her marriage there; she was sister to Lord Lucas and maid of honor then to the Queene Mother; married in our Chapel at Paris. My wife being with me, the Duke and Dutchess both would needs bring her to the very Court.

26. My Lord Chancellor shewed me all his newly-finished and furnished palace and librarie; then we went to take the aire in Hide Park.

27. I had a greate deale of discourse with his Majestie at dinner: In the afternoone I went againe with my wife to the Dutchess of Newcastle, who receiv'd her in a kind of transport, suitable to her extravagant humour and dresse, which was very singular.

May 8. Made up accounts with our Receiver, which amounted to £.33,936. 1*s.* 4*d.* Dined at Lord Cornbury's with Don Francisco de Melos, Portugal Ambassador and kindred to the Queene: of the party were Mr. Henry Jermaine, and Sr Hen. Capell. Afterwards I went to Arundel House to salute Mr. Howard's sons, newly return'd out of France.

11. To London, dined with the Duke of Newcastle, and sate discoursing with her Grace in her bed-chamber after dinner, till my Lo. Marquiss of Dorchester with other company came in, when I went away.

30. To London to wait on the Dutchess of Newcastle (who was a mighty pretender to learning, poetrie, and philosophie, and had in both publish'd divers bookes) to the Royal Society *, whither she came in greate pomp, and being receiv'd by our Lord President at the dore of our meeting roome, the mace, &c. carried before him, had several experiments shewed to her. I conducted her Grace to her coach, and return'd home.

1 June. I went to Greenewich, where his Ma^ty^ was trying divers granado's shot out of cannon at the Castle-hill, from the house in the Park; they brake not till they hit the mark, the forg'd ones brake not at all, but the cast ones very well. The inventor was a German, there present. At the same time a ring was shewed to his Ma^ty^, pretended to be a projection of mercury, and malleable, and say'd by ye gentlemen to be fix'd by the juice of a plant.

18. To London, alarm'd by the Dutch, who were fallen on our fleete at Chatham, by a most audacious enterprise entering the very river with part of their fleete, doing us not only disgrace, but incredible

* This reminds us of the visit of another greater lady, Queen Christina, to the French Academy, at one of their sittings, recorded by Monsr Pellisson in his History of that learned body. Queen Caroline, wife of King George II. also affected the company of deep Divines, Scholars, and Philosophers.

mischiefe in burning severall of our best men of warr lying at anker and moor'd there, and all this thro' our unaccountable negligence in not setting out our fleete in due time. This alarme caus'd me, fearing ye enemie might venture up ye Thames even to London, (which they might have don with ease, and fir'd all ye vessells in ye river too,) to send away my best goods, plate, &c. from my house to another place. The alarme was so greate that it put both Country and Citty into a paniq feare and consternation, such as I hope as I shall never see more; every body was flying, none knew why or whither. Now there were land forces dispatch'd with the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Middleton, Prince Rupert, and the Duke, to hinder ye Dutch coming to Chatham, fortifying Upnor Castle, and laying chaines and booms; but ye resolute enemy brake thro' all, and set fire on our ships, and retreated in spight, stopping up the Thames, the rest of their fleet lying before the mouth of it.

14 June. I went to see the work at Woolwich, a battery to prevent them from coming up to London, which Pr. Rupert commanded, and sunk some ships in the river.

17. This night about 2 o'clock some chipps and combustible matter prepar'd for some fire-ships taking flame in Deptford Yard made such a blaze, and caus'd such an uproar in ye Tower, it being given out that the Dutch fleete was come up and had landed their men and fir'd the Tower, as had like to have don more mischeife before people would be persuaded to the contrary and believe the accident. Every body went to their armes. These were sad and troublesome times!

24. The Dutch fleet still continuing to stop up the river, so as nothing could stir out or come in, I was before ye Council, and commanded by his Ma^ty^ to go with some others and search about the environs of the Citty, now exceedingly distress'd for want of fuell, whether there could be any peate or turfe found fit for use. The next day I went and discover'd enough, and made my report that there might be found a greate deale; but nothing further was don in it.

28. I went to Chatham, and thence to view not onely what mischeife the Dutch had don, but how triumphantly their whole fleete lay within the very mouth of the Thames, all from ye North fore-land,

Margate, even to ye buoy of the Nore — a dreadfull spectacle as ever Englishmen saw, and a dishonour never to be wip'd off! Those who advis'd his Ma^ty^ to prepare no fleete this spring deserv'd — I know what — but *

Here in the river off Chatham, just before ye towne, lay ye carkass of the London (now the third time burnt), the Royal Oake, the James, &c. yet smoking; and now, when the mischeife was don, we were making trifling forts on ye brink of the river. Here were yet forces both of horse and foote, with Gen. Midleton continually expecting the motions of the enemy's fleete. I had much discourse with him, who was an experienc'd commander. I told him I wonder'd the King did not fortifie Sheernesse † and the Ferry; both abandon'd.

2 July. Call'd upon by my Lo. Arlington as from his Ma^ty^ about the new fuell. The occasion why I was mention'd was from what I had said in my Sylva three yeares before, about a sort of fuell, for a neede, which obstructed a patent of Lord Carlingford, who had ben seeking for it himselfe; he was endeavouring to bring me into the project, and proferr'd me a share. I met my Lord; and on the 9th by an order of council went to my Lord Maior to be assisting. In the meane time they had made an experiment of my receipt of *houllies*, which I mention in my booke to be made at Maestricht with a mixture of charcoal dust and loame, and which was tried with successe at Gressham Colledge (then being the exchange for meeting of the merchants since the Fire) for every body to see. This done, I went to the Treasury for 12,000*l.* for ye sick and wounded yet on my hands.

Next day we met againe about the fuell at Sir Ja. Armorer's in the Mewes.

8. My Lord Brereton and others din'd at my house, where I shewed them proofe of my new fuell, which was very glowing and without smoke or ill smell.

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* The Parliament giving but weak supplies for the war, the King to save charges is persuaded by the Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer Southampton, the Duke of Albemarle, and the other Ministers, to lay up the first and second rate ships, and make only a defensive war in the next campaign. The Duke of York opposed this, but was over-ruled. Life of King James II. vol. I. p. 425.

† Since done.

10. I went to see Sir Sam. Morland's* inventions and machines, arithmetical wheeles, quench-fires, and new harp.

17. The Master of the Mint and his Lady, Mr. Williamson, Sir Nich^{s} Armorer, Sir Edw. Bowyer, Sir Anth^{y} Auger, & other friends, dined with me.

29 July. I went to Gravesend, the Dutch fleete still at anker before the river, where I saw 5 of his Ma^{tys} men of war encounter above 20 of the Dutch, in the bottome of the Hope, chaceing them with many broadsides given and return'd towards the buoy of the Nore, where the body of their fleete lay, wch lasted till about midnight. One of their ships was fir'd, suppos'd by themselves, she being run on ground. Having seene this bold action, and their braving us so far up the river, I went home ye next day, not without indignation at our negligence, and the Nation's reproch. 'Tis well known who of the Commiss^{rs} of the Treasury gave advice that the charge of setting forth a fleete this yeare might be spar'd, Sr W. C. (William Coventrie) by name.

1 Aug. I receiv'd the sad newes of Abraham Cowley's death, that incomparable poet and virtuous man, my very deare friend, and was greately deplored.

3. Went to Mr. Cowley's funerall, whose corps lay at Wallingford House, and was thence convey'd to Westm^{r} Abby in a hearse with 6 horses and all funeral decency, neere an hundred coaches of noblemen and persons of qualitie following; among these all the witts of the

* Mr. Aubrey says: "Under the Equestrian Statue of Cha. 2. in the great Court at Windsor is an engine for raising water contrived by Sr Sam. Morland, alias Morley. He was son of Sr Sam. Morland of Sulhamsted, Barrister, Berks, created Bart. by Cha. 2. in consideration of services performed during his exile. The son was a great mechanic, & was presented with a gold medal & made *Magister Mechanicorum* by the king in 1681. He invented the drum capstands for weighing heavy anchors; the speaking trumpet, & other usefull engines. He died & was buried at Hammersmith, Middl^{x}, 1696. There is a monum^{t} for ye 2 wives of Sr Sam. Morland in Westm^{r} Abbey. There is a print of the son by Lombart after Lely. This Sr Sam. the son, built a large room in his garden at Vauxhall, wch was much admired at that time. On the top was a punchinello holding a dial." Aubrey's Surrey, vol. I. p. 12. See more of him in Manning and Bray's History of Surrey, vol. III. 489, 490, 491, and Appendix, p. cv. — He is also noticed again several times in this Diary; see particularly under the year 1681. Sept.

towne, divers bishops and cleargymen. He was interr'd next Geoffry Chaucer and neere Spenser. A goodly monument since erected to his memorie.

Now did his Ma^ty^ againe dine in ye Presence, in ancient state, with musiq and all the Court ceremonies, which had ben interrupted since ye late warr.

8. Visited Mr. Oldenburg, now close prisoner in the Tower, being suspected of writing intelligence. I had an order from Lo. Arlington, Secr. of State, which caus'd me to be admitted. This gent^n^ was Secretary to our Society, and I am confident will prove an innocent person*.

15. Finish'd my account, amounting to £.25,000.

17. To ye funerall of Mr. Farringdon, a relation of my wife's.

There was now a very gallant horse to be baited to death with doggs; but he fought them all, so as the fiercest of them could not fasten on him, till they run him through with their swords. This wicked and barbarous sport deserv'd to have ben punish'd in the cruel contrivers to get mony, under pretence that the horse had kill'd a man, which was false. I would not be persuaded to be a spectator,

21. Saw ye famous Italian puppet play, for 'twas no other.

24. I was appointed with ye rest of my brother Commiss^rs^ to put in execution an order of Council for freeing the prisoners at war in my custody at Leedes Castle, and taking off his Ma^tys^ extraordinary charge, having call'd before us the French and Dutch agents. The peace was now proclaimed in the usual forme by the heraulds at armes.

25. After evening service I went to visit Mr. Vaughan †, who lay at Greenwich, a very wise and learned person, one of Mr. Selden's executors aud intimate friends.

27. Visited the Lo. Chancellor, to whom his Ma^ty^ had sent for the seales a few days before; I found him in his bed-chamber very sad. The Parliament had accus'd him, and he had enemies at Court, especialy the buffoones and ladys of pleasure, because he thwarted some of them and stood in their way; I could name some of ye cheife. The truth is, he made few friends during his grandeur among the royal

* He was released soon after.

† Afterwards Lord Chief Justice.

sufferers, but advanc'd the old rebells. He was, however, tho' no considerable lawyer, one who kept up ye forme and substance of things in ye Nation with more solemnity than some would have had. He was my particular kind friend on all occasions. The Cabal, however, prevail'd, and that party in Parliament. Greate division at Court concerning him, and divers greate persons interceding for him.

28. I din'd with my late Lo. Chanc^r^, where also din'd Mr. Asbburnham, and Mr. W. Legg of the Bed-chamber; his Lordship pretty well in heart, tho' now many of his friends and sycophants abandon'd him.

In the afternoone I went to the Lords Commiss^rs^ for mony, and thence to the audience of a Russian Envoy in ye Queene's presence-chamber, introduc'd with much state, the souldiers, pensioners, and guards in their order. His letters of credence brought by his secretary in a scarfe of sarsenett, their vests sumptuous, much embroider'd with pearls. He deliver'd his speech in ye Russe language aloud, but without ye least action or motion of his body, which was immediately interpreted aloud by a German that spake good English; half of it consisted in repetition of the Zarr's titles, which were very haughty and oriental, the substance of ye rest was that he was only sent to see ye King and Queene, and know how they did, with much compliment and frothy language. Then they kiss'd their Maties hands, and went as they came; but their real errand was to get money.

29. We met at ye Star Chamber about exchange and release of prisoners.

7 Sept. Came Sir John Kiviet to article with me about his brickwork *.

13. 'Twixt the houres of twelve & one was borne my second daughter, who was afterwards christned Elizabeth.

19. To London with Mr. Hen. Howard of Norfolk, of whom I obtain'd ye gift of his Arundelian Marbles, those celebrated and famous inscriptions Greeke and Latine, gather'd with so much cost and industrie from Greece, by his illustrious grandfather the magnificent Earle of Arundel, my noble friend whilst he liv'd. When I saw these precious

* See pp. 401, 402.

monuments miserably neglected and scatter'd up and downe about the garden, and other parts of Arundel House, and how exceedingly the corrosive aire of London impair'd them, I procur'd him to bestow them on the University of Oxford. This he was pleas'd to grant me, and now gave me the key of the gallery, with leave to mark all those stones, urns, altars, &c. and whatever I found had inscriptions on them, that were not statues. This I did, and getting them remov'd and pil'd together, with those which were incrusted in the garden-walls, I sent immediately letters to ye Vice-Chancellor of what I had procur'd, and that if they esteem'd it a service to ye University (of which I had ben a member) they should take order for their transportation.

This don, 21st I accompanied Mr. Howard to his villa at Albury, where I design'd for him the plot for his canall and garden, with a crypt * thro' the hill.

24 Sept. Returned to London, where I had orders to deliver ye possession of Chelsey Colledge, (us'd as my prison during the warr with Holland for such as were sent from the Fleete to London) to our Society, as a gift of his Ma^ty^ our founder.

8 Oct. Came to dine with me Dr. Bathurst, Deane of Wells, President of Trinity Coll. sent by the Vice-Chancelor of Oxford, in the name both of him and the whole University, to thank me for procuring ye Inscriptions, and to receive my directions what was to be don to shew their gratitude to Mr. Howard.

11. I went to see Lord Clarendon, late Lord Chancellor and greatest officer in England, in continual apprehension what the Parliament would determine concerning him.

17. Came Dr. Barlow, Provost of Queen's Coll. and Protobibliothecus of the Bodleian Library, to take order about ye transportation of ye Marbles.

25. There were deliver'd to me two letters from the Vice-Chancelor of Oxford with the Decree of the Convocation attested by the Publick Notary, ordering four Doctors of Divinity and Law to acknowledge the obligation the University had to me for procuring the *Mar-*

* Still in part remaining, but stopped up at the further end (1815.)

mora Arundeliana, which was solemnly don by Dr. Barlow *, Dr. Jenkins † Judge of the Admiralty, Dr. Lloyd, and Obadiah Walker ‡ of University Coll. who having made me a large compliment from the University, deliver'd me the Decree fairly written :

Gesta venerabili domo Convocationis Universitatis Oxon; . . 17. 1667. Quo die retulit ad Senatum Academicum Dominus Vicecancellarius, quantum Universitas deberet singulari benevolentiæ Johannis Evelini Armigeri, qui pro eâ pietate quâ Almam Matrem prosequitur non solum Suasu et Concilio apud inclytum Heroem Henricum Howard, Ducis Norfolciæ hæredem, intercessit ut Universitati pretiosissimum eruditæ antiquitatis thesaurum Marmora Arundeliana largiretur ; sed egregius insuper in ijs colligendis asservandisq; navavit operam : Quapropter unanimi suffragio Venerabilis Domus decretum est ut eidem publicæ gratiæ per delegatos ad Honoratissimum Dominum Henricum Howard propediem mittendos, solemnitèr reddantur.

Concordat superscripta cum originali collatione facta per me Ben. Cooper Notarium Publicum et Regium Universitat. Oxon.

" Sir,

" We intend also a noble inscription, in which also honorable mention shall be made of yourselfe; but Mr. Vice Chanc^r commands me to tell you that that was not sufficient for your merits, but that if your occasions would permit you to come down at the Act (when we intend a dedication of our new Theater), some other testimonie should be given both of your owne worth and affection to this your old Mother; for we are all very sensible of this greate addition of learning and reputation to the University is due as well to your industrious care for the Universitie, and interest with my Lord Howard, as to his greate noblenesse and generositie of spirit.

" I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

" Obadiah Walker, Univ. Coll."

The Vice-Chancellor's letter to ye same effect were too vaine-glorious to insert, with divers copies of verses that were also sent me. Their mentioning me in the inscription I totally declin'd when I directed the titles of Mr. Howard, now made Lord upon his ambassage to Morocco.

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* Bishop of Lincoln. † Afterwards Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State.

‡ Subsequently head of that College. See pp. 235. 259; under 1675, July; 1686, May; and vol. II. p. 58.

These tower Doctors having made me this compliment, desir'd me to carry and introduce them to Mr. Howard at Arundel House: which I did, Dr. Barlow (Provost of Queenes) after a short speech, delivering a larger letter of the University's thankes, which was written in Latine, expressing the greate sense they had of the honour don them. After this compliment handsomely perform'd, and as nobly receiv'd, Mr. Howard accompanied the Doctors to their coach. That evening I supp'd with them.

26. My late Ld Chancellor was accused by Mr. Seamour in the House of Commons; and in the evening I returned home.

31 Oct. My birth-day—blessed be God for all his mercies! I made ye Royal Society a present of ye Table of Veines, Arteries and Nerves, which great curiositie I had caus'd to be made in Italy, out of the natural human bodies by a learned physitian, and the help of Vestlingius (professor at Padua), from whence I brought them in 1646. For this I receiv'd ye public thanks of the Society; and they are hanging up in their Repository with an inscription.

9 Dec. To visit the late Lord Chancellor. I found him in his garden at his new-built palace, sitting in his gowt wheele-chayre, and seeing the gates setting up towards the North and the fields. He look'd and spake very disconsolately. After some while deploring his condition to me, I tooke my leave. Next morning I heard he was gon; tho' I am persuaded that had he gon sooner, tho' but to Cornbury, and there lain quiet, it would have satisfied the Parliament. That wch exasperated them was his presuming to stay and contest the accusation as long as 'twas possible; and they were on ye point of sending him to ye Tower.

10. I went to the funerall of Mrs. Heath, wife to my worthy friend and schoolfellow.

21. I saw one Carr piloried at Charing-Crosse for a libel, which was burnt before him by the hangman.

1668. 8 Jan. I saw deepe and prodigious gaming at the Groome-Porters, vast heapes of gold squander'd away in a vaine and profuse manner. This I looked on as a horrid vice and unsuitable in a Christian Court.

9. Went to see the Revells at the Middle Temple, which is also an old but riotous costome, and has relation neither to virtue, nor policy.

10. To visite Mr. Povey, where were divers greate Lords to see his well-contrived cellar and other elegancies *.

24. We went to stake out ground for building a Colledge for ye Royal Society at Arundel House, but did not finish it, which we shall repent of.

4 Feb. I saw ye tragedy of "Horace" (written by y^e^ *virtuous* Mrs. Phillips) acted before their Maties. 'Twixt each act a masq and antiq daunce. The excessive gallantry of the ladies was infinite, those especialy on that . . . . Castlemaine esteem'd at £.40,000 and more, far outshining ye Queene.

15. I saw ye audience of ye Swedish Ambass^r^ Count Donna, in greate state in the Banquetting-house.

3 Mar. Was launch'd at Deptford that goodly vessell the Charles. I was neere his Ma^ty^. She is longer than ye Soveraine, and carries 110 brasse canon; she was built by old Shish, a plaine honest carpenter, master builder of this dock, but one who can give very little account of his art by discourse, and is hardly capable of reading †, yet of greate abilitie in his calling. The family have been ship carpenters in this yard above 100 yeares.

12. Went to visit Sir John Cotton, who had me into his library, full of good MSS. Greek and Latin, but most famous for those of the Saxon and English Antiquities, collected by his grandfather.

2 April. To the Royall Societie, where I subscrib'd 50,000 bricks, towards building a Colledge. Amongst other libertine libels there was one now printed and thrown about, a bold petition of the poore whores to Lady Castlemaine ‡.

9. To London about finishing my grand account of the sick and wounded and prisoners at war, amounting to above £.34,000.

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* See p. 364.

† This was the case of Mr. Brindley, who executed such great works for the Duke of Bridgewater towards the end of the eighteenth century.

‡ Perhaps Mr. Evelyn knew the author.

I heard Sr R. Howard impeach Sr Wm Pen in the House of Lords, for breaking bulk and taking away rich goods out of the E. India prizes formerly taken by Lord Sandwich.

28. To London, about the purchase of Ravensbourn Mills and land around it, in Upper Deptford, of one Mr. Becher.

30. We seal'd the deedes in Sr Edward Thurland's chambers in ye Inner Temple. I pray God bless it to me, it being a deare pennyworth, but the passion Sir R. Browne had for it, and that it was contiguous to our other grounds, engag'd me.

13 May. Invited by that expert Commander Capt. Cox, master of ye lately-built Charles the Second, now ye best vessell of ye Fleete, design'd for ye Duke of York, I went to Erith, where we had a greate dinner.

16. Sir Richard Edgecome of Mount Edgecome by Plymouth, my relation, came to visite me; a very virtuous and worthy Gent.

19 June. To a new play with several of my relations, "The Evening Lover*," a foolish plot, and very prophane; it afflicted me to see how the stage was degenerated and polluted by ye licentious times.

July 2. Sr Sam. Tuke Bart. and the lady he had married this day came and bedded at night at my house, many friends accompanying the bride.

23. At the Royall Society were presented divers *glossa petra's* and other natural curiosities found in digging to build ye Fort at Sheerenesse; they were just the same as they bring from Malta, pretending them to be vipers teeth, whereas in truth they are of a shark, as we found by comparing them with one in our Repository.

3 Aug. Mr. Bramstone (son to Judge B.) my old fellow-traveller, now Reader at the Middle Temple, invited me to his feast, which was so very extravagant and greate as the like had not ben seene at any time. There were the Duke of Ormond Privy Seal, Bedford, Belasys, Halifax, and a world more of Earles and Lords.

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* There is no play extant with this name; it may perhaps be a second title to one: Mr. Evelyn frequently mentions only one name of a play that has two. Or it may be Dryden's Comedy of "An. Evening's Love, or The Mock Astrologer," which is indeed sufficiently licentious.

14. His Maty was pleas'd to grant me a lease of a slip of ground out of Brick Close, to enlarge my fore court, for wch I now gave him thanks; then entering into other discourse, he talk'd to me of a new vernish for ships instead of pitch, and of ye gilding with which his new yatcht was beautified. I shew'd his Maty the perpetual motion sent to me by Dr. Stokes from Collen; and then came in Monsr Colbert, ye French Ambassador.

19. I saw ye magnificent entrie of the French Ambassr Colbert, receiv'd in ye Banqueting House. I had never seene a richer coach than that which he came in to White-hall. Standing by his Maty at dinner in the Presence, there was of that rare fruit call'd the *King-pine*, growing in Barbados and ye West Indies, the first of them I had ever seene *. His Maty having cut it up, was pleas'd to give me a piece off his owne plate to taste of, but in my opinion it falls short of those ravishing varieties of deliciousness describ'd in Capt. Ligon's History, and others; but possibly it might, or certainly was, much impair'd in coming so far. It has yet a gratefull acidity, but tasts more like ye quince and melon than of any other fruite he mentions.

28 Aug. Publish'd my book of "The perfection of Painting," dedicated to Mr. Howard.

17 Sept. I entertain'd Signr Muccinigo the Venetian Ambassr, of one of the noblest families of the State, this being the day of making his publick entrie, setting forth from my house with severall gentn of Venice and others in a very glorious traine. He staied with me till the Earle of Anglesea and Sr Cha. Cotterell (Master of the Ceremonies) came with the King's barge to carry him to ye Tower, where the gunns were fir'd at his landing; he then entered his Matys coach, follow'd by many others of ye nobility. I accompanied him to his house, where there was a most noble supper to all the companie of course. After ye extraordinarie compliments to me and my wife for the civilities he receiv'd at my house, I tooke leave and return'd. He is a very accomplish'd person. He is since Ambassador at Rome.

29. I had much discourse with Signr Pietro Cisij, a Persian gent.

* See before, the Queen's pine 1661, p. 338.

about ye affaires of Turkey, to my greate satisfaction. I went to see Sr Elias Leighton's project of a cart with iron axle-trees.

Nov. 8. Being at dinner, my sister Evelyn sent for me to come up to London to my continuing sick brother.

14. To London, invited to the consecration of that excellent person ye Deane of Ripon, Dr. Wilkins, now made Bishop of Chester; it was at Ely House, the Archbp. of Canterbury, Dr. Cosin Bishop of Durham, the Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Rochester, and others officiating. Dr. Tillotson preach'd. Then we went to a sumptuous dinner in ye Hall, where were the Duke of Buckingham, Judges, Secretaries of State, Lord Keeper, Council, Noblemen, and innumerable other company, who were honourers of this incomparable man, universally belov'd of all who knew him.

This being ye Queene's birth-day, greate was ye gallantry at Whitehall, and ye night celebrated with very fine fire-works.

My poore brother continuing ill I went not from him till ye 17th, when dining at ye Groom Porters I heard Sir Edw. Sutton play excellently on ye Irish harp; he plays genteelly, but not approching my worthy friend Mr. Clark, a gent. of Northumberland, who makes it exceed lute, viol, and all ye harmony an instrument is capable of; pity 'tis that it is not more in use; but indeede to play well takes up the whole man, as Mr. Clark has assur'd me who, tho' a gent. of quality and parts, was yet brought up to that instrument from 5 yeares old, as I remember he told me.

25. I waited on Lo. Sandwich, who presented me with the Sembrador he brought out of Spaine, shewing me his two bookes of observations made during his ambassy and stay at Madrid, in which were several rare things he promis'd to impart to me.

27. I din'd at my Lord Ashley's (since Earl of Shaftsbury) when ye match of my niece * was propos'd for his onely sonn, in wch my assistance was desir'd for my Lord.

28. Dr. Patrick preached at Covent Garden on 17 Acts, 31. the certainty of Christ's coming to judgement, it being Advent; a most suitable discourse.

* Probably the daughter of his brother Richard of Epsom, but who married Mr. Mountagu.

19 Dec. I went to see ye old play of "Cataline" acted, having ben now forgotten almost 40 yeares.

20 Dec. I din'd with my Lord Cornbury at Clarendon House, now bravely furnish'd, especialy with the pictures of most of our ancient and modern witts, poets, philosophers, famous and learned Englishmen; which collection of the Chancellor's I much commended, and gave his Lordship a catalogue of more to be added *.

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* In a letter to the Lord Chancellor dated 18 March 1666-7, Mr. Evelyn says;

"My Lord, y^r^ Lp. enquires of me what pictures might be added to the Assembly of the Learned and Heroic persons of England which your Lp has already collected; the designe of which I do infinitely more magnifie than the most famous heads of Foreigners which do not concern the glory of our Country; and it is in my opinion the most honorable ornament, the most becoming and obliging, wch y^r^ Lp can thinke of to adorne y^r^ palace withall: such therefore as seem to be wanting I shall range under these three heads.

THE LEARNED.

Sir Hen. Savell.	Wm. Hooker.	Ven. Bede.
Abp. of Armagh.	Dr. Sanderson.	Jo. Duns Scotus.
Dr. Harvey.	Wm. Oughtred.	Alcuinus.
Sir H. Wotton.	M. Philips.	Ridley, Latimer, } martyrs.
Sir T. Bodley.	Rog. Bacon.	
G. Buchanan.	Geo. Ripley.	Roger Ascham.
Jo. Barclay.	Wm. of Occam.	Sir J. Cheke.
Ed. Spencer.	Hadrian 4th.	Lady's { Eliz. Joan Weston‡, Jane Grey.
Wm. Lilly.	Alex. Ales.	

POLITITIANS.

Sir Fra. Walsingham.	Sir W. Raleigh.	Sir T. Smith.
E. of Leicester.	Cardl. Wolsey.	Card. Pole.

SOULDIERS.

Sir Fra. Drake.	Tho. Cavendish.	Talbot.
Sir J. Hawkins.	Sir Ph. Sidney.	Sir F. Grevill.
Sir Martin Frobisher.	E. of Essex.	Hor. E. of Oxford.

"Some of which, tho' difficult to procure originals of, yet happly copys might be found out upon diligent enquiry. The rest I thinke y^r^ Lp has already in good proportion."

Mr. Evelyn, in a letter to Mr. Pepys, dated 12 Aug. 1689, tells him that the Lord Chancellor Clarendon had collected Portraits of very many of our great men; and puts them down promiscuously as he recollected them (see vol. II. pp. 241, 242). Mr. Evelyn also there gives a list of Portraits which he recommended to be added, a little different from the list contained in the preceding letter to the Lord Chancellor; and remarks that "When Lord Clarendon's design of making this

‡ For an account of her see Ballard's Learned Ladies. There is a very scarce volume of Latin Poems by her printed at Prague, 1606. Mr. Evelyn mentions her in his Numismata. She is much celebrated by the writers of her time.

31. I entertained my kind neighbours according to costome, giving Almighty God thanks for his gracious mercys to me the past yeare.

1669. 1 Jan. Imploring His blessing for the yeare entring, I went to church, where our Doctor preached on 65 Psalm 12. apposite to ye season and beginning a new yeare.

3. About this time one of Sr Wm Pen's sonns had publish'd a blasphemous book against the Deity of our blessed Lord.

29. I went to see a tall gigantic woman, who measur'd 6 feet 10 inches high *, at 21 years old, born in the Low Countries.

13 Feb. I presented his Ma^ty^ with my "Historie of the Foure Impostors;" he told me of other like cheates. I gave my booke to Lord Arlington, to whom I dedicated it. It was now that he began to tempt me about writing "the Dutch War."

15. Saw Mrs. Philips's "Horace" acted againe.

18. To the Rl. Society, when Signor Malpighi, an Italian physician & anatomist, sent the Societie the incomparable Historie of the Silkworme.

1 Mar. Din'd at Lord Arlington's at Goring House with the Bishop of Hereford.

4. To the Council of the R. Society, about disposing my Lord Howard's Librarie, now given to us.

16. To London, to place Mr Christopher Wase about my Lord Arlington.

18. I went with Lord Howard of Norfolk to visit Sr Wm Ducie at Charlton, where we din'd; the servants made our coachmen so drunk that they both fell off their boxes on the heath, where we were fain to leave them, and were driven to London by two servants of my Lord's. This barbarous custom of making the masters welcome by intoxicating the servants had now the second time happen'd to my coachman.

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collection was known, every body who had any of the portraits, or could purchase them at any price, strove to make their court by presenting them. By this means he got many excellent pieces of Vandyke, and other originals by Lely and other the best of our modern masters." (Ibid. p. 244.)

* A few years ago there was living in England a gentlewoman who was 7 feet 5 inches high. She died about the age of 27. (1816.)

My sonn came finally from Oxon.

2 April. Din'd at Mr. Treasurer's, where was (with many noblemen) Col. Titus of the bed-chamber, author of ye famous piece against Cromwell, "Killing no Murder."

I now plac'd Mr. Wase with Mr. Williamson, Secretary to ye Secretary of State, and Clerk of ye Papers.

14. I din'd with the Abp. of Canterbury at Lambeth, and saw the Library, which was not very considerable.

19 May. At a Council of the R. Society our grant was finish'd, in wch his Ma^ty^ gives us Chelsey Colledge and some land about it. It was order'd that 5 should be a quorum for a Council. The Vice-President was then sworn for ye first time, and it was propos'd how we should receive the Prince of Tuscany, who desir'd to visit the Society.

20. This evening at 10 o'clock was borne my third daughter, who was baptized on the 25th by the name of Susanna.

3 June. Went to take leave of Lord Howard, going Ambass^r^ to Morocco. Dined at Lord Arlington's, where were the Earle of Berkshire, Ld St John, Sir Robert Howard, & Sir R. Holmes.

10. Came my Lord Cornbury, Sr William Poültny, and others, to visite me. I went this evening to London, to carry Mr. Pepys to my brother Rich^d^, now exceedingly afflicted with the stone, who had ben successfully cut, and carried the stone as big as a tennis-ball, to shew him and encourage his resolution to go thro' the operation.

30. My wife went a journey of pleasure down the river as far as ye Sea, with Mrs. Howard, and her daughter the Maid of Honour, and others, amongst whom that excellent creature Mrs. Blagge.

7 July. I went towards Oxford; lay at Little Wycomb. — 8. At Oxford.

9. In the morning was celebrated the Encenia of the New Theater, so magnificently built by the munificence of Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Abp. of Canterbury, in which was spent £.25,000, as Sir Chr^r^ Wren, the architect, (as I remember) told me; and yet it was never seene by the benefactor, my Lord Abp. having told me that he never did nor ever would see it. It is in truth a fabrick comparable to any of this kind of former ages, and doubtless exceeding any of the present, as this Univer-

sity does for Colledges, Libraries, Scholes, Students, and order, all the Universities in the world. To the Theater is added the famous Sheldonian Printing-house. This being at the Act and the first time of opening the Theater (Acts being formerly kept in St. Mary's church, which might be thought indecent, that being a place set apart for the immediate worship of God, and was the inducement for building this noble pile) it was now resolv'd to keep the present Act in it, and celebrate its dedication with the greatest splendor and formalitie that might be, and therefore drew a world of strangers and other companie to the University from all parts of ye nation.

The Vice Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Doctors, being seated in magisterial seates, the Vice Chancellor's chaire and deske, Proctors, &c. cover'd with Brocatall (a kind of brocade) and cloth of gold; the Universitie Register read the founder's grant and gift of it to the Universitie for their scolastic exercises upon these solemn occasions. Then follow'd Dr. South, the Universitie's Orator, in an eloquent speech, which was very long, and not without some malicious and indecent reflections on the Royal Society, as underminers of the University, which was very foolish and untrue, as well as unseasonable. But, to let that pass from an ill natur'd man, the rest was in praise of the Archbishop and the ingenious architect. This ended, after loud musiq from the corridor above, where an organ was plac'd, there follow'd divers panegyric speeches both in prose and verse, interchangeably pronounc'd by the young students plac'd in the rostrums, in Pindarics, Eclogues, Heroics, &c. mingled with excellent musiq, vocal and instrumental, to entertain the ladies and the rest of the company. A speech was then made in praise of academical learning. This lasted from 11 in the morning till 7 at night, which was concluded with ringing of bells and universal joy and feasting.

10. The next day began the more solemn Lectures in all ye Faculties, which were perform'd in their several scholes, where all the Inceptor Doctors did their exercises, the Professors having first ended their reading. The assembly now return'd to the Theater, where the *Terræ filius* (the *Universitie Buffoone)* entertain'd the auditorie with a tedious, abusive, sarcastical rhapsodie, most unbecoming the gravity of the

Universitie, and that so grossly, that unlesse it be suppress'd, it will be of ill consequence, as I afterwards plainly express'd my sense of it both to ye Vice Chancellor and severall heads of houses, who were perfectly asham'd of it, and resolv'd to take care of it in future. The old facetious way of raillying upon the questions was left off, falling wholy upon persons, so that 'twas rather licentious lyeing and railing than genuine and noble witt. In my life I was never witnesse of so shamefull entertainment. After this ribauldry, the Proctors made their speeches. Then began ye Musick Act, vocal and instrumental, above in ye ballustrade corridore opposite to the Vice Chancellor's seate. Then Dr. Wallis, the Mathematical Professor, made his Oration, and created one Doctor of Musiq according to the usual ceremonies of gowne (which was of white damask), cap, ring, kisse, &c. Next follow'd ye Disputations of the Inceptor Doctors in Medicine, the Speech of their Professor Dr. Hyde, and so in course their respective creations. Then disputed the Inceptors of Law, the Speech of their Professor, and creation. Lastly, Inceptors in Theologie; Dr. Compton (brother to the Earle of Northampton) being junior, began with greate modesty and applause; so the rest. After wch Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Sprat, &c. and then Dr. Allestree's speech, ye King's Professor, and their respective creations. Last of all the Vice Chancellor, shutting up the whole in a panegyrical oration celebrating their benefactor and the rest, apposite to the occasion.

Thus was the Theater dedicated by the scholastic exercises in all the Faculties with greate solemnity; and the night, as ye former, entertaining the new Doctors friends in feasting and musiq. I was invited by Dr. Barlow, the worthy and learned Provost of Queene's Coll.

11. The Act Sermon was this forenoon preach'd by Dr. Hall in St. Maries in an honest practical discourse against Atheisme. In the afternoone the Church was so crowded, that not coming early I could not approch to heare.

12. Monday. Was held the Divinity Act in the Theater againe, when proceeded 17 Doctors, in all Faculties some.

13. I din'd at the Vice-Chancellor's, and spent the afternoone in seeing the rarities of the publick libraries, and visiting ye noble marbles

and inscriptions, now inserted in the walles that compasse the area of the Theater, which were 150 of the most ancient and worthy treasures of that kind in the learned world. Now observing that people approching them too neere, some idle persons began to scratch and injure them, I advis'd that an hedge of holly should be planted at the foot of ye wall, to be kept breast-high onely, to protect them, which the Vice-Chancellor promis'd to do the next season.

14. Dr. Fell*, Dean of Christ-church and Vice-Chancellor, with Dr. Allestree Professor, with Beadles and Maces before them, came to visite me at my lodging. — I went to visite Lord Howard's sons at Magdalen College.

15. Having two daies before had notice that the University intended me the honour of Doctor-ship, I was this morning attended by the Beadles belonging to the Law, who conducted me to the Theater, where I found the Duke of Ormond (now Chancellor of the Universitie) with ye Earl of Chesterfield and Mr. Spencer (brother to ye late Earl of Sunderland). Thence we march'd to the Convocation House, a Convocation having ben call'd on purpose; here, being all of us rob'd in the Porch in scarlett with caps and hoods, we were led in by the Professor of Laws and presented respectively by name, with a short eulogie, to the Vice-Chancellor, who sate in the chaire, with all the Doctors and Heads of Houses and Masters about ye roome, which was exceeding full. Then began the Publiq Orator his speech, directed chiefly to the Duke of Ormond the Chancellor, but in which I had my compliment in course. This ended, we were call'd up and created Doctors according to the forme, and seated by the Vice-Chancellor amongst the Doctors on his right hand; then the Vice-Chancellor made a short speech, and so saluting our brother Doctors, the pageantry concluded, and the Convocation was dissolved. So formal a creation of Honorarie Doctors had seldome ben seene, that a Convocation should be call'd on purpose and speeches made by the Orator; but they could do no lesse, their Chancellor being to receive, or rather do them, this honour. I should have ben made Doctor with the rest at the Publiq Act, but their expectation

* Afterwards Bishop of Oxford.

of their Chancellor made them defer it. I was then led with my brother Doctors to an extraordinary entertainment at Dr. Mewes, Head of St. John's College, and after aboundance of feasting and compliments, having visited the Vice-Chancellor and other Doctors, and given them thanks for the honour done me, I went towards home the 16th, and got as far as Windsor, and to my house ye next day.

4 Aug. I was invited by Sir Hen. Peckham to his Reading feast in the Middle Temple, a pompous entertainment, where were the Abp. of Canterbury, all the greate Earles and Lords, &c. I had much discourse with my Lord Winchelsea, a prodigious talker; and the Venetian Ambass^r^.

17. To London, spending almost the intire day in surveying what progresse was made in rebuilding the ruinous Citty, which now began a little to revive after its sad calamitie.

20. I saw the splendid audience of ye Danish Ambass^r^ in the Banquetting House at White-hall.

23. I went to visite my most excellent and worthy neighbour the Ld Bishop of Rochester at Bromely, which he was now repairing after the dilapidations of the late rebellion.

2 Sept. I was this day very ill of a paine in my limbs, which continued most of this weeke & was increased by a visite I made to my old acquaintance the Earle of Norwich at his house in Epping Forest, where are many good pictures put into the wainscot of the roomes, which Mr. Baker, his Lordship's predecessor there, brought out of Spaine; especialy the *Historie of Joseph*, a picture of the pious and learned Picus Mirandula, and an incomparable one of old Breugle. The gardens were well understood, I mean the *Potagere*. I return'd late in ye evening, ferrying over ye water at Greenewich.

26. To Church to give God thanks for my recovery.

Oct. 3. I received the Blessed Eucharist to my unspeakable joy.

21. To ye R. Society, meeting for the first time after a long recesse, during Vacation, according to custome; where was read a description of the prodigious Eruption of Mount Etna; and our English Itinerant presented an account of his autumnal perigrination about England, for which we hired him, bringing dried fowls, fish, plants, animals, &c.

26. My deare brother continued extreamely full of paine, the Lord be gracious to him!

Nov. 3. This being the day of meeting for the poore, we dined neighbourly together.

25. I heard an excellent discourse by Dr. Patrick on the resurrection; & afterwards visited the Countesse of Kent, my kindswoman.

8 Dec. To London, upon ye second edition of my "Sylva," which I presented to the Royal Society.

1670. Feb. 6. Dr John Breton, M^r^ of Emanuel Coll.^e^ in Cambridge, (unkle to our Viccar,) preached on 1 John 27, "*whose* shoe latchet I am not worthy to unloose, &c." describing the various fashions of shoos or sandals worn by ye Jewes & other nations: of ye ornaments of the feete: how greate persons had servants y^t^ tooke them off when they came to their houses, & bare them after them: by which pointing the dignitie of o^r^ Saviour, when such a person as St John Baptist acknowledges his unworthinesse even of that meane office. The lawfulnesse, decentnesse, & necessitie, of subordinate degrees & ranks of men & servants, as well in ye Church as State: against ye late levellers & others of that dangerous rabble who would have all alike.

3 Mar. Finding my brother [Richard] in such exceeding torture, and that he now began to fall into convulsion fits, I solemnly set ye next day apart to beg of God to mitigate his sufferings and prosper the onely meanes which yet remained for his recovery, he being not only much wasted but exceedingly and all along averse from being cut (for the stone); but when he at last consented, and it came to ye operation and all things prepar'd, his spirit and resolution failed.

6. Dr Patrick preached in Covent Garden church. I participated of the blessed Sacrament, recommending to God the deplorable condition of my deare brother, who was almost in ye last agonies of death. I watched late with him this night. It pleased God to deliver him out of this miserable life, towards five o'clock this Moneday morning, to my unspeakeable griefe. He was a brother whom I most dearly lov'd for his many virtues; but two yeares younger than myself, a sober, prudent, worthy gentleman. He had married a greate fortune, and left one onely daughter, and a noble seate at Woodcote neere Epsom. His body was

open'd, and a stone taken out of his bladder, not much bigger than a nutmeg. I returned home on the 8th, full of sadnesse, & to bemoane my losse.

20. A stranger preached at the Savoy French Church: the Liturgie of the Ch: of England being now used altogether, as translated into French by Dr. Durell.

21. We all accompanied the corpse of my dear brother to Epsom church, where he was decently interr'd in ye chapell belonging to Woodcote House. A greate number of friends and gentlemen of the country attended, about 20 coaches and six horses, and innumerable people.

22. I went to Westm^r^, where in the House of Lords I saw his Ma^ty^ sit on his throne, but without his robes, all the Peeres sitting with their hatts on; the business of the day being the divorce of my Lord Rosse. Such an occasion and sight had not ben seene in England since the time of Hen. VIII.*

5 May. To London, concerning the office of Latine Secretary to his Ma^ty^, a place of more honor and dignitie than profit, the revertion of which he had promis'd me.

21. Came to visite me Mr. Henry Savill, and Sr Chas Scarborow.

26. Receiving a letter from Mr. Philip Howard, Lord Almoner to the Queen †, that Monsr Evelin, first physitian to Madame (who was now come to Dover to visit the King her brother), was come to towne, greately desirous to see me, but his stay so short that he could not come to me, I went with my brother to meete him at the Tower,

* "When there was a project, 1669, for getting a divorce for the King, to facilitate it, there was brought into the House of Lords a bill for dissolving the marriage of Lord Rosse, on account of adultery, and to give him leave to marry again. This bill, after great debates, passed by the plurality of only two votes, and that by the great industry of the Lord's friends, as well as the Duke's enemies, who carried it on chiefly in hopes it might be a precedent, and inducement for the King to enter the more easily into their late proposals; nor were they a little encouraged therein, when they saw the King countenance and drive on the bill in Lord Rosse's favour. Of 18 Bishops that were in the House, only two voted for the bill, of which one voted through age, and one was reputed a Socinian."—These, in a note, are said to be Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, and Dr. Wilkins, Bishop of Chester.

† Afterwards created Cardinal.

where he was seeing the magazines and other curiosities, having never before ben in England: we renew'd our alliance and friendship, with much regret on both sides that he being to returne towards Dover that evening, we could not enjoy one another any longer. How this French familie, Ivelin, of Evelin in Normandy, a very ancient and noble house, is grafted into our Pedigree, see in ye collection brought from Paris 1650.

16 June. I went with some friends to ye Bear Garden, where was cock-fighting, dog-fighting, beare and bull-baiting, it being a famous day for all these butcherly sports, or rather barbarous cruelties. The bulls did exceeding well, but the Irish wolfe-dog exceeded, which was a tall greyhound, a stately creature indeede, who beate a cruell mastiff. One of the bulls toss'd a dog full into a *lady's lap*, as she sate in one of ye boxes at a considerable height from the arena. Two poore dogs were kill'd, and so all ended with the ape on horseback, and I most heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime, which I had not seene, I think, in twenty yeares before.

18. Dined at Goring House, whither my Lo. Arlington carried me from White-hall with the Marquis of Worcester; there we found Lo. Sandwich, Viscount Stafford [since beheaded], the Lieutenant of ye Tower, and others. After dinner my Lord communicated to me his Ma^tys^ desire that I would undertake to write the History of our late War with the Hollanders, which I had hitherto declin'd; this I found was ill-taken, and that I should disoblige his Ma^ty^, who had made choice of me to do him this service, and if I would undertake it I should have all the assistance the Secretary's office and others could give me, with other encouragements, which I could not decently refuse.

Lord Stafford rose from table in some disorder because there were roses stuck about the fruite when the discert was set on the table; such an antipathie, it seems, he had to them as once Lady Selenger * also had and to that degree, that, as Sr Kenelm Digby tells us, laying but a rose upon her cheeke when she was asleepe, it rais'd a blister; but Sr Kenelm was a teller of strange things.

* St. Leger.

24. Came the Earle of Huntingdon and Countesse, with ye Ld Sherard, to visite us.

29. To London, in order to my niece's marriage, Mary, daughter to my late brother Richard, of Woodcot, wth ye eldest son of Mr. Attorney Mountague, which was celebrated at Southampton House Chapell, after which a magnificent entertainment, feast and dauncing, dinner and supper, in the great roome there, but the bride was bedded at my sister's lodging in Drurie lane.

6 July. Came to visite me Mr. Stanhope, Gent. Usher to her Majestie, and unkle to the Earle of Chesterfield, a very fine man, with my Lady Hutchesoir.

" 19. I accompanied my worthy friend that excellent man Sr Robt Murray, with Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, to see ye latter's seate and estate at Burrow Green in Cambridgeshire, he desireing our advice for placeing a new house which he was resolv'd to build *; we set out in a coach and six horses with him and his lady, din'd about midway at one Mr. Turner's, where we found a very noble dinner, venison, musiq, and a circle of country ladies and their gallants. After dinner we proceeded and came to Burrow Green that night. This had ben the ancient seate of ye Cheekes (whose daughter Mr. Slingsby married), formerly Tutor to K. Edw. VI. The old house large and ample, and built for ancient hospitalitie, ready to fall down with age, plac'd in a dirty hole, a stiffe clay, no water, next an adjoyning church-yard, and with other inconveniencies. We pitch'd on a spot of rising ground, adorn'd with venerable woods, a dry and sweete prospect East and West, and fit for a parke, but no running water; at a mile distance from the old house.

20. We went to dine at Lord Allington's †, who had newly built a house of greate cost, I believe little less than £20,000 ‡. His archi-

* It is probable that he did not build, and that after his misfortunes, which will be mentioned hereafter, it was sold. Mr. Lysons, in his Britannia, under Cambridgeshire, says, that what remains of an old brick mansion, is now a farm-house.

† Since Constable of the Tower.

‡ At Horseheath. The Allingtons seated here before 1239: William created an Irish Peer, by the title of Lord Allington, in 1646. Mr. Lysons says the building cost £70,000. and with the

tect was Mr. Pratt. It is seated in a parke, with a sweete prospect and stately avenue, but water still defective; the house has also its infirmities. Went back to Mr. Slingsby's.

22. We rod out to see the greate meere or levell of recover'd fen lande, not far off. In the way we met Lord Arlington going to his house in Suffolk, accompanied with Count Ogniati the Spanish Minister, and Sr Bernard Gascoigne; he was very importunate with me to go with him to Euston, being but fifteen miles distant, but in reguard of my companie I could not. So passing thro' Newmarket, we alighted to see his Maties house there, now new building; the arches of the cellars beneath are well turn'd by Mr. Samuel the architect, the rest meane enough and hardly fit for a hunting house. Many of the roomes above had the chimnies plac'd in ye angles and corners, a mode now introduc'd by his Ma^ty^ wch I do at no hand approve of. I predict it will spoile many noble houses and roomes if follow'd. It does onely well in very small and trifling roomes, but takes from the state of greater. Besides this house is plac'd in a dirty streete, without any court or avenue, like a common one, whereas it might, and ought to have ben built at either end of the towne, upon the very carpet where the sports are celebrated; but it being the purchase of an old wretched house of my Lord Thomond's, his Ma^ty^ was persuaded to set it on that foundation, the most improper imaginable for a house of sport and pleasure *.

We went to see the stables and fine horses, of wch many were here kept at a vast expense, with all the art and tendernesse imaginable.

Being ariv'd at some meeres, we found Lord Wotton and Sir John Kiviet † about their draining engines, having it seemes undertaken to do wonders on a vast piece of marsh ground they had hired of Sr Thomas Chichley (Ma^r^ of ye Ordnance.) They much pleas'd themselves with the hopes of a rich harvest of hemp and cole seed, wch was the crop

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estate was sold in 1687 to John Bromley, esq. for £42,000. He expended £30,000 more on the building. His grandson was created Lord Montford in 1741. In 1776 the second Lord Montford sold the estate, the house being sold in 1777 for the materials, to be pulled down. Lysons, Cambridgeshire, p. 216, 217.

* It was sold by the Crown in 1816.

† Of him see before, p. 401.

expected. Here we visited the engines and mills both for wind and water, draining it thro' two rivers or graffs cut by hand and capable of carrying considerable barges, which went thwart one the other, discharging the water into ye sea. Such at this spot had ben the former winter, it was astonishing to see it now drie and so rich that weeds grew on the bankes almost as high as a man and horse. Here my Lord and his partner had built 2 or 3 roomes with Flanders white bricks, very hard. One of the greate engines was in the kitchen, where I saw the fish swim up, even to the very chimney hearth, by a small cut thro' the roome, and running within a foote of ye very fire.

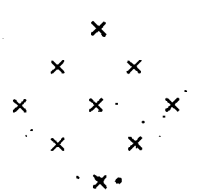
Having after dinner rid about that vast levell, pester'd with heate and swarmes of gnatts, we return'd over New-market Heath, the way being mostly a sweet turfe and down, like Salisbury Plaine, the jockies breathing their fine barbs and racers, and giving them their heates.

23 July. We return'd from Burrow Green to London, staying some time at Audley End to see that fine palace. It is indeede a cheerefull piece of Gotic building, or rather *antico moderno*, but placed in an obscure bottome. The cellars and galleries are very stately. It has a river by it, a pretty avenue of limes, and in a parke.

This is in Saffron Walden parish, famous for that usefull plant, with wch all the ye countrie is cover'd.

Dining at Bishop Stortford, we came late to London.

5 Aug. There was sent me by a neighbour a servant maid, who in the last moneth, as she was sitting before her mistress at work, felt a stroke on her arme a little above the wrist for some height, the smart of which, as if struck by another hand, caus'd her to hold her arme awhile till somewhat mitigated, but it put her into a kind of convulsion or rather hysteric fit. A gentleman coming casually in, looking on her arme, found that part poudred with red crosses, set in most exact and wonderfull order, neither swelled nor depressed, about this shape,



not seeming to be any way made by artifice, of a reddish colour, not so red as blood, the skin over them smooth, the rest of the arme livid and of a mortified hue, with certaine prints as it were of the stroke of fingers. This had happen'd three severall times in July, at about 10 days intervall, the crosses beginning to weare out, but the successive ones set in other different, yet uniforme order. The maide seemed very modest, and came from London to Deptford with her mistress to avoid the discourse and importunity of curious people. She made no gaine by it, pretended no religious fancies, but seemed to be a plaine, ordinary, silent, working wench, somewhat fat, short, and high colour'd. She told me divers divines and physitians had seene her, but were unsatisfied; that she had taken some remedies against her fits, but they did her no good; she had never before had any fits; once since she seem'd in her sleepe to hear one say to her that she should tamper no more with them, nor trouble herselfe with any thing that happen'd, but put her trust in ye merits of Christ onely.

This is the substance of what she told me, and what I saw and curiously examin'd. I was formerly acquainted with the impostorious Nunns of Loudune in France, which made such noise amongst the Papists, I therefore thought this worth the notice. I remember Monsr Monconys (that curious traveller and a Roman Catholic) was by no means satisfied with ye stigmata of those Nunns, because they were so shy of letting him scrape the letters, which were Jesus, Maria, Joseph, (as I think) observing they began to scale off with it, whereas this poore wench was willing to submit to any trial; so that I profess I know not what to think of it, nor dare I pronounce it any thing supernaturall.

26. At Windsor I supp'd with the Duke of Monmouth; and the next day, invited by Lord Arlington, din'd with the same Duke and divers Lords. After dinner my Lord and I had a conference of more than an houre alone in his bedchamber, to engage me in the Historie. I shew'd him something that I had drawn up, to his greate satisfaction, and he desir'd me to shew it to the Treasurer.

28. One of the Canons preach'd, then followed the offering of the Knights of the Order, according to custom; first the poore Knights in

procession, then the Canons in their formalities, the Deane and Chancellor, then his Ma^ty (the Soveraine), then the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, lastly the Earle of Oxford, being all the Knights that were then at Court.

I din'd with the Treasurer, and consulted with him what pieces I was to add; in the afternoone his Ma^ty tooke me aside into the balconie over the terrace, extreamely pleas'd with what had ben told him I had begun in order to his commands, and enjoyning me to proceede vigorously in it. He told me he had ordered ye Secretaries of State to give me all necessary assistance of papers and particulars relating to it, and enjoyning me to make it a *little keene*, for that the Hollanders had very unhandsomely abus'd him in their pictures, books, and libells.

Windsor was now going to be repaired, being exceedingly ragged and ruinous. Prince Rupert, the Constable, had begun to trim up the keepe or high round tower, and handsomely adorn'd his hall with furniture of armes, which was very singular, by so disposing ye pikes, muskets, pistols, bandeliers, holsters, drums, back, breast, and head pieces, as was very extraordinary. Thus those huge steepe stayres ascending to it had ye walls invested with this martial furniture all new and bright; so disposing ye bandeliers, holsters, and drums, as to represent festoons, and that without any confusion, trophy like. From the hall we went into his bedchamber, and ample roomes hung with tapissrie, curious and effeminate pictures; so extreamely different from the other, which presented nothing but warr and horror.

The King pass'd most of his time in hunting the stag, and walking in the parke, which he was now planting with rows of trees.

13 Sept. To visite Sr Richd Lashford, my kinsman, and Mr. Charles Howard at his extraordinary garden at Dipden.

15. I went to visit Mr. Arthur Onslow at West Clandon, a pretty dry seate on ye Downes, where we din'd in his greate roome.

17. To visit Mr. Hussey*, who being neere Wotton, lives in a sweete vally deliciously watered.

23. To Alburie to see how that garden proceeded, which I found exactly don to the designe and plot I had made, with the crypta thro'

* At Sutton in Shere.

the mountaine in the park, 30 perches in length. Such a Pausilippe* is no where in England besides. The canall was now digging, and the vineyard planted.

14 October. I spent the whole afternoon in private with the Treasurer, who put into my hands those secret pieces and transactions concerning the Dutch war, and particularly the expedition of Bergen, in which he had himselfe the cheife part, and gave me instructions, till the King ariving from New-market we both went up into his bed-chamber.

21. Din'd with the Treass^r, and after dinner we were shut up together. I receiv'd other [further] advises, and ten paper bookes of dispatches and treaties; to return which againe I gave a note under my hand to Mr. Jos. Williamson, Master of the Paper Office.

31. I was this morning fifty yeares of age: The Lord teach me to number my daies so, as to apply them to his glory. Amen.

4 Nov. Saw the Prince of Orange newly come to see the King his uncle; he has a manly, courageous, wise countenance, resembling his mother and the Duke of Gloucester, both deceas'd.

I now also saw that famous beauty, but in my opinion of a childish, simple, and baby face, Mademoiselle Querouaille†, lately Maide of Hon^r to Madame, and now to be so to ye Queene.

23. Din'd with the Earle of Arlington, where was the Venetian Ambassador, of whom I now tooke solemne leave, now on his returne. There were also Lords Howard, Wharton, Windsor, and divers other greate persons.

24. I din'd with ye Treas^r, where was ye Earle of Rochester, a very prophane wit.

15 December. It was the thickest and darkest fogg on the Thames that was ever known in ye memory of man, and I happened to be in

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* A word adopted by Mr. Evelyn for a subterranean passage, from the famous grot of Pausyllipo, at Naples.

† Henrietta, the King's sister, married to Philip Duke of Orleans, was then on a visit here. Madame Querouaille came over in her train, on purpose to entice Charles into an union with Lewis XIV. which unhappily succeeded but too well. She became the King's mistress, was made Dutchess of Portsmouth, and was his favourite till his death. See pp. 442, 443.

the very midst of it. I supped with Monsr Zulestein, late Governor to ye late Prince of Orange.

1671. 10 Jan. Mr. Bohun, my son's tutor, had ben 5 yeares in my house, and now Batchelor of Laws and Fellow of New Coll. went from me to Oxford to reside there, having well and faithfully perform'd his charge.

18. This day I first acquainted his Ma^ty^ with that incomparable young man Gibbon*, whom I had lately met with in an obscure place

* Usually known by the name of Gibbons; celebrated for his exquisite carving. His principal performance is said to be at Petworth. The following account of him appears in Walpole's Catalogue of Painters, and incidental notes of other Artists, collected by Geo. Vertue.

"*Grinling Gibbon.*—An original genius, a citizen of nature. There is no instance before him of a man who gave to wood the loose and airy lightness of flowers, and chained together the various productions of the elements with the free disorder natural to each species. It is uncertain whether he was born in Holland or in England; it is said that he lived in Bell Savage Court, Ludgate hill, and was employed by Betterton in decorating the Theatre in Dorset Garden. He lived afterwards at Deptford, in the same house with a musician, where the beneficent and curious Mr. Evelyn found and patronised both. This gentleman, Sir P. Lely, and Bap. May, who was something of an Architect himself, recommended Gibbons to Cha. II. who was too indolent to search for genius, and too indiscriminate in his bounty to confine it to merit, but was always pleased when it was brought home to him. He gave the artist a place in the Board of Works, and employed his hand on ornaments of most taste in his palaces, particularly at Windsor. Gibbon, in gratitude, made a present of his own bust in wood to Mr. Evelyn, who kept it at his house in Dover street. The piece that had struck so good a judge was a large carving in wood of St Stephen stoned, long preserved in the sculptor's own house, and afterwards purchased and placed by the Duke of Chandos at Cannons."

Mr. Walpole is not quite correct in this account. Gibbon, when young, was found by Mr. Evelyn in a small house in Deptford, working on that famous piece from Tintoret, here said to represent the stoning of St. Stephen, and which seems from Mr. Evelyn's account, to have been his first performance of consequence. It must have been afterwards that he lived in Belle Sauvage Yard, and that he worked on the Theatre in Dorset Gardens. Mr. Evelyn does not mention a musician, and says there was only an old woman with him in the house at Deptford. It was Mr. Evelyn who recommended him to the King, to Mr. May the architect, and to Sir Christopher Wren. Of the bust nothing is known at Wotton.

Copy from an original Letter addressed by G. Gibbon to Mr. Evelyn, now at Wotton.

Honred

S^r^ I wold beg the faver wen you see Sr Joseff Williams (Williamson) again you wold be pleasd to speack to him that hee wold get me to Carve his Ladis sons hous my Lord Kildare for I onderstand it will (be) verry considerabell ar If you haen Acquantans wich my Lord to speack to him his sealf and I shall for Ev're be obliaged to You I wold speack to Sr Josef my sealf but I knouw it wold do better from you S^r^ youre Most umbell Sarvant

Lond. 23 Mar. 1682. G: GIBBON.

Mr. Evelyn wrote to Lord Kildare recommending Mr. Gibbon; and to Mr. Gibbon with the letter.

by meere accident as I was walking neere a poore solitary thatched house, in a field in our parish, neere Says Court. I found him shut in; but looking in at the window I perceiv'd him carving that large cartoon or crucifix of Tintoret, a copy of which I had myselfe brought from Venice, where the original painting remaines. I asked if I might enter; he open'd the door civilly to me, and I saw him about such a work as for ye curiosity of handling, drawing, and studious exactnesse, I never had before seene in all my travells. I questioned him why he worked in such an obscure and lonesome place; he told me it was that he might apply himselfe to his profession without interruption, and wondred not a little how I had found him out. I asked if he was unwilling to be made knowne to some greate man, for that I believed it might turn to his profit; he answer'd he was yet but a beginner, but would not be sorry to sell off that piece; on demanding the price, he said 100*l.* In good earnest the very frame was worth the money, there being nothing in nature so tender and delicate as the flowers and festoons about it, and yet the worke was very strong; in the piece were more than 100 figures of men, &c. I found he was likewise musical, and very civil, sober, and discreete in his discourse. There was onely an old woman in the house. So desiring leave to visite him sometimes, I went away.

Of this young artist, together with my manner of finding him out, I acquainted the King, and begg'd that he would give me leave to bring him and his worke to White-hall, for that I would adventure my reputation with his Ma^ty^ that he had never seene any thing approch it, and that he would be exceedingly pleased, and employ him. The King said he would himselfe go see him. This was the first notice his Majestie ever had of Mr. Gibbon.

20. The King came to me in the Queen's withdrawing roome from the circle of ladies, to talk with me as to what advance I had made in the Dutch Historie. I din'd with the Tress^r^, and afterwards we went to the Secretarie's Office, where we conferred about divers particulars.

21. I was directed to go to Sr Geo. Downing, who having ben a publick minister in Holland at the beginning of ye war, was to give me light in some material passages.

This yeare the weather was so wet, stormy, and unseasonable, as had not ben knowne in many yeares.

9 Feb. I saw the greate ball danc'd by the Queene and distinguished ladies at White-hall Theater. Next day was acted there the famous play call'd "The Siege of Granada *," two days acted successively; there were indeede very glorious sceanes and perspectives, the worke of Mr. Streeter, who well understands it.

19. This day din'd with me Mr. Surveyor Dr. Chr^r Wren, and Mr. Pepys, Cleark of the Acts, two extraordinary ingenious and knowing persons, and other friends. I carried them to see the piece of carving wch I had recommended to the King.

25. Came to visit me one of the Lords Commiss^rs of Scotland for the Union.

28. The Treasurer acquainted me that his Ma^ty was graciously pleas'd to nominate me one of the Council of Forraine Plantations, and give me a salary of 500*l. p^r. ann.* to encourage me.

29. I went to thank the Treasurer, who was my greate friend and loved me; I dined with him and much company, and went thence to my Lo. Arlington, Secretary of State, in whose favour I likewise was upon many occasions, tho' I cultivated neither of their friendships by any meane submissions. I kiss'd his Ma^tys hand on his making me one of that new establish'd Council.

1 Mar. I caused Mr. Gibbon to bring to White-hall his excellent piece of carving, where being come I advertis'd his Majestie, who ask'd me where it was; I told him in Sr Richard Browne's (my father-in-law) chamber, and that if it pleas'd his Ma^ty to appoint whither it should be brought, being large and tho' of wood heavy, I wo^d take care for it; "No," says the King, "shew me ye way, I'll go to Sir Richard's chamber," which he immediately did, walking along the entries after me; as far as the ewrie, till he came up into the roome where I also lay. No sooner was he enter'd and cast his eye on the work but he was astonish'd at the curiositie of it, and having consider'd it a long time and discours'd with Mr. Gibbon, whom I brought to

* "The Conquest of Granada," by Dryden.

kisse his hand, he commanded it should be immediately carried to the Queenes side to shew her. It was carried up into her bed chamber, where she and the King looked on and admired it againe; the King being call'd away left us with the Queene, believing she would have bought it, it being a crucifix; but when his Ma^ty^ was gon, a French pedling woman, one Mad. de Boord, who us'd to bring peticoates and fanns, and baubles out of France to the Ladys, began to find fault with severall things in the worke, which she understood no more than an asse or a monkey, so as in a kind of indignation, I caused the person who brought it to carry it back to the chamber, finding the Queene so much govern'd by an ignorant French woman, and this incomparable artist had his labour onely for his paines, which not a little displeas'd me, and he was faine to send it downe to his cottage againe; he not long after sold it for £.80. tho' well worth £.100. without the frame, to Sir Geo. Viner.

His Ma^ty's^ Surveyor, Mr. Wren, faithfully promis'd me to employ him*. I having also bespoke his Ma^ty^ for his worke at Windsor, which my friend Mr. May the architect there was going to alter and repaire universally; for on the next day I had a fair opportunity of talking to his Ma^ty^ about it, in ye lobby next the Queenes side, where I presented him with some sheetes of my Historie. I thence walk'd with him thro' St. James's Parke to the garden, where I both saw and heard a very familiar discourse between . . . . . and Mrs. Nellie† as they cal'd an impudent comedian, she looking out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and . . . . . standing on ye greene walke under it. I was heartily sorry at this scene. Thence the King walked to the Dutchess of Cleaveland, another lady of pleasure, and curse of our nation.

5. I dined at Greenewich, to take leave of Sr Tho. Linch, going Governor of Jamaica.

10. To London about passing my patent as one of the standing Council for Plantations, a considerable honour, the others in ye Council being cheifly Noblemen, and Officers of State.

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* The carving in the Choir, &c. of St. Paul's Cathedral was executed by Gibbon.

† Nell Gwyn: there can be no doubt with what name to fill up these blanks.

2 April. To Sr Tho. Clifford the Treasurer, to condole with him on the losse of his eldest son, who died at Florence.

2 May. The French King being now with a greate army of 28,000 men about Dunkirk, divers of the grandees of that Court, and a vast number of gentlemen and cadets in fantastical habites came flocking over to see our Court, and compliment his Ma^ty^. I was present when they first were conducted into the Queenes withdrawing roome, where saluted their Majesties the Dukes of Guise, Longueville, and many others of the first sort.

10. Din'd at Mr. Treas^rs^, where dined Monsr De Gramont and severall French noblemen, and one Blood, that impudent bold fellow who had not long before attempted to steale the imperial crowne itselfe out of the Tower, pretending onely curiositie of seeing the regalia there, when stabbing the keeper, tho' not mortally, he boldly went away with it thro' all the guards, taken onely by the accident of his horse falling down. How he came to be pardoned, and even received into favour, not onely after this, but severall other exploits almost as daring both in Ireland and here, I could never come to understand. Some believed he became a spie of severall parties, being well with the Sectaries and Enthusiasts, and did his Ma^ty^ services that way, which none alive could do so well as he; but it was certainely as the boldest attempt, so the onely treason of this sort that was ever pardon'd. The man had not onely a daring but a villainous unmercifull looke, a false countenance, but very well spoken and dangerously insinuating.

11. I went to Eltham to sit as one of the Commissioners about ye subsidie now given by Parliament to his Majesty.

17. Dined at Mr. Treass^rs^ [Sir Tho. Clifford] with the Earl of Arlington, Carlingford, Lord Arundel of Wardour, Lo. Almoner to the Queene, a French Count, and two abbots, with several more of French nobility; and now by something I had lately observed of Mr. Treasurer's conversation on occasion, I suspected him a little warping to Rome.

25. I dined at a feast made for me and my wife by the Trinity Company for our passing a fine of the land which Sr R. Browne my wife's father freely gave to found and build their Colledge or Almes-

houses on at Deptford, it being my wife's after her father's decease. It was a good and charitable worke and gift, but would have ben better bestow'd on ye poore of that parish, than on the seamens widows, the Trinity Comp^y^ being very rich, and the rest of the poore of the parish exceedingly indigent.

26. The Earle of Bristol's house in Queene Street [Lincoln's Inn Fields], was taken for the Comm^rs^ of Trade and Plantations, and furnish'd with rich hangings of the King's. It consisted of seven roomes on a floore, with a long gallery, gardens, &c. This day we met: the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Lauderdaile, Lord Culpeper, Sr Geo. Carteret Vice Chamberlaine, and myselfe, had the oathes given us by the Earle of Sandwich, our President. It was, to advise and counsel his Ma^ty^ to the best of our abillities for the well governing of his Forraine Plantations, &c. the forme very little differing from that given to the Privy Council. We then tooke our places at the Board in the Council Chamber, a very large roome furnished with atlases, mapps, charts, globes, &c. Then came ye Lord Keeper, Sr Orlando Bridgeman, Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State, Lord Ashley, Mr. Treasurer, Sir John Trevor the other Secretary, Sir John Duncomb, Lord Allington, Mr. Grey, son to ye Lord Grey, Mr. Henry Broncher, Sr Humfry Winch, Sr John Finch, Mr. Waller, and Coll. Titus of the Bedchamber, with Mr. Slingsby Secretary to the Council, and two Clearks of ye Council, who had all ben sworne some dayes before. Being all set, our Patent was read, and then the additional Patent, in which was recited this new establishment; then was delivered to each a copy of the Patent and of instructions: after which we proceeded to business. The first thing we did was to settle the forme of a circular letter to the Governors of all his Ma^tys^ Plantations and Territories in the West Indies and Islands thereof, to give them notice to whom they should apply themselves on all occasions, and to render us an account of their present state and government; but what we most insisted on was to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England or his Ma^ty^, rich and strong as they now were, there were greate debates in what style to write to them, for the condition of that Colony was such that they

were able to contest with all other Plantations about them, and there was feare of their breaking from all dependance on this Nation; his Maty therefore commended this affaire more expressly. We therefore thought fit in the first place to acquaint ourselves as well as we could of the state of that place, by some whom we heard of that were newly come from thence, and to be informed of their present posture and condition; some of our Council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood ye peevish and touchy humor of that Colonie, were utterly against.

A letter was then read from Sr Tho. Modiford, Governor of Jamaica; and then the Council brake up.

Having brought an action against one Cock for money which he had receiv'd for me, it had been referred to an arbitration by the recommendation of that excellent good man the Chief Justice Hales; but this not succeeding, I went to advise with that famous lawyer Mr. Jones, of Gray's Inn, and 27 May had a trial before the Lo. Ch. Justice Hales, and after the lawyers had wrangled sufficiently, it was referred to a new arbitration. This was the very first suit at law that ever I had with any creature, and ô that it might be the last!

1 June. An installation at Windsor.

6. I went to Council, where was produc'd a most exact and ample information of the state of Jamaica, and of the best expedients as to New England, on which there was a long debate, but at length 'twas concluded that, if any, it should be only a conciliating paper at first, or civil letter, till we had better information of ye present face of things, since we understood they were a people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependance on ye Crowne.

19. To a splendid dinner at the greate roome in Deptford Trinity House, Sr Tho. Allen chosen Master, and succeeding the Earle of Craven.

20. To carry Coll. Midleton to White-hall to my Lo. Sandwich, our President, for some information which he was able to give of the state of the Colonie in New England.

21. To Council againe, when one Coll. Cartwright, a Nottinghamshire man, (formerly in commission with Coll. Nicholls) gave us a con-

siderable relation of that country, on which the Council concluded that in the first place a letter of amnestie should be dispatch'd.

24. Constantine Hugens, Sig^r of Zuylichem, that excellent learned man, poet, and musitian, now neere 80 yeares of age, a vigorous, brisk man, came to take leave of me before his returne into Holland with the Prince, whose Secretary he was.

26. To Council, where Lo. Arlington acquainted us that it was his Ma^tys proposal we should every one of us contribute 20*l.* towards building a Council-chamber and conveniences somewhere in White-hall, that his Ma^ty might come and sit amongst us and heare our debates; the mony we laid out to be reimbours'd out of the contingent monies already set apart for us, *viz.* 1000*l.* yearly. To this we unanimously consented. There came an uncertaine bruite from Barbados of some disorder there. On my return home I stept in at the Theater to see the new machines for the intended scenes, which were indeede very costly and magnificent.

29. To Council, where were letters from Sr Tho. Modiford, of the expedition and exploit of Coll. Morgan* and others of Jamaica on the Spanish Continent at Panama.

4 July. To Council, where we drew up and agreed to a letter to be sent to New England, and made some proposal to Mr. Gorges for his interest in a Plantation there.

24. To Council. Mr. Surveyor brought us a plot for the building of our Council-chamber, to be erected at the end of the Privy-garden in White-hall.

3 Augt. A full appearance at the Council. The matter in debate was, whether we should send a Deputy to New England, requiring them of the Massachusets to restore such to their limits and respective possessions as had petition'd ye Council; this to be the open Commission onely, but in truth with seacret instructions to informe the Council of the condition of those Colonies, and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his Ma^ty and declare for themselves as independent of the Crowne, which we were told, and which of late

* See more of him afterwards.

yeares made them refractorie. Coll. Midleton being call'd in, assur'd us they might be curb'd by a few of his Ma^tys first-rate fregats, to spoile their trade with the islands; but tho' my Lo. President was not satisfied, the rest were, and we did resolve to advise his Ma^ty to send Commiss^rs with a formal Commission for adjusting boundaries, &c. with some other instructions.

19. To Council. The letters of Sir Tho. Modiford were read, giving relation of the exploit at Panama, which was very brave; they tooke, burnt and pillag'd ye towne of vast treasures, but the best of the booty had ben shipp'd off and lay at anchor in the South Sea, so that after our men had rang'd the country 60 miles about, they went back to Nombre de Dios, and embarq'd for Jamaica. Such an action had not ben done since the famous Drake.

I dined at the Hambrogh Resident's, and after dinner went to the christening of Sr Sam. Tuke's son Charles, at Somerset House, by a Popish priest with many odd ceremonies. The godfathers were the King and Lord Arundel of Wardour, and godmother the Countesse of Huntingdon.

29 Aug. To London with some more papers of my progresse in the Dutch Warr, delivered to ye Treasurer.

1 Sept. Dined with the Treasurer in company with my Ld Arlington, Halifax, & Sir Tho. Strickland; and next day went home, being the anniversarie of the late dreadfull fire of London.

13 Sept. This night fell a dreadful tempest.

15. In the afternoone at Council, where letters were read from Sir Ch. Wheeler concerning his resigning his Governm^t of St. Christopher's.

21. I din'd in the Citty at the fraternity feast in Yron-mongers Hall *, where the 4 stewards chose their successors for the next yeare, with a solemn procession, garlands about their heads and musiq playing before them, so coming up to the upper tables where the gentlemen sate, they drank to the new stewards, and so we parted.

22. I dined at the Treasurer's, where I had discourse with Sir Hen. Jones (now come over to raise a regiment of horse), concerning the

* One of the grand court-days of that opulent Company, which is one of *twelve*.

French conquests in Lorraine; he told me the King sold all things to the souldiers, even to an handfull of hay.

Lord Sunderland was now nominated Ambassador to Spaine.

After dinner ye Treass^r^ carried me to Lincoln's Inn, to one of the Parliament Clearks, to obtaine of him that I might carry home and peruse some of the Journals, which were accordingly delivered to me to examine about the late Dutch War. Returning home I went on shore to see the Costome House, now newly rebuilt since the dreadfull conflagration *.

9 Oct. I went after evening service to London, in order to a journey of refreshment with Mr. Treasurer to Newmarket, where the King then was, in his coach with 6 brave horses, which we changed thrice, first at Bishops Stortford and last at Chesterford, so as by night we got to New-market, where Mr. Henry Jermain (nephew to the Earle of St. Alban's) lodged me very civily. We went immediately to Court, the King and all ye English gallants being there at their autumnal sports. Supp'd at the Lo. Chamberlaine's, and the next day after dinner I was on the heath, where I saw the greate match run between Woodcock and Flatfoot, belonging to the King and to Mr. Eliot of ye Bedchamber, many thousands being spectators; a more signal race had not ben run for many yeares.

This over, I went that night wth Mr. Treass^r^ to Euston, a palace of Lord Arlington's, where we found Monsr Colbert (the French Ambassador), and the famous new French Maid of Honor, M'lle Querouaille †, now coming to be in greate favor with the King. Here was also the Countesse of Sunderland, and severall Lords and Ladies, who lodg'd in the house.

During my stay here with Lord Arlington neere a fortnight, his Ma^ty^ came almost every second day with the Duke, who commonly return'd to New-market; but the King often lay here, during which time I had twice the honor to sit at dinner with him, with all freedome.

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* This new edifice was again destroyed by fire in the month of February 1814, and has been re-built in a very magnificent manner by Mr. Henry Peto, who contracted for the work at a price much short of that proposed by any other builder.

† See p. 432.

It was universaly reported that the faire Lady —— was bedded one of these nights, and the stocking flung, after the manner of a married bride; I acknowledge she was for the most part in her undresse all day, and that there was fondnesse and toying with that young wanton; nay, 'twas said I was at the former ceremony, but 'tis utterly false; I neither saw nor heard of any such thing whilst I was there, tho' I had ben in her chamber, and all over that appartment late enough, and was myselfe observing all passages with curiosity enough. However 'twas with confidence believed she was first made *a Misse*, as they call these unhappy creatures, with solemnity at this time.

On Sunday a young Cambridge Divine preached an excellent sermon in the Chapell, the King and the Duke of York being present.

16. Came all the greate men from New-market, and other parts both of Suffolk and Norfolck, to make their court, the whole house fill'd from one end to the other with lords, ladys and gallants; there was such a furnished table as I had seldome seene, nor any thing more splendid and free, so that for 15 days there were entertained at least 200 people, and halfe as many horses, besides servants and guards, at infinite expence.

In the morning we went hunting and hawking; in the afternoone, till almost morning, to cards and dice, yet I must say without noise, swearing, quarrell, or confusion of any sort. I, who was no gamester, had often discourse with the French Ambassador Colbert, and went sometimes abroad on horseback with the ladys to take the aire, and now and then to hunting; thus idly passing the time, but not without more often recesse to my pretty apartment, where I was quite out of all this hurry, and had leasure when I would, to converse with bookes, for there is no man more hospitably easy to be withall than my Lord Arlington, of whose particular friendship and kindness I had ever a more than ordinary share. His house is a very noble pile, consisting of 4 pavillions after the French, beside a body of a large house, and tho' not built altogether, but form'd of additions to an old house (purchas'd by his Lordship of one Sr T. Rookwood) yet with a vast expence made not onely capable and roomesome, but very magnificent and commodious, as well within as without, nor lesse splendidly furnish'd. The

stayre-case is very elegant, the garden handsome, the canall beautifull, but the soile drie, barren and miserably sandy, which flies in drifts as the wind sits. Here my Lord was pleas'd to advise with me about ordering his plantations of firs, elmes, limes, &c. up his parke, and in all other places and avenues. I persuaded him to bring his park so neere as to comprehend his house within it, which he resolv'd upon, it being now neere a mile to it. The water furnishing the fountaines is raised by a pretty engine, or very slight plaine wheels, which likewise serve to grind his corne, from a small cascade of the canall, the invention of Sir Sam. Moreland. In my Lord's house and especialy above the stayre-case, in the greate hall and some of the chambers and roomes of state, are paintings in fresco by Sign^r^ Verrio, being the first worke which he did in England.

17. My Lord Hen. Howard coming this night to visit my Lord Chamberlaine, and staying a day, would needes have me go with him to Norwich, promising to convey me back after a day or two; this, as I could not refuse, I was not hard to be persuaded to, having a desire to see that famous scholar and physitian Dr. T. Browne, author of the "Religio Medici," and "Vulgar Errors," &c. now lately knighted. Thither then went my Lord and I alone in his flying chariot with 6 horses; and by the way, discoursing with me of severall of his concernes, he acquainted me of his going to marry his eldest sonn to one of the King's natural daughters by the Dutchesse of Cleaveland, by which he reckon'd he should come into mighty favour. He also told me that tho' he kept that idle creature Mrs. B——*, and would leave £.200 a yeare to ye sonne he had by her, he would never marry her, and that the King himselfe had caution'd him against it. All the world knows how he kept this promise.

Being come to the Ducal Palace, my Lord made very much of me, but I had little rest, so exceeding desirous he was to shew me the contrivance he had made for the entertainment of their Maties and the whole Court not long before, and which, tho' much of it was but temporary, apparently fram'd of boards only, were yet standing. As to the Palace,

* Bickerton, see afterwards, under 1678, Jan. and August.

it is an old wretched building, and that part of it newly built of brick is very ill understood, so as I was of opinion it had ben much better to have demolish'd all, and set it up in a better place, than to proceede any farther; for it stands in the very Market-place, and tho' neere a river, yet a very narrow muddy one, and without any extent.

'Next morning I went to see Sir Tho. Browne (with whom I had some time corresponded by letter, tho' I had never seen him before). His whole house and garden being a paradise and cabinet of rarities, and that of the best collection, especialy medails, books, plants, and natural things. Amongst other curiosities Sir Thomas had a collection of ye eggs of all the foule and birds he could procure, that country (especialy the promontary of Norfolck) being frequented, as he said, by severall kinds wch seldome or never go farther into the land, as cranes, storkes, eagles, and variety of water-foule. He led me to see all ye remarkable places of this ancient Citty, being one of the largest, and certainly, after London, one of the noblest of England, for its venerable Cathedrall, number of stately churches, cleanesse of ye streetes, and buildings of flints so exquisitely headed and squared as I was much astonish'd at; but he told me they had lost the art of squaring the flints, in which they once so much excell'd, and of wch the churches, best houses, and walls, are built. The Castle is an antique extent of ground, which now they call Marsfield, and would have ben a fitting area to have plac'd the Ducal palace in. The suburbs are large, the prospects sweete, with other amenities, not omitting the flower gardens, in which all the inhabitants excel. The fabric of stuffs brings a vast trade to this populous towne.

'Being return'd to my Lord's, who had ben with me all this morning, he advis'd with me concerning a plot to rebuild his house, having already as he said erected a front next the streete, and a left wing, and now resolving to set up another wing and pavilion next ye garden, and to convert the bowling-greene into stables. My advice was, to desist from all, and to meditate wholly on rebuilding an handsome palace at Arundell House in the Strand, before he proceeded farther here, and then to place this in ye castle, that ground belonging to his Lordship.

I observed that most of the Church-yards (tho' some of them large enough) were filled up with earth, or rather the congestion of dead bodys one upon another, for want of earth, even to the very top of the walls, and some above the walls, so as the Churches seemed to be built in pitts.

18 Oct. I return'd to Euston in my Lord's coach, leaving him at Norwich, in company with a very ingenious gentleman, Mr. White, whose father and mother (daughter to the late Lord Treass^r Weston, Earl of Portland) I knew at Rome, where this gentleman was borne, and where his parents lived and died with much reputation, during their banishment in our civil broils.

21. Leaving Euston, I lodged this night at New-market, where I found ye jolly blades raceing, dauncing, feasting, and revelling, more resembling a luxurious and abandon'd rout, than a Christian Court. The Duke of Buckingham was now in mighty favour, and had with him that impudent woman the Countess of Shrewsbury*, with his band of fidlers, &c.

Next morning, in company with Sir Bernard Gascoyne and Lord Hawly, I came in the Treass^rs coach to Bishop Stortford, where he gave us a noble supper. Next day to London, and so home.

14 Nov. To Council, where Sir Cha. Wheeler, late Govr of the Leeward Islands, having ben complain'd of for many indiscreete managements, it was resolv'd, on scanning many of ye particulars, to advise his Ma^ty to remove him, and consult what was to be don to prevent these inconveniences he had brought things to. This businesse staide me in London almost a weeke, being in Council or Committee every morning till the 25th.

27. We ordered that a Proclamation should be presented to his Ma^ty to signe, against what Sr Cha. Wheeler had done in St. Christopher's, since the war, on the articles of peace at Breda. He was shortly afterwards recalled.

6 Dec. Came to visite me Sr William Haywood, a greate pretender to English antiquities.

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* See hereafter, under 1679, July.

14. Went to see the Duke of Buckingham's ridiculous farce and rhapsody, called "The Recital *," buffooning all plays, yet prophane enough.

23. The Councillors of the Board of Trade din'd together at ye Cock in Suffolck streete.

1672, 12 Jan. His Ma^ty^ renewed us our lease of Says Court pastures for 99 yeares, but ought, according to his solemn promise † (as I hope he will still perform), have passed them to us in fee farme.

23. To London, in order to Sr Richd Browne, my father in law, resigning his place of Clerke of the Council to Joseph Williamson, Esq. who was admitted, and was knighted. This place his Ma^ty^ had promis'd to give me many yeares before; but upon consideration of the renewal of our lease and other reasons, I chose to part with it to Sr Joseph, who gave us and ye rest of his brother clearks a handsome supper at his house, and after supper a consort of music.

3 Feb. An extraordinary snow: part of the weeke was taken up in consulting about the commission of prisoners of war, and instructions to our officers, in order to a second war with the Hollanders, his Ma^ty^ having made choice of the former Commiss^rs^ and myselfe amongst them.

11. In the afternoone that famous proselyte, Monsr Brevall, preach'd at the Abby, in English, extreamly well and with much eloquence. He had ben a Capuchine, but much better learned than most of that order.

12. At the Council we enter'd on enquiries about improving the Plantations by silks, galls, flax, senna, &c. and consider'd how nutmegs and cinamon might be obtain'd and brought to Jamaica, that soile and climate promising successe. Dr. Worsley being called in, spake many considerable things to encourage it. We tooke order to send to the Plantations that none of their ships should adventure homeward single, but stay for company and convoys. We also deliberated on some fit person to go as Commiss^r^ to inspect their actions in New England, and from time to time report how that people stood affected.—In future to meete at White-hall.

* This must mean his play of "The Rehearsal."

† The King's engagement under his hand is now at Wotton.

20. Dr. Parr of Camerwell preach'd a most pathetic funebral discourse and panegyric at the interment of our late pastor, Dr. Breton (who died on the 18th), on "Happy is y^t^ servant whom when his Lord cometh, &c." This good man, among other expressions profess'd that he had never ben so touch'd and concern'd at any losse as at this, unlesse at that of K. Charles our Martyr, and Archbishop Usher, whose chaplaine he had ben. Dr. Breton had preach'd on the 28th and 30th Jan.: on the Friday, having fasted all day, making his provisionary sermon for the Sunday following, he went well to bed, but was taken suddenly ill, and expir'd before help could come to him.

Never had a parish a greater losse, not onely as he was an excellent preacher, and fitted for our greate and vulgar auditory, but for his excellent life and charity, his meeknesse and obliging nature, industrious, helpfull, and full of good workes. He left neere £400. to the poore in his will, and that what children of his should die in their minority, their portion should be so employed. I lost in particular a special friend, and one that had an extraordinary love to me and mine.

25. To London, to speake with the Bishop, and Sir John Cutler our patron, to present Mr. Frampton (afterwards Bishop of Gloucester.)

1 March. A full Council of Plantations, on the danger of the Leeward Islands, threaten'd by the French, who had taken some of our ships, and began to interrupt our trade. Also in debate, whether the new Governor of St. Christopher's should be subordinate to the Govr of Barbados. The debate was serious and long.

12. Now was the first blow given by us to the Dutch convoy of the Smyrna fleete, by Sr Robt Holmes and Lord Ossorie, in which we received little save blows, and a worthy reproch for attacking our neighbours 'ere any war was proclaim'd, and then pretending the occasion to be, that some time before, the Merlin yatcht chanceing to saile thro' the whole Dutch fleete, their Admiral did not strike to that trifling vessel. Surely this was a quarrel slenderly grounded, and not becoming Christian neighbours. We are like to thrive accordingly. Lord Ossorie several times deplor'd to me his being engaged in it; he had more justice and honour than in the least to approve of it, tho' he

had ben over persuaded to the expedition. There is no doubt but we should have surpriz'd this exceeding rich fleete, had not the avarice and ambition of Holmes and Sprag separated themselves and wilfully divided our fleete, on presumption that either of them was strong enough to deale with the Dutch convoy without joyning and mutual help; but they so warmly plied our divided fleets, that whilst in conflict the merchants sail'd away, and got safe into Holland.

A few daies before this, the Treasurer of the Household, Sir Tho. Clifford *, hinted to me, as a confident, that his Ma^ty^ would *shut up the Exchequer* (and accordingly his Ma^ty^ made use of infinite treasure there, to prepare for an intended rupture); but, says he, it will soone be open againe and every body satisfied; for this bold man, who had ben the sole adviser of the King to invade that sacred stock (tho' some pretend it was Lord Ashley's counsel, then Chancellor of the Exch^r^), was so over confident of the successe of this unworthy designe against the Smyrna merchants, as to put his Ma^ty^ on an action which not onely lost the hearts of his subjects, and ruined many widdows and

* The following is taken from King James's Life by himself: "On the King's intention to have a Lord Treasurer (1672) instead of putting the Seals into Commission, the Duke of York desired Lord Arlington to join with him in proposing to the King the Lord Clifford for that considerable employment; but he found Lord Arlington very cold in it, and endeavouring to persuade the Duke that the King did not intend the alteration, and the next day he employed a friend to press the Duke to endeavour to get Sir Robert Car to be Commissioner in the room of Lord Shaftesbury (then appointed Lord Chancellor).

"Some few days after, the Duke proposed to his Majesty the Lord Clifford as Treasurer, which was well received, and he said he would do it, as thinking no body fitter; he also told the Duke that Lord Arlington had a mind to have that Staff: but he answered him that he had too much kindness for him to let him have it, for he knew he was not fit for the office; and should he give it him, it would be his ruin. A little after the King told the Duke that he found Lord Arlington was angry with Lord Clifford, on knowing that he was to have the place; and desired the Duke to persuade Lord Arlington not to let the world see his discontent, and to endeavour to make them continue friends. They promised the Duke to live friendly together, but Lord Arlington kept not his word, and was ever after cold, if not worse, towards him.

"Christmas coming on, the King spake to Lord Clifford and Lord Arundel of Wardour, to persuade the Duke to receive the Sacrament with him at that time (which the Duke had forborne for several months before). They urged the King not to press it, and he then seemed satisfied; but the day before Christmas Eve, the King spoke again to Lord Clifford to represent to the Duke what he had before said, which the Lord Clifford did, but found the Duke was not to be moved in his resolution of not going against his conscience."

orphans whose stocks were lent him, but the reputation of his Exchequer for ever, it being before in such credit, that he might have commanded halfe the wealth of the Nation.

The credit of this bank being thus broken did exceedingly discontent the people, and never did his Ma^tys affairs prosper to any purpose after it, for as it did not supply the expence of the meditated war, so it mealted away, I know not how.

To this succeeded the King's declaration for an universal tolleration; Papists and swarms of Sectaries now boldly shewing themselves in their publiq meetings. This was imputed to ye same council, Clifford warping to Rome as was believ'd, nor was Lord Arlington cleare of suspicion, to gratifie that party, but as since it has prov'd, and was then evidently foreseen, to the extreame weakening the Church of England and its Episcopal Government, as 'twas projected. I speake not this as my owne sense, but what was the discourse and thoughts of others who were lookers on; for I think there might be some relaxations without the least prejudice to the present establishment, discreetly limited, but to let go ye reines in this manner, and then to imagine they could take them up againe as easily, was a false politiq and greately destructive. The truth is, our Bishops slip'd the occasion, for had they held a steady hand upon his Ma^tys restauration, as they might easily have don, the Church of England had emerg'd and flourish'd without interruption; but they were then remisse, and covetous after advantages of another kind, whilst his Ma^ty suffer'd them to come into an harvest, with which, without any injustice, he might have remunerated innumerable gallant gentlemen for their services, who had ruin'd themselves in ye late Rebellion*.

21 Mar. I visited the coasts in my district of Kent, and divers wounded and languishing poore men that had ben in the Smyrna conflict. I went over to see the new-begun Fort of Tilbury; a royal work indeede, and such as will one day bridle a greate Citty to the purpose, before they are aware.

* This means the fines for renewals of leases not filled up during the Interregnum, and now to be immediately applied for. Bishop Burnet says they were much misapplied. Hist. of his own Time, I. 304.

23. Capt. Cox, one of the Commiss^rs of the Navy, furnishing me with a yatcht, I sail'd to Sheere-nesse to see that Fort also, now newly finished; severall places on both sides the Swale and Medway to Gillingham and Upnore, being also provided with redouts and batteries, to secure the station of our men of war at Chatham, and shut ye doore when ye steedes were stolen.

24. I saw the chirurgeon cut off ye leg of a wounded sailor, the stout and gallant man enduring it with incredible patience, without being bound to his chaire as usual on such painfull occasions. I had hardly courage enough to be present. Not being cut off high enough, the gangreen prevail'd, and the second operation cost the poore creature his life.

Lord! what miseries are mortal men subject to, and what confusion and mischeif do the avarice, anger, and ambition of Princes cause in the world!

25. I proceeded to Canterbury, Dover, Deal, the Isle of Thanet, by Sandwich, and so to Margate. Here we had aboundance of miserably wounded men, his Ma^ty sending his cheife chirurgeon, Serjeant Knight, to meete me, and Dr. Waldrond had attended me all the journey. Having taken order for the accomodation of the wounded, I came back thro' a country the best cultivated of any that in my life I had any where seene, every field lying as even as a bowling-greene, and the fences, plantations, and husbandry in such admirable order as infinitely delighted me after the sad and afflicting spectacles and objects I was come from. Observing almost every tall tree to have a weathercock on the top bough, and some trees half a dozen, I learn'd that on a certaine holyday the farmers feast their servants, at which solemnity they set up these cocks in a kind of triumph.

Being come back towards Rochester, I went to take order about building a strong and high wall about a house I had hired of a gentleman at a place call'd Hartlip, for a prison, paying 50*l.* yearly rent. Here I settled a Provost Martial and other Officers, returning by Feversham. On the 30th heard a Sermon in Rochester Cathedrall, & so got to Says Court on the first of Aprill.

4 April. I went to see the fopperies of the Papists at Somerset House and York House, where now the French Ambass^r had caus'd to

be represented our Blessed Saviour at the Paschal Supper with his Disciples, in figures and puppets made as big as the life, of wax-work, curiously clad and sitting round a large table; the roome nobly hung, and shining with innumerable lamps and candles: this was expos'd to all the world, all the Citty came to see it: such liberty had the Roman Catholics at this time obtain'd.

16. Sat in Council, preparing Lord Willougby's commission and instructions as Governor of Barbados and the Caribbé Islands.

17. Sat on business in ye Star Chamber.

19. At Council, preparing instructions for Col. Stapleton, now to go Governor of St. Christopher's; and heard the complaints of the Jamaica merchants against the Spaniards for hindering them from cutting Logwood on the maine land, where they have no pretence.

21. To my Lord of Canterbury, to entreate him to engage Sir John Cutler, the patron, to provide us a grave and learned man, in opposition to a novice.

30. Congratulated Mr. Treass^r^ Clifford's new honour, being made a Baron.

2 May. My sonn John was specially admitted of the Middle Temple by Sir Fra. North, his Majesties Solicitor General, and since Chancellor. I pray God bless this beginning, my intention being that he should seriously apply himself to the study of the Law.

10. I was order'd by letter from the Council to repair forthwith to his Ma^ty^, whom I found in the Pal-Mal in St. James's Park, where his Ma^ty^ coming to me from the company, commanded me to go immediately to the sea coast, and to observe the motion of the Dutch fleet and ours, the Duke and so many of the flower of our Nation being now under saile, coming from Portsmouth thro' ye Downes, where 'twas believ'd there might be an encounter.

11. Went to Chatham.—12. Heard a Sermon in Rochester Cathedrall.

13. To Canterbury; visited Dr. Bargrave*, my old fellow-traveller in Italy, & great virtuoso.

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* Dean of Canterbury, a great benefactor to the Cathedral Library there. See in Todd's "Life of Milton" some curious particulars concerning him.

14. To Dover, but the fleet did not appear till the 16th, when the Duke of York with his and the French squadron, in all 170 ships (of which above 100 were men of war) sail'd by, after ye Dutch, who were newly withdrawn. Such a gallant and formidable navy never, I think, spread saile upon ye seas. It was a goodly yet terrible sight, to behold them as I did, passing Eastward by the straights twixt Dover and Calais in a glorious day. The wind was yet so high that I could not wel go aboard, and they were soon got out of sight. The next day having visited our prisoners at the Castle, and saluted the Governor, I tooke horse for Margate. Here, from the North Foreland Light-house-top (which is a Pharos, built of bricq and having on ye top a cradle of iron in which a man attends a greate sea-coal fire all the year long, when the nights are darke, for the safeguard of sailors) we could see our fleete as they lay at anker. The next morning they weighed, and sailed out of sight to the N. E.

19. Went to Margate; and the following day was carried to see a gallant widow, brought up a farmoresse, and I think of gigantic race, rich, comely, and exceedingly industrious. She put me in mind of Debora and Abigail, her house was so plentifully stored with all manner of countrie provisions, all of her owne growth, and all her conveniencies so substantiall, neate, and well understood; she herselfe so jolly and hospitable; and her land so trim and rarely husbanded that it struck me with admiration at her œconomie.

This towne much consists of Brewers of a certaine heady ale, and they deale much in mault, &c. For the rest, tis raggedly built, and has an ill haven, with a small fort of little concernment, nor is the island well disciplin'd; but as to the husbandry and rural part, far exceeding any part of England, for the accurate culture of their ground, in wch they exceed, even to curiositie and emulation.

We passed by Richborow, and in sight of Reculver, and so thro' a sweete garden as it were, to Canterbury.

24. To London, and gave his Ma^ty^ an account of my journey, and that I had put all things in readinesse upon all events, and so return'd home sufficiently wearied.

31. I receiv'd another command to repaire to the Sea-side; so I went to Rochester, where I found many wounded, sick, and prisoners newly put on shore after the engagement on the 28th, in which the Earle of Sandwich, that incomparable person and my particular friend, and divers more whom I loved, were lost. My Lord (who was Admiral of ye Blew) was in the Prince, which was burnt, one of the best men of war that ever spread canvass on the sea. There were lost with this brave man, a son of Sir Cha. Cotterell (Master of the Ceremonies), and a son of Sr Cha. Harbord (his Maty's Surveyor-general), two valiant and most accomplish'd youths, full of virtue and courage, who might have saved themselves, but chose to perish with my Lord, whom they honour'd and loved above their own lives.

Here I cannot but make some reflections on things past. It was not above a day or two that going to White-hall to take leave of his Lordship, who had his lodgings in the Privy Garden, shaking me by the hand he bid me God-by'e, and said he thought he should see me no more, and I saw to my thinking something boading in his countenance; "No," says he, "they will not have me live. Had I lost a fleete (meaning on his returne from Bergen when he tooke the East India prize) I should have fared better; but be it as it pleases God — I must do something I know not what to save my reputation." Something to this effect he had hinted to me; thus I tooke my leave. I well remember that the Duke of Albemarle, and my now Lord Clifford, had, I know not why, no greate opinion of his courage, because in former conflicts, being an able and experienc'd seaman (which neither of them were), he always brought off his Matys ships without losse, tho' not without as many markes of true courage as the stoutest of them; and I am a witnesse that in the late war his owne ship was pierc'd like a cullendar. But the buisinesse was, he was utterly against this war from the beginning, and abhorr'd ye attacquing of the Smyrna fleete; he did not favor the heady expedition of Clifford at Bergen, nor was he so furious and confident as was the Duke of Albemarle, who believed he could vanquish the Hollanders with one squadron. My Lord Sandwich was prudent as well as valiant, and allways govern'd his affairs with successe and little losse; he was for deliberation and reason, they

for action and slaughter without either, and for this, whisper'd as if my Lord Sandwich was not so gallant because he was not so rash, and knew how fatal it was to loose a fleete, such as was that under his conduct, and for which these very persons would have censur'd him on the other side. This it was, I am confident, griev'd him and made him enter like a lion, and fight like one too, in the midst of the hottest service, where the stoutest of the rest seeing him engag'd and so many ships upon him, durst not, or would not, come to his succour, as some of them, whom I know, might have don. Thus this gallant person perish'd to gratifie the pride and envy of some I nam'd.

Deplorable was the losse of one of the best accomplish'd persons, not onely of this Nation but of any other. He was learned in sea affaires, in politics, in mathematics, and in musiq; he had been on divers embassies, was of a sweete and obliging temper, sober, chast, very ingenious, a true Nobleman, an ornament to the Court and his Prince, nor has he left any behind him who approch his many virtues.

He had, I confesse, serv'd the tyrant Cromwell when a young man, but 'twas without malice, as a souldier of fortune; and he readily submitted, and that with joy, bringing an entire fleete with him from the Sound, at ye first tidings of his Majestie's Restauration. I verily believe him as faithfull a subject as any that were not his friends. I am yet heartily griev'd at this mighty losse, nor do I call it to my thoughts without emotion.

2 June. Trinity Sonday I pass'd at Rochester; and on the 5th there was buried in the Cathedral Monsr Rabiniere, reare Admiral of the French squadron, a gallant person, who died of the wounds he received in the fight. This ceremonie lay on me, which I perform'd with all the decency I could, inviting the Mayor and Aldermen to come in their formalities; Sir Jonas Atkins was there with his guards; and the Deane and Prebendaries: one of his countrymen pronouncing a funeral oration at the brink of his grave, which I caus'd to be dug in the Quire. This is more at large describ'd in the Gazette of that day. Col. Reymes, my colleague in Commission, assisting, who was so kind as to accompany me from London, tho' it was not his district, for indeede the stresse of both these warrs lay more on me by far than on any of

my breathren, who had little to do in theirs. — I went to see Upnore Castle, wch I found pretty well defended, but of no greate moment.

Next day I sailed to the fleete, now riding at the Buoy of the Nore, where I met his Majesty, the Duke, Lord Arlington, and all the greate men, in the Charles, lying miserably shatter'd; but ye misse of Lord Sandwich redoubl'd the losse to me, and shew'd the folly of hazarding so brave a fleete, and loosing so many good men for no provocation but that ye Hollanders exceeded us in industrie, and in all things but envy.

At Sheernesse I gave his Ma^ty^ and his Royal Highnesse an account of my charge, and return'd to Queenborow; next day dined at Major Dorels, Governor of Shere-nesse; thence to Rochester, and the following day home.

12. To London to his Ma^ty^, to solicite for mony for the sick and wounded, wch he promised me.

19. To London againe, to solicite the same.

21. At a Council of Plantations. Most of this weeke busied with ye sick and wounded.

3 July. To Lord Sandwich's funeral, which was by water to Westminster in solemn pomp.

31. I entertain'd the Maids of Honour (among whom there was one I infinitely esteemed for her many and extraordinary virtues) at a comedy this afternoone, and so went home *.

1 Augt. I was at the marriage of Lord Arlington's onely daughter (a sweete child if ever there was any †) to the Duke of Grafton, the King's natural son by the Dutchesse of Cleaveland. The Abp. of Canterbury officiating, the King and all the grandees being present. I had a favour given me by my Lady, but tooke no greate joy at the thing for many reasons.

18. Sir James Hayes, Secretary to Prince Rupert, dined with me: after dinner I was sent for to Gravesend, to dispose of no fewer than

* Mrs. Blagg, whom he afterwards characterizes as a rare example of piety and virtue in so rare a witt, beauty, and perfection, in a licentious court and depraved age. She was afterwards married to Mr. Godolphin.

† She was then only 5 years old.

800 sick men. That night I got to the Fleete at the Buoy of the Nore, where I spake with the King and ye Duke; and after dinner next day return'd to Gravesend.

1 Sept. I spent this weeke in soliciting for monies, and in reading to my Lord Clifford my papers relating to the first Holland war.—Now our Council of Plantations met at Lord Shaftesbury's (Chanc^r^ of the Exchequer) to reade and reforme the Draught of our new Patent, joyning the Council of Trade to our political capacities. After this I returned home in order to another excursion to the Sea-side, to get as many as possible of ye men who were recovered on board ye Fleete.

8. I lay at Gravesend, thence to Rochester, returning on the 11th.

15. Dr. Duport, Greek Professor of Cambridge, preached before the King on 1 Timothy 6. 6. No greate preacher, but a very worthy and learned man.

25. I din'd at Lord John Berkley's *, newly ariv'd out of Ireland, where he had ben Deputy; it was in his new house †, or rather palace, for I am assur'd it stood him in neere £.30,000. It is very well built, and has many noble roomes, but they are not very convenient, consisting but of one Corps de Logis; they are all roomes of state, without clossets. The staire-case is of cedar, the furniture is princely: the kitchen and stables are ill plac'd, and the corridore worse, having no report to the wings they joyne to. For the rest, the fore court is noble, so are the stables, and above all, the gardens, which are incomparable by reason of the inequalitie of the ground, and a pretty piscina. The holly hedges on the terrace I advised the planting of. The porticos are in imitation of an house described by Palladio, but it happens to be the worst in his booke, tho' my good friend Mr. Hugh May, his Lordship's architect, effected it.

26. I carried with me to dinner my Lord H. Howard (now to be made Earl of Norwich and Earl Marshall of England) to Sr Robt.

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* Lord Berkley of Stratton.

† Berkeley House was burnt to the ground by accident. The site was on a farm called Hay-hill Farm, the names of which are preserved in Hay-street, Hill-street, Farm-street. Devonshire House, Lansdown House, Berkeley Square, &c. are built on part of the ground.

Clayton's, now Sheriff of London, at his new house *, where we had a great feast; it is built indeede for a greate Magistrate, at excessive cost. The cedar dining-roome is painted with the historie of the Gyants War, incomparably don by Mr. Streeter, but the figures are too neere the eye.

6 Oct. Dr. Thistlethwait preached at White-hall on 2 Apoc. 5. a young but good preacher. I received the blessed Communion, Dr. Blandford, Bp. of Worcester, and Deane of ye Chapel, officiating. Dined at my Ld Cliffords with Lord Mulgrave, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and Sir Robert Holmes.

8. I tooke leave of my Lady Sunderland, who was going to Paris to my Lord, now Ambassador there. She made me stay dinner at Leicester House, and afterwards sent for Richardson the famous Fire-eater. He devour'd brimston on glowing coales before us, chewing and swallowing them; he mealted a beere-glasse and eate it quite up; then taking a live coale on his tongue, he put on it a raw oyster, the coal was blown on with bellows till it flam'd and sparkl'd in his mouth, and so remain'd till the oyster gaped and was quite boil'd; then he mealted pitch and wax with sulphur, which he drank downe as it flamed; I saw it flaming in his mouth a good while; he also tooke up a thick piece of yron, such as laundresses use to put in their smoothing-boxes, when it was fiery hot, held it betweene his teeth, then in his hand, and threw it about like a stone, but this I observ'd he car'd not to hold very long; then he stood on a small pot, and bending his body tooke a glowing yron with his mouth from betweene his feete, without touching the pot or ground with his hands; with divers other prodigious feates.

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* Situate in the Old Jewry. Sir Robert built it to keep his shrievalty, which he did with great magnificence. It was for some years the residence of Mr. Samuel Sharp, an eminent surgeon, and was afterwards occupied (*viz.* from 1806 to the close of the year 1811) by the London Institution for their library and reading rooms, previous to their temporary removal to King's Arms Yard, Coleman Street. This Literary Institution, established by Charter, is now finally settled in a new and splendid mansion, purposely erected by the proprietors, from a design by Mr. W. Brooks, on the North side of Moorfields (1818).—Streeter's paintings have been long placed in the family seat of the Claytons at Marden, near Godstone, Surrey.

13. After sermon (being summon'd before) I went to my Lord Keeper's Sir Orlando Bridgeman at Essex House, where our new Patent was opened and read, constituting us that were of the Council of Plantations to be now of the Council of Trade also, both united. After the Patent was read, we all tooke our oathes and departed.

24. Met in Council, the Earle of Shaftesbury, now our President, swearing our Secretary and his Clearks, which was Mr. Lock, an excellent learned gentleman and student of Christ Church; Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Frowde. We dispatch'd a letter to Sir Tho. Linch, Govr of Jamaica, giving him notice of a design of ye Dutch on that island.

27. I went to heare that famous preacher Dr. Frampton at St. Giles's, on 39 Psalm 6. This Divine had ben twice at Jerusalem, and was not onely a very pious and holy man, but excellent in the pulpit for the moving affections.

8 Nov. At Council we debated the buisinesse of the Consulage of Leghorne. I was of the Committee with Sr Humphrey Winch the Chaireman to examine the Lawes of his Ma^tys^ severall Plantations and Colonies in the West Indies, &c.

15. Many Merchants were summon'd about the Consulage of Venice; which caused greate disputes; the most considerable thought it useless. This being the Queen Consort's birth-day, there was an extraordinarie appearance of gallantrie, and a ball daunced at Court.

30. I was chosen Secretary to the Royall Society.

21 Dec. Settl'd ye Consulage of Venice.

1673. 1 Jan. After publiq prayers in the Chapell at White-hall, when I gave God solemne thanks for all his mercys to me the yeare past, &c. and my humble supplications to him for his blessing the yeare now entering, I returned home, having my poore deceased servant (Adams) to bury, who died of a pleurisie.

3. My sonn now publish'd his Version of "Rapinus Hortorum *."

28. Visited Don Francisco de Melos, the Portugal Ambass^r, who shew'd me his curious Collection of Books and Pictures. He was a person of good parts, and a vertuous man.

* Of Gardens. Four Books. First written in Latin verse, by Renatus Rapinus, and now made English. By I. E. London, 1673. Dedicated to Henry Earle of Arlington, &c. &c. &c.

6 Feb. To Council about reforming an abuse of the Diers with *Saundus* and other false drougs; examin'd divers of that trade.

23. The Bishop of Chichester * preach'd before ye King on 2 Coloss. 14, 15. admirably well, as he can do nothing but what is well.

5 Mar. Our new Vicar Mr. Holden preach'd in White-hall Chapel on 4 Psalm 6, 7. This gent^n^ is a very excellent and universal scholar, a good and wise man, but he had not the popular way of preaching, nor is in any measure fit for our plaine and vulgar auditorie, as his predecessor was. There was, however, no comparison betwixt their parts for profound learning; but time and experience may forme him to a more practical way than that he is in of University lectures and erudition, which is now universally left off for what is much more profitable.

15. I heard the speech made to the Lords in their House by Sir Sam. Tuke in behalfe of the Papists, to take off the Penal Laws; and then dined with Col. Norwood.

16. Dr. Pearson, Bishop of Chester †, preach'd on 9th Hebrews 14; a most incomparable sermon from one of the most learned Divines of our Nation. I din'd at my Lord Arlington's with the Duke and Dutchesse of Monmouth; she is one of the wisest and craftiest of her sex, and has much witt. Here was also ye learned Isaac Vossius.

During Lent there is constantly the most excellent preaching by the most eminent Bishops and Divines of the Nation.

26 Mar. I was sworn a younger brother of the Trinity House, with my most worthy and long acquainted noble friend Lord Ossorie (eldest son to the Duke of Ormond), Sir Rich^d^. Browne my father-in-law being now Master of that Society; after which there was a greate collation.

29. I carried my sonn to the Bishop of Chichester, that learned and pious man, Dr. Peter Gunning *, to be instructed by him before he receiv'd the holy sacrament, when he gave him most excellent advice,

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* Dr. Peter Gunning, formerly Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, afterwards Bishop of Ely. Burnet says of him that he was a man of great reading, a very honest, sincere man, but of no sound judgment. Hist. of his own Times, I. 297.

† Well known by his valuable Exposition of the Creed.

which I pray God may influence and remain with him as long as he lives; and O that I had ben so blessed and instructed when first I was admitted to that sacred ordinance!

30. Easter Day: myself and sonn receiv'd the blessed communion, it being his first time, and with that whole week's more extraordinary preparation. I beseech God make him a sincere good Christian, whilst I endeavour to instill into him ye feare and love of God, and discharge the duty of a father.

At the sermon *coram Rege*, preached by Dr. Sparrow, Bp. of Exceter, to a most crowded auditorie, I staied to see whether according to costome the Duke of York receiv'd the communion with the King; but he did not, to the amazement of every body. This being the second yeare he had forborn and put it off, and within a day of the Parliament sitting, who had lately made so severe an Act against ye increase of Poperie, gave exceeding griefe and scandal to the whole Nation, that the heyre of it, and ye sonn of a Martyr for ye Protestant religion, should apostatize. What the consequence of this will be, God onely knows, and wise men dread.

11 April. I dined with the Plenipotentiaries designed for the Treaty of Nimeguen.

17. I carried Lady Tuke to thank the Countesse of Arlington for speaking to his Ma^ty^ in her behalfe, for being one of ye Queene Consort's women. She carried us up into her new dressing-roome at Goring House, where was a bed, 2 glasses, silver jars and vases, cabinets, and other so rich furniture as I had seldom seene; to this excesse of superfluity were we now ariv'd, and that not onely at Court, but almost universally, even to wantonesse and profusion.

Dr. Compton, brother to the Earle of Northampton, preached on 1 Corinth. 11—16. shewing the Churches power in ordaining things indifferent; this worthy person's talent is not preaching, but he is like to make a grave and serious good man *.

* Henry, sixth son of the second Earl of Northampton, educated at Oxford, was a cornet in Lord Oxford's regiment of guards, took orders, and was successively Bishop of Oxford and London, in which last See he died, 1713, aged 81.

I saw her Ma^ty^s rich toylet in her dressing roome, being all of massie gold, presented to her by the King, valued at 4000*l.*

26. Dr. Lamplugh preached at St. Martine's, the holy Sacrament following which I partook of, upon obligation of the late Act of Parliament, enjoyning every body in office, civil or militarie, under penalty of 500*l.* to receive it within one moneth before two authentiq witnesses; being engrossed on parchment, to be afterwards produced in the Court of Chancery, or some other Court of Record; which I did at the Chancery Barr, as being one of the Council of Plantations and Trade; taking then also the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, signing the clause in the said Act against Transubstantiation.

25 May. My sonn was made a younger Brother of the Trinity House. The new Master was Sr Jer. Smith, one of the Commiss^rs^ of the Navy, a stout seaman who had interpos'd and saved the Duke from perishing by a fire-ship in the late warr.

28. I carried one Withers, an ingenious shipwright, to the King, to shew him some new method of building.

29. I saw the Italian Comedie at the Court this afternoone.

10 June. Came to visite and dine w^h^ me, my Lord Vis^t^ Cornbury and his Lady; Lady Frances Hyde, sister to the Dutchesse of York; and Mrs. Dorothy Howard, Mayd of Honour. We went after dinner to see the formal and formidable camp on Blackheath, raised to invade Holland, or, as others suspected, for another designe. Thence to the Italian Glass-house at Greenewich, where glasse was blown of finer mettal than that of Murano at Venice.

13. Came to visit us, with other ladies of rank, Mrs. Sedley *, daughter to Sir Charles, who was none of the most virtuous, but a witt.

19. Congratulated the new Lord Treass^r^, Sr Tho. Osborne, a gentleman with whom I had ben intimately acquainted at Paris, and who was every day at my father-in-law's house and table there, on which account I was too confident of succeeding in his favour, as I had don in his predecessor's; but such a friend shall I never find, and I neglected my time, far from believing that my Lord Clifford would have

* The Duke of York's mistress, and afterwards created by him Countess of Dorchester.

so rashly laied down his staffe as he did, to the amazement of all the world, when it came to the test of his receiving the communion, which I am confident he forbore more from some promise he had enter'd into to gratifie the Duke, than for any prejudice to the Protestant religion, tho' I found him wavering a pretty while.

23. To London, to accompanie our Council, who went in a body to congratulate the new Lord Treasurer, no friend to it, because promoted by my L. Arlington, whom he hated.

26. Came visitors from Court to dine with me, and see the army still remaining encamped on Black-heath.

6 July. This evening I went to the funerall of my deare and excellent friend, that good man and accomplish'd gentleman, Sr Robt. Murray *, Secretary of Scotland. He was buried by order of his Ma^ty^ in Westminster Abbey.

25. I went to Tunbridge Wells to visite my Lord Clifford, late Lord Treass^r^, who was there to divert his mind more than his body; it was believ'd that he had so engag'd himselfe to the Duke, that rather than take the test, without wch he was not capable of holding any office, he would resigne that greate and honourable station. This I am confident griev'd him to ye heart, and at last broke it; for tho' he carried with him musiq and people to divert him, and when I came to see him, lodged me in his own apartment, and would not let me go from him, I found he was struggling in his mind, and being of a rough and ambitious nature, he could not long brooke the necessitie he had brought on himselfe, of submission to this conjuncture. Besides he saw the Dutch warr, which was made much by his advise, as well as the shutting up of the Exchequer †, very unprosperous. These things his high spirit could not support. Having staied here 2 or 3 daies, I obtain'd leave of my Lord to returne.

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* He was universally beloved and esteemed by men of all sides and sorts. The life and soul of the Royal Society. He delighted in every occasion of doing good. He had a superiority of genius and comprehension. Burnet, vol. I. p. 90.

† Burnet says the Earl of Shaftesbury was the chief man in this advice. There is a story, though I do not recollect the author, that Shaftesbury formed the plan, that Clifford got at it over a bottle of wine, and carried it to the King as his own.

In my way I saw my Lord of Dorset's house at Knowle, near Seven-oaks, a greate old-fashion'd house.

30. To Council, where the business of transporting wool was brought before us.

31. I went to see the pictures of all the Judges and eminent men of the long robe, newly painted by Mr. Wright, and set up in Guild-hall, costing the Citty 1000*l*. Most of them are very like the persons they represent, tho' I never took Wright to be any considerable artist.

13 Aug. I rid to Durdans, where I din'd at my Lord Berkley's of Berkeley Castle, my old and noble friend, it being his wedding anniversarie, where I found the Dutchesse of Albemarle and much companie, and return'd home that evening late.

15. Came to visit me my Lord Chancellor, the Earle of Shaftesbury.

18. My Lord Clifford being about this time return'd from Tunbridge, and preparing for Devonshire, I went to take my leave of him at Wallingford House; he was packing up pictures, most of which were of hunting wild beasts, and vast pieces of bull-baiting, beare-baiting, &c. I found him in his study, and restored to him several papers of state and others of importance, which he had furnished me with, on engaging me to write the Historie of the Holland War, with other private letters of his acknowledgments to my Lord Arlington, who from a private gentleman of a very noble family, but inconsiderable fortune, had advanc'd him from almost nothing. The first thing was his being in Parliament, then knighted, then made one of the Commissioners of the sick and wounded, on which occasion we sate long together; then on the death of Hugh Pollard, he was made Comptroller of the Household and Privy Counselor, yet still my brother Commiss^{r}; after the death of Lord Fitz-Harding, Treasurer of the Household, he by letters to Lord Arlington, which that Lord shew'd me, begg'd of his Lordship to obtaine it for him as the very height of his ambition; these were written with such submissions and professions of his patronage, as I had never seen any more acknowledging. The Earle of Southampton then dying, he was made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. His Majestie inclining to put it into one hand, my Lord Clifford, under pretence of making all his interest for his

patron my Ld Arlington, cutt the grasse under his feet, and procur'd it for himself, assuring the King that Lord Arlington did not desire it. Indeede my Lord Arlington protested to me that his confidence in Lord Clifford made him so remisse, and his affection to him was so particular, that he was absolutely minded to devolve it on Lord Clifford, all the world knowing how he himselfe affected ease and quiet, now growing into yeares, yet little thinking of this go-by. This was the onely greate ingratitude Lord Clifford shew'd, keeping my Lord Arlington in ignorance, continually assuring him he was pursuing his interest, which was the Duke's, into whose greate favour Lord Clifford was now gotten, but wch certainly cost him the losse of all, namely, his going so irrevocably far in his interest. For the rest, my Lord Clifford was a valiant uncorrupt gentleman, ambitious, not covetous; generous, passionate, a most constant sincere friend, to me in particular, so as when he layd downe his office, I was at the end of all my hopes and endeavours; these were not for high matters, but to obtain what his Ma^ty^ was really indebted to my father-in-law, which was the utmost of my ambition, and which I had undoubtedly obtain'd if this friend had stood. Sir Tho. Osborn, who succeeded him, tho' much more oblig'd to my father-in-law and his family, and my long and old acquaintance, being of a more haughty and far lesse obliging nature, I could hope for little; a man of excellent natural parts, but nothing of generous or grateful.

Taking leave of my Lord Clifford, he wrung me by the hand, and looking earnestly on me, bid me God-b'ye, adding, "Mr. E. I shall never see thee more;" "No!" said I, "my Lord, what's the meaning of this? I hope I shall see you often, and as greate a person againe." "No, Mr. E. do not expect it, I will never see this place, this Citty or Court againe," or words of this sound. In this manner, not without almost mutual tears, I parted from him: nor was it long after, but the newes was that he was dead, and I have heard from some who I believe knew, he made himself away, after an extraordinary melancholy. This is not confidently affirm'd, but a servant who lived in the house, and afterwards with Sir Robt Clayton, Lord Mayor, did, as well as others, report it; and when I hinted some such thing to Mr.

Prideaux, one of his trustees, he was not willing to enter into that discourse. It was reported with these particulars; that causing his servant to leave him unusually one morning, locking himselfe in, he strangled himselfe with his cravatt upon the bed-tester; his servant not liking the manner of dismissing him, and looking thro' the key-hole (as I remember), and seeing his master hanging, brake in before he was quite dead, and taking him downe, vomiting a greate deale of bloud, he was heard to utter these words, "Well, let men say what they will, there is a God, a just God above," after which he spake no more. This, if true, is dismal. Really he was the cheife occasion of the Dutch warr, and of all that bloud wch was lost at Bergen in attaquing the Smyrna fleete, and that whole quarrell. This leads me to call to mind what my Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury affirm'd, not to me onely, but to all my brethren the Councel of forraine plantations, when not long after this accident being mention'd as we were one day sitting in Councel, his Lordship told us this remarkeable passage; that being one day discoursing with him when he was only Sir Tho. Clifford, speaking of men's advancement to greate charges in the Nation, "Well," says he, "my Lord, I shall be one of the greatest men in England. Don't impute what I say either to fancy or vanity; I am certaine that I shall be a mighty man, but it will not last long; I shall not hold it, but dye a bloudy death." "What," says my Lord, "your horoscope tells you so?" "No matter for that, it will be as I tell you." "Well," says my Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury, "if I were of that opinion, I either would not be a greate man, but decline preferment, or prevent my danger." This my Lord affirmed in my hearing before severall gentlemen and noblemen sitting in Council at Whitehall. And I the rather am confident of it, remembering what Sir Edw. Walker (Garter King at Armes) had likewise affirm'd to me a long time before, even when he was first made a Lord; that carrying his pedigree to Lord Clifford on his being created a Peer, and finding him busy, he bid him go into his study and divert himself there till he was at leisure to discourse with him about some things relating to his family; there lay, said Sir Edward, on his table, his horoscope and nativity calculated, with some writing under it, where he read that he

should be advanc'd to the highest degree in the State that could be conferr'd upon him, but that he should not long enjoy it, but should die, or expressions to that sense: and I think (but cannot confidently say) a bloudy death. This Sir Edw[d] affirm'd both to me and Sir Rich. Browne, nor could I forbeare to note this extraordinary passage in these memoires.

14 Sept. Dr. Creighton, son to the late eloquent Bishop of Bath and Wells, preached to the Household on 57 Isaiah 8.

15. I procured 4000*l.* of the Lords of the Treasury, and rectified divers matters about the sick and wounded.

16. To Council, about choosing a new Secretary.

17. I went with some friends to visit Mr. Bernard Grenville at Abs Court in Surrey; an old house in a pretty parke *.

23. I went to see Paradise, a roome in Hatton Garden furnished with the representations of all sorts of animals handsomely painted on boards or cloth, and so cut out and made to stand, move, fly, crawl, roare, and make their severall cries. The man who shewed it made us laugh heartily at his formal poetrie.

15 Oct. To Council, and swore in Mr. Locke, secretary, Dr. Worsley being dead.

27. To Council, about sending succours to recover New York; and then we read the Commission and Instructions to Sir Jonathan Atkins, the new Governor of Barbados.

5 Nov. This night the youths of the Citty burnt the Pope in effigie, after they had made procession with it in greate triumph, they being displeas'd at the Duke for altering his religion and marrying an Italian lady †.

On St. Andrew's Day I first saw the new Dutchesse of York, and the Dutchesse of Modena her mother.

1 Dec. To Gressham College, whither the Citty had invited the Royal Society by many of their cheife Aldermen and Magistrates, who gave us a collation, to welcome us to our first place of assembly, from

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* At Walton on Thames.

† The Princess Mary Beatrice D'Este, daughter of the Duke of Modena.

whence we had ben driven to give place to the Citty, on their making it their Exchange, on the dreadfull conflagration, till their new Exchange was finish'd, wch it now was. The Society having till now ben entertain'd and met at Arundel House.

2. I dined with some friends, and visited the sick: thence to an almes-house where was prayers and reliefe, some very ill and miserable. It was one of the best daies I ever spent in my life.

3. There was at dinner my Lord Lockart, design'd Ambassador for France, a gallant and a sober person.

9. I saw againe the Italian Dutchesse and her brother the Prince Reynaldo.

20. I had some discourse with certaine strangers, not unlearned, who had ben born not far from Old Nineveh; they assur'd me of the ruines being still extant, and vast and wonderfull were the buildings, vaults, pillars, and magnificent fragments; but they could say little of the Toure of Babel that satisfied me: but the description of the amœnitie and fragrancy of the country for health and cherefullnesse delighted me, so sensibly they spake of the excellent aire and climate in respect of our cloudy and splenetic country.

24. Visited some prisoners at Ludgate, taking orders about the releasing of some.

30. I gave Almighty God thanks for his infinite goodnesse to me the yeare past, and begged his mercie and protection the yeare following: afterwards invited my neighbours to spend the day with me.

1674, 5 Jan. I saw an Italian Opera in musiq, the first that had ben in England of this kind.

9. Sent for by his Ma^ty^ to write something against the Hollanders about the duty of the Flag and Fisherie. Return'd with some papers.

25 March. I dined at Knightsbridge with the Bishops of Salisbury, Chester, and Lincoln, my old friends.

29 May. His Majestie's birth-day and Restauration. Mr. Demalhoy, Roger L'Estrange, and severall of my friends, came to dine with me on the happy occasion.

27 June. Mr. Dryden, the famous Poet and now Laureat, came to give me a visite. It was the anniversarie of my marriage, and the first

day I went into my new little cell and cabinet, wch I built below towards the South court, at the East end of the parlor.

9 July. Paid £.360 for purchase of Dr. Jacomb's son's share in the mill and land at Deptford, which I bought of the Beechers.

22. I went to Windsor with my wife and sonn to see my daughter Mary, who was there with my Lady Tuke, and to do my duty to his Ma^ty^. Next day to a greate entertainment at Sr Robt Holmes's at Cranburn Lodge in the Forest; there were his Ma^ty^, the Queene, Duke, Dutchesse, and all the Court. I return'd in the evening with Sr Joseph Williamson, now declar'd Secretary of State. He was sonn of a poore clergyman somewhere in Cumberland, brought up at Queen's Coll. Oxford, of which he came to be a fellow; then travell'd with . . . . . and returning when the King was restor'd, was receiv'd as a Cleark under Mr. Secretary Nicholas; Sr Henry Bennett (now Lord Arlington) succeeding, Williamson is transferr'd to him, who loving his ease more than businesse (tho' sufficiently able had he applied himselfe to it) remitted all to his man Williamson, and in a short time let him so into the seacret of affaires, that (as his Lordship himselfe told me) there was a kind of necessity to advance him; and so by his subtlety, dexterity, and insinuation, he got now to be principal Secretary; absolutely Lord Arlington's creature, and ungratefull enough. It has ben the fate of this obliging favorite to advance those who soone forgot their original. Sir Joseph was a musitian, could play at *Jeu de Goblets*, exceeding formal, a severe master to his servants, but so inward with my Lord Obrien, that after a few moneths of that gentleman's death, he married his widow *, who, being sister and heire of the Duke of Richmond, brought him a noble fortune. 'Twas thought they liv'd not so kindly after marriage as they did before. She was much censur'd for marrying so meanly, being herselfe allied to the Royal family.

* Lady Catherine Stuart, sister and heir to Charles Stuart Duke of Richmond and Lenox, the husband of that admired beauty Mrs. Frances Stuart, with whom Charles the Second was so deeply in love, that he never forgave the Duke for marrying her, which, it is thought, he had formed some intention of doing himself. He took the first opportunity of sending him into an honourable exile, as Ambassador to Denmark, where he shortly after died, leaving no issue by the Duchess.

6 Aug. I went to Groombridge to see my old friend Mr. Packer, the house built within a moate, in a woody vally. The old house had ben the place of confinement of the Duke of Orleans, taken by one Waller (whose house it then was) at the Battle of Agincourt, now demolish'd, and a new one built in its place, tho' a far better situation had ben on the South of the wood, on a graceful ascent. At some small distance is a large chapell, not long since built by Mr. Packer's father, on a vow he made to do it on the return of King Charles I. out of Spaine, 1625, and dedicated to St. Charles, but what saint there was then of that name I am to seeke, for, being a Protestant, I conceive it was not Borromeo.

I went to see my farme at Ripe neere Lewes.

19. His Ma^ty told me how exceedingly the Dutch were displeas'd at my treatise of the "Historie of Commerce"*; that the Holland Ambass^r had complain'd to him of what I had touch'd of the Flags and Fishery, &c. and desired the booke might be call'd in; whilst on the other side he assur'd me he was exceedingly pleas'd with what I had done, and gave me many thanks. However, it being just upon conclusion of the treaty of Breda (indeed it was design'd to have ben publish'd some moneths before, and when we were at defiance), his Ma^ty told me he must recall it formally, but gave order that what copies should be publiqly seiz'd to pacifie the Ambass^r, should immediately be restor'd to the Printer, and that neither he nor the vendor should be molested. The truth is, that which touch'd the Hollander was much lesse than what the King himselfe furnish'd me with, and oblig'd me to publish, having caus'd it to be read to him before it went to the presse; but the error was, it should have ben publish'd before the peace was proclaim'd. The noise of this book's suppression made it presently be bought up, and turn'd much to the stationer's advantage. It was no other than the Preface prepar'd to be prefix'd to my History of the whole Warr; which I now pursued no further.

* Entitled, "Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress, &c. By I. Evelyn, Esq. S. R. S." 8vo, 1674. Dedicated to the King. This was, in fact, only the introduction to the intended "History of the Dutch War."

21. In one of the meadows at the foote of the long Terrace below the Castle [Windsor], works were thrown up to shew the King a representation of the Citty of Maestricht, newly taken by the French; Bastions, bulwarks, ramparts, palisadoes, graffs, hornworks, counterscarps, &c. were constructed. It was attack'd by ye Duke of Monmouth (newly come from that real siege) and ye Duke of York, with a little army, to shew their skill in tactics. On Saturday night they made their approches, open'd trenches, rais'd batteries, tooke the counterscarp and ravelin after a stout defence; greate gunns fir'd on both sides, granados shot, mines sprung, parties sent out, attempts of raising the siege, prisoners taken, parleys, and in short all the circumstances of a formal siege to appearance, and, what is most strange, all without disorder or ill accident, to the greate satisfaction of a thousand spectators. Being night, it made a formidable shew. The siege being over, I went with Mr. Pepys back to London, where we ariv'd about 3 in the morning.

15 Sept. To Council, about fetching away the English left at Surinam, &c. since our reconciliation with Holland.

21. I went to see the greate losse that Lord Arlington had sustain'd by fire at Goring house, this night consum'd to ye ground, with exceeding losse of hangings, plate, rare pictures, and cabinets; hardly any thing was sav'd of the best and most princely furniture that any subject had in England. My lord and lady were both absent at the Bathe.

6 Oct. The Lord Chief Baron Turner, and Serjeant Wild, Recorder of London, came to visite me.

20. At Lord Berkeley's I discours'd with Sir Thomas Modiford, late Govr of Jamaica, and with Col. Morgan, who undertooke that gallant exploit from Nombre de Dios to Panama, on the Continent of America; he told me 10,000 men would easily conquer all the Spanish Indies, they were so secure. They tooke greate booty, and much greater had ben taken, had they not been betraied and so discover'd before their approch, by wch the Spaniards had time to carry their vast treasure on board ships that put off to sea in sight of our men, who had no boates to follow. They set fire to Panama, and ravaged the country

60 miles about. The Spaniards were so supine and unexercis'd, that they were afraid to fire a greate gun.

31. My birth-day, 54th yeare of my life. Blessed be God. It was also preparation-day for the holy Sacrament, in which I participated the next day, imploring God's protection for the yeare following, and confirming my resolutions of a more holy life, even upon the Holy Booke. The Lord assist and be gracious unto me. Amen.

15 Nov. The Anniversarie of my baptisme: I first heard that famous and excellent preacher Dr. Burnet (author of the History of ye Reformation) on 3 Coloss. 10, with such a flow of eloquence and fullness of matter, as shew'd him to be a person of extraordinary parts.

The night being her Majesty's birth-day, the Court was exceeding splendid in clothes and jewells, to the height of excesse.

17. To Council, on the business of Surinam, where the Dutch had detain'd some English in prison ever since the first war 1665.

19. I heard that stupendous violin, Sigr Nicholao (with other rare musitians), whom I never heard mortal man exceed on that instrument. He had a stroak so sweete, and made it speake like ye voice of a man, and, when he pleas'd, like a consort of severall instruments. He did wonders upon a note, and was an excellent composer. Here was also that rare lutenist Dr Wallgrave; but nothing approch'd the violin in Nicholao's hand. He plaied such ravishing things as astonish'd us all.

2 Dec. At Mr. Slingsby's, Master of the Mint, my worthy friend, a greate lover of musiq. Heard Sigr Francisco on the harpsichord, esteem'd one of the most excellent masters in Europe on that instrument; then came Nicholao with his violin, and struck all mute but Mrs. Knight, who sung incomparably, and doubtlesse has the greatest reach of any English woman; she had lately ben roaming in Italy, and was much improv'd in that quality.

15. Saw a comedie* at night at Court, acted by the ladies onely, amongst them Lady Mary and Ann, his Royal Highnesses two daugh-

* This was the Masque of "Calisto, or the Chaste Nymph," by John Crowne. The performers in the piece were, the two daughters of the Duke of York, Lady Henrietta Wentworth (afterwards mistress to the Duke of Monmouth), Countess of Sussex, Lady Mary Mordaunt, Mrs. Blagg, who had been Maid of Honour to the Queen, and Mrs. Jennings, then Maid of Honour to the Duchess

ters, and my dear friend Mrs. Blagg, who having the principal part, perform'd it to admiration. They were all cover'd with jewells.

22. Was at the repetition of the Pastoral, on which occasion Mrs. Blagg had about her neere £.20,000 worth of jewells, of which she lost one worth about £.80, borrow'd of ye Countess of Suffolk. The press was so greate, that 'tis a wonder she lost no more. The Duke made it good.

1675. 20 Jan. Went to see Mr. Streeter, that excellent painter of perspective and landskip, to comfort and encourage him to be cut for the stone, with which that honest man was exceedingly afflicted*.

22 Mar. Supp'd. at Sr William Petty's with the Bp. of Salisbury and divers honorable persons. We had a noble entertainment in a house gloriously furnish'd; the master and mistress of it were extraordinary persons. S^r^ W^m^ was the sonn of a meane man some where in Sussex, and sent from schole to Oxon, where he studied Philosophy, but was most eminent in Mathematics and Mechanics: proceeded D^r^ of Physick, and was grown famous, as for his learning so for his recovering a poor wench that had ben hanged for felony; and her body having ben begged (as the costome is) for the anatomie lecture, he bled her, put her to bed to a warm woman, and with spirits and other meanes restor'd her to life†. The young scholars joyn'd and made her a little portion, and married her to a man who had severall children by her, she living 15 yeares after, as I have ben assur'd. S^r^ W^m^ came

of York, and who was afterwards the celebrated Duchess of Marlborough. The Duke of Monmouth, Lord Dumblaine, Lord Daincourt, and others, were the dancers; and Mrs. Davis, Mrs. Knight, Mrs. Butler, and others, likewise acted and sung in the performance. Printed, London 1675, in 4to.

* The King, it is said, who had a great regard for this artist, sent for a famous surgeon from Paris, on purpose to perform the operation.

† For a full account of this very remarkable event, see a pamphlet, entitled, "Newes from the Dead, or a true and exact Narration of the miraculous Deliverance of Anne Greene, who being executed at Oxford Dec. 14, 1650, afterwards revived; and by the care of certain Physicians there is now perfectly recovered. Oxford, the second Impression, with Additions, 4to, 1651." Added to the Narrative are several Copies of Verses in Latin, English, and French, by Gentlemen of the University, commemorative of the story; amongst others, one by Joseph Williamson, afterwards Secretary of State, another by Christopher Wren, the famous architect, then of Wadham College, Walter Pope, Dr. Ralph Bathurst (the last under other names), and many more. This was reprinted, but very negligently, from the first and worst edition, in Morgan's "Phœnix Britannicus," 4to.

from Oxon. to be tutor to a neighbour of mine; thence, when the rebells were dividing their conquests in Ireland, he was employ'd by them to measure and set out the land, which he did on an easy contract, so much per acre. This he effected so exactly, that it not only furnish'd him with a greate sum of mony, but enabled him to purchase an estate worth £.4000 a yeare. He afterwards married the daughter of Sir Hardresse Waller; she was an extraordinary witt as well as beauty, and a prudent woman.

Sr William, amongst other inventions, was author of the double-bottom'd ship*, wch tho' it perish'd, and he was censur'd for rashnesse, being lost in the Bay of Biscay in a storme when, I think, 15 other vessells miscarried. The vessell was flat-bottom'd, of exceeding use to put into shallow ports, and ride over small depths of water. It consisted of 2 distinct keeles crampt together with huge timbers, &c. so as that a violent streame ran betweene; it bare a monstrous broad saile, and he still persists that it is practicable and of exceeding use; and he has often told me he would adventure himselfe in such another, could he procure sailors, and his Ma^tys^ permission to make a second Experiment, which name the King gave it at the launching.

The Map of Ireland made by Sir William Petty is believ'd to be the most exact that ever yet was made of any country. He did promise to publish it; and I am told it has cost him neare £.1000 to have it engrav'd at Amsterdam. There is not a better Latine poet living when he gives himselfe that diversion; nor is his excellence less in Council and prudent matters of state; but he is so exceeding nice in sifting and examining all possible contingencies, that he adventures at nothing which is not demonstration. There were not in ye whole world his equal for a superintendant of manufacture and improvement of trade, or to govern a Plantation. If I were a Prince, I should make him my second Counsellor at least. There is nothing difficult to him. He is besides courageous, on which account I cannot but note a true storie of him, that when Sr Aleyn Brodrick sent him a challenge upon a difference 'twixt them in Ireland, Sr William, tho' exceedingly purblind, accepted the challenge, and it being his part to propound the weapon,

* See pp. 362, 370.

desir'd his antagonist to meete him with a hatchet or axe in a dark cellar, which the other of course refused. Sir William was, with all this, facetious and of easy conversation, friendly and courteous, and had such a faculty of imitating others, that he would take a text and preach, now like a grave orthodox divine, then falling into the Presbyterian way, then to the phanatical, the quaker, the monk and frier, the Popish priest, with such admirable action, and alteration of voice and tone, as it was not possible to abstain from wonder, and one would sweare to heare severall persons, or forbear to think he was not in good earnest an enthusiast and almost beside himselfe; then he would fall out of it into a serious discourse; but it was very rarely he would be prevail'd on to oblige the company with this faculty, and that only amongst most intimate friends. My Lord Duke of Ormond once obtain'd it of him, and was almost ravish'd with admiration; but by and by he fell upon a serious reprimand of the faults and miscarriages of some Princes and Governors, which tho' he nam'd none, did so sensibly touch the Duke, who was then Lieutenant of Ireland, that he began to be very uneasy, and wish'd the spirit lay'd which he had rais'd, for he was neither able to endure such truthes, nor could he but be delighted. At last he mealted his discourse to a ridiculous subject, and came down from the joynt stoole on which he had stood; but my lord would not have him preach any more. He never could get favour at Court, because he outwitted all the projectors that came neere him. Having never known such another genius, I cannot but mention these particulars amongst a multitude of others which I could produce. When I who knew him in mean circumstances have ben in his splendid palace, he would himselfe be in admiration how he ariv'd at it; nor was it his value or inclination for splendid furniture and the curiosities of the age, but his elegant lady could endure nothing meane, or that was not magnificent. He was very negligent himselfe, and rather so of his person, and of a philosophic temper. "What a to-do is here!" would he say, "I can lie in straw with as much satisfaction."

He is author of the ingenious deductions from the bills of mortality, which go under the name of Mr. Graunt; also of that useful discourse of the manufacture of wool, and several others in the register of the

Royal Society. He was also author of that paraphrase on the 104th Psalm in Latin verse, which goes about in MS. and is inimitable. In a word, there is nothing impenetrable to him.

26 March. Dr. Brideoake was elected Bishop of Chichester on the translation of Dr. Gunning to Ely.

30. Dr. Allestree preached on 6 Romans 3. the necessitie of those who are baptized to die to sinn; a very excellent discourse from an excellent preacher.

25 April. Dr. Barrow *, that excellent, pious, and most learned man, divine, mathematician, poet, traveller, and most humble person, preach'd at White-hall to ye household, on 20 Luke 27, of love and charitie to our neighbours.

29. I read my first discourse "Of Earth and Vegetation" before ye Royall Society, as a lecture in course after Sir Rob. Southwell had read his the weeke before On Water. I was commanded by our President and the suffrage of the Society to print it.

16 May. This day was my deare friend Mrs. Blagg married at the Temple Church to my friend Mr. Sidney Godolphin, Groome of the Bed-Chamber to his Majesty.

18. I went to visite one Mr. Bathurst, a Spanish merchant, my neighbour.

31. I went with Lord Ossorie to Deptford, where we chose him Master of the Trinity Company.

2 June. I was at a conference of the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, on a difference about imprisoning some of their members: and on the 3d, at another conference, when the Lords accused the Commons for their transcendent misbehaviour, breach of privilege, Magna Charta, subversion of government, and other high, provoking, and diminishing expressions, shewing what duties and subjection they owed to the Lords in Parliament by record of Hen. IV. This was likely to create a notable disturbance.

15. This afternoone came Monsr Querouaille and his lady, parents to the famous beauty and * * * * * favorite at Court, to see S^r^ R.

* Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; succeeded Dr. John Pearson, made Bishop of Chester.

Browne, with whom they were intimately acquainted in Bretagne, at the time Sr Richard was sent to Brest to supervise his Ma^tys^ sea affaires, during the later part of the King's banishment. This gentleman's house was not a mile from Brest; Sr Richard made an acquaintance there, and being used very civily, was obliged to returne it here, which we did. He seem'd a souldierly person and a good fellow, as the Bretons generally are; his lady had ben very handsome, and seem'd a shrewd understanding woman. Conversing with him in our garden, I found severall words of the Breton language the same with our Welch. His daughter was now made Dutchess of Portsmouth and in the height of favour, but he never made any use of it.

27. At Ely House, I went to the consecration of my worthy friend the learned Dr. Barlow, Warden of Queenes Coll. Oxon, now made Bishop of Lincoln. After it, succeeded a magnificent feast, where were the D. of Ormond, E. of Lauderdail, the Lord Tress^r^, Lord Keeper, &c.

8 July. I went with Mrs. Howard and her two daughters towards Northampton Assizes, about a tryal at law, in which I was concerned for them as a Trustee. We lay this night at Henly on the Thames at our attorney Mr. Stephens's, who entertain'd us very handsomely.—Next day, dining at Shotover at Sr Tim. Tyrill's, a sweete place, we lay at Oxford, where it was the time of the Act. Mr. Robt Spencer, unkle to the Earle of Sunderland, and my old acquaintance in France, entertain'd us at his apartment in Christ Church, with exceeding generosity.—The 10th, the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Bathurst (who had formerly taken particular care of my sonn), President of Trinity Colledge, invited me to dinner, and did me greate honour all the time of my stay. The next day he invited me and all my company, tho' strangers to him, to a very noble feast. I was at all the academic exercises.—Sonday, at St. Maries, preach'd a Fellow of Brazen-nose, not a little magnifying the dignity of Church-men.—The 11th, we heard the speeches, and saw ye ceremonie of creating Doctors in Divinity, Law, and Physic. I had early in the morning heard Dr. Morison, Botanic Professor, reade on divers plants in the Physic Garden; and saw that rare collection of natural curiosities of Dr. Plot's, of Magdalen Hall, author of

"The Natural History of Oxfordshire," all of them collected in that Shire, and indeede extraordinary, that in one County there should be found such varietie of plants, shells, stones, minerals, marcasites, fouls, insects, models of works, chrystals, achates, and marbles. He was now intending to visite Staffordshire, and as he had of Oxfordshire, to give us the natural, topical, political, and mechanical history. Pitty it is that more of this industrious man's genius were not employ'd so to describe every County of England; it would be one of the most usefull and illustrious workes that was ever produc'd in any age or nation.

I visited also the Bodleian Library, and my old friend the learned Obadiah Walker*, head of University Coll. which he had now almost rebuilt or repair'd. We then proceeded to Northampton, where we arived the next day.

In this journey went part of the way Mr. Ja. Graham (since Privy Purse to the Duke), a young gentleman exceedingly in love with Mrs. Dorothy Howard, one of the Mayds of Honour in our company†. I could not but pitty them both, the mother not much favouring it. This lady was not onely a greate beauty, but a most virtuous and excellent creature, and worthy to have ben wife to the best of men. My advice was required, and I spake to the advantage of the young gentleman, more out of pitty than that she deserv'd no better match, for tho' he was a gentleman of a good family, yet there was greate inequality.

14. I went to see my Lord Sunderland's seat at Althorp, 4 miles from the ragged towne of Northampton (since burned, and well rebuilt). 'Tis placed in a pretty open bottome, very finely watred and flanqued with stately woods and groves in a parke, with a canall, but the water is not running, which is a defect. The house a kind of modern building of freestone, within most nobly furnished. The apartments very commodious, a gallerie and noble hall, but the kitchen being in the body of the house, and chapell too small, were defects. There is an old yet honorable gate-house standing awry, and out-

* See p. 235.

† He afterwards married her. See p. 479, note.

housing meane, but design'd to be taken away. It was moated round after the old manner, but it is now dry, and turfed with a beautifull carpet. Above all are admirable and magnificent the severall ample gardens furnish'd with the choicest fruite, and exquisitely kept. Greate plenty of oranges and other curiosities. The parke full of foule, especialy hernes, and from it a prospect to Holmby House, which being demolish'd in the late civil warrs, shews like a Roman ruine, shaded by the trees about it, a stately, solemn, and pleasing view.

15. Our cause was pleaded in behalfe of the mother, Mrs. Howard* and her daughters, before Baron Thurland, who had formerly ben steward of Courts for me; we carried our cause, as there was reason, for here was an imprudent as well as disobedient sonn against his mother, by instigation doubtlesse of his wife, one Mrs. Ogle (an ancient maid), whom he had clandestinely married, and who brought him no fortune, he being heire apparent of the Earle of Berkshire. We lay at Brickhill in Bedfordshire, and came late next day to our journey's end.

This was a journey of adventures and knight errantry. One of the lady's servants being as desperately in love with Mrs. Howard's woman as Mr. Graham was with her daughter, and she riding on horseback behind his rival, the amorous and jealous youth having a little drink in his pate, had here killed himselfe had he not ben prevented; for, alighting from his horse, and drawing his sword, he endeavoured twice or thrice to fall on it, but was interrupted by our coachman and a stranger passing by. After this, running to his rival and snatching his sword from his side (for we had beaten his owne out of his hand), and on the suddaine pulling downe his mistresse, would have run both

* Mrs. Howard was widow of William fourth son of the first Earl of Berkshire, being the daughter of Lord Dundass of the kingdom of Scotland. They had one son Craven Howard, and two daughters, Dorothy, who married Col. James Grehme of Levens in Westmoreland; and Anne, who married Sir Gabriel Sylvius, Knt. Craven married two wives, the first of which was Anne, daughter of Tho. Ogle of Pinchbeck, co. Linc. Esq.; then maid of honour to Queen Catherine. Collins's Peerage, vol. II. pp. 139, 140, edit. 1735.

These two daughters are the ladies here mentioned by Mr. Evelyn; but he is not correct in calling Craven heir apparent of the Earl of Berks, as besides the uncle then in possession of the title, there was another uncle before him, who in fact inherited it, and did not die till many years after.

of them thro'; we parted them, but not without some blood. This miserable creature poyson'd himselfe for her not many daies after they came to London.

19. The Lord Tress^rs Chaplaine preached at Wallingford House.

9 Aug. Dr. Sprat, prebend of Westminster and Chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham, preached on the 3rd Epistle of Jude, shewing what the primitive faith was, how neere it and how excellent that of the Church of England, also the danger of departing from it.

27. I visited the Bishop of Rochester at Bromely, and dined at Sr Philip Warwick's at Frogpoole [Frognall].

2 Sept. I went to see Dulwich Colledge, being the pious foundation of one Allen, a famous Comedian in King James's time. The Chapell is pretty, the rest of the Hospital very ill contriv'd; it yet maintaines divers poore of both sexes. 'Tis in a melancholy part of Camerwell parish. I came back by certaine medicinal Spa waters, at a place called Sydnam Wells in Lewisham parish, much frequented in Summer.

10. I was casually shewed the Dutchesse of Portsmouth's splendid appartment at White-hall, luxuriously furnished, and with ten times the richnesse and glory beyond the Queenes; such massy pieces of plate, whole tables, & stands, of incredible value.

29. I saw the Italian Scaramucchio act before ye King at White-hall, people giving money to come in, which was very scandalous, and never so before at Court diversions. Having seene him act before in Italy, many yeares past, I was not averse from seeing the most excellent of that kind of folly.

14 Oct. Din'd at Kensington with my old acquaintance Mr. Henshaw, newly return'd from Denmark, where he had ben left resident after the death of the Duke of Richmond, who died there Ambassador.

15. I got an extreme cold, such as was afterwards so epidemical, as not only to afflict us in this island, but was rife over all Europe, like a plague. It was after an exceeding dry summer and autumn.

I settled affaires, my sonn being to go into France with my Lord Berkeley, design'd Ambass^r extraordinary for France and Plenipotentiary for the general treaty of peace at Nimeguen.

24. Din'd at Lord Chamberlain's with the Holland Ambass^r L. Duras, a valiant gent^n whom his Ma^ty made an English Baron, of a cadet, and gave him his seate of Holmby in Northamptonshire * [since Earle of Feversham].

27. Lord Berkeley coming into Council, fell downe in the gallerie at White-hall in a fit of apoplexie, and being carried into my Lord Chamberlaines lodgings, severall famous doctors were employed all that night, and with much ado he was at last recover'd to some sense, by applying hot fire-pans and spirit of amber to his head, but nothing was found so effectual as cupping him on the shoulders. It was an almost miraculous restauration. The next day he was carried to Berkeley House. This stopp'd his journey for the present, and caused my stay in towne. He had put all his affaires and his whole estate in England into my hands during his intended absence, which tho' I was very unfit to undertake, in reguard of many businesses which then took me up, yet upon the greate importunity of my lady and Mr. Godolphin (to whom I could refuse nothing) I did take it on me. It seemes when he was Deputy in Ireland, not long before, he had ben much wronged by one he left in trust with his affaires, and therefore wished for some unmercenary friend who would take that trouble on him; this was to receive his rents, look after his houses and tenants, solicite supplies from the Lord Treass^r, and correspond weekly with him, more than enough to employ any drudge in England; but what will not friendship and love make one do?

31. Din'd at my Lord Chamberlain's with my sonn. There were the learned Isaac Vossius and Spanhemius, son of the famous man of Heidelburg, nor was this gentleman less learned, being a generall scholar. Amongst other pieces he was author of an excellent treatise on Medails.

10 Nov. Being ye day appointed for my Lord Ambass^r to set out, I met them with my coach at New Crosse. There were with him my Lady his wife and my deare friend Mrs. Godolphin, who out of an extraordinary friendship would needes accompany my lady to Paris, and

* See Bridges's Northamptonshire, vol. I. p. 526.

stay with her sometime, which was the chiefe inducement for permitting my sonn to travel, but I knew him safe under her inspection, and in reguard my Lord himselfe had promis'd to take him into his special favour, he having intrusted all he had to my care.

Thus we set out, 3 coaches (besides mine), 3 waggons, and about forty horse. It being late, and my lord as yet but valetudinarie, we got but to Dartford the first day; the next to Sittingbourne.

At Rochester, the major, Mr. Cony, then an officer of mine for the sick and wounded of that place, gave the ladies a handsome refreshment as we came by his house.

12. We came to Canterbury, and next morning to Dover.

There was in my Lady Ambassadresses company my Lady Hamilton, a sprightly young lady, much in the good graces of the family, wife of that valiant and worthy gentleman Geo. Hamilton, not long after slaine in the warrs. She had ben a maid of honour to the Dutchesse, and now turn'd Papist.

14. Being Sonday, my Lord having before deliver'd to me his letter of attorney, keyes, seale, and his will, we tooke solemn leave of one another upon the beach, the coaches carrying them into the sea to the boats, which deliver'd them to Capt. Gunman's yacht the Mary. Being under saile, the castle gave them 17 gunns, which Capt. Gunman answered with 11. Hence I went to Church, to beg a blessing on their voyage.

2 Dec. Being returned home, I visited Lady Mordaunt at Parsons Greene, my Lord her sonn being sick. This pious woman deliver'd to me £100. to bestow as I thought fit for ye release of poore prisoners and other charitable uses.

21. Visited her Ladyship againe, where I found the Bp. of Winchester, whom I had long known in France: he invited me to his house at Chelsey.

23 Dec. Lady Sunderland gave me ten guineas to bestow in charities.

1676, 20 Feb. Dr. Gunning, Bishop of Ely, preached before the King from 20 St. John 21, 22, 23. chiefly against an anonymous booke called "Naked Truth," a famous and popular treatise against the corruption in ye Cleargie, but not sound as to its quotations, supposed to have

ben the Bishop of Hereford's [Dr. Herbert Croft], and was answered by Dr. Turner, it endeavoring to prove an equality of order of Bishop and Presbyter.

27. Dr. Pritchard, Bp. of Glocester, preached at White-hall on 5 Isaiah 5. very allegorically according to his manner, yet very gravely and wittily.

29 Feb. I din'd with Mr. Povey, one of the Masters of Requests, a nice contriver of all elegances, and exceedingly formall. Supped with Sir J. Williamson, where were of our Society Mr. Robert Boyle, Sir Christ: Wren, Sir W^m^. Petty, Dr. Holden, sub-dean of his Majesty's Chapell, Sir James Shaen, Dr. Whistler, and our Secretary Mr. Oldenburg.

4 Mar. Sir Thos Linch was returned from his government of Jamaica.

16. The Countesse of Sunderland and I went by water to Parsons Greene to visite my Lady Mordaunt, and to consult with her about my Lord's monument. We return'd by coach.

19. Dr. Lloyd, late Curate at Deptford, but now Bishop of Llandaff, preached before the King on 1 Cor. 15. 57. that tho' sin subjects us to Death, yet thro' Christ we become his conquerors.

24. Dr. Brideoak *, Bp. of Chichester, preach'd; a mean discourse for a Bishop. I also heard Dr. Fleetwood, Bp. of Worcester, on 26 Matt. 38. of the sorrows of Christ, a deadly sorrow caused by our sinns; he was no great preacher.

23. To Twickenham Park, Lord Berkeley's country seate, to examine how the bailiffs and servants ordered matters.

30. Dining with my La. Sunderland, I saw a fellow swallow a knife, and divers great pebble stones, which would make a plaine rattling one against another. The knife was in a sheath of horne.

Dr. North, sonn to my Lord North, preach'd before the King on 53 Isaiah 57. a very young but learned and excellent person. Note. This was the first time the Duke appeared no more in Chapell, to the infinite griefe and threatned ruine of this poore Nation.

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* Ralph Brideoake, Dean of Salisbury, succeeded Bp. Gunning in the See.

2 April. I had now notice that my deare friend Mrs. Godolphin was returning from Paris. On the 6th she arived to my greate joy, whom I most heartily welcomed.

28 April. My wife entertain'd her Ma^ty at Deptford, for which the Queene gave me thanks in the withdrawing-roome at White-hall.

The University of Oxford presented me with the "Marmora Oxoniensia Arundelliana;" the Bp. of Oxford writing to desire that I would introduce Mr. Prideaux the Editor, (a young man most learned in Antiquities) to the Duke of Norfolk, to present another dedicated to his Grace, which I did, and we din'd with the Duke at Arundel House, and supp'd at the Bp. of Rochester's with Isaac Vossius.

7 May. I spoke to the Duke of York about my Lo. Berkeley's going to Nimeguen. Thence to the Queene's Council at Somerset House, about Mrs. Godolphin's lease of Spalding in Lincolnshire.

11. I dined with Mr. Charleton, and went to see Mr. Mountague's new palace neere Bloomsbury, built by Mr. Hooke of our Society after the French manner *.

13. Return'd home and found my son come from France, praised be God.

22. Trinity Monday. A chaplain of my Lord Ossorie's preach'd, after wch we took barge to Trinity House in London. Mr. Pepys (Secretary of the Admiralty) succeeded my Lord as Master.

2 June. I went with my Lord Chamberlaine to see a garden at Enfield towne; thence to Mr. Secretary Coventry's lodge in the Chace. It is a very pretty place, the house commodious; the gardens handsome, and our entertainment very free, there being none but my Lord and myselfe. That which I most wondered at was, that in the compass of 25 miles, yet within 14 of London, there is not an house, barne, church, or building, besides three lodges. To this Lodge are three greate ponds and some few inclosures, the rest a solitarie desert, yet stor'd with not lesse than 3000 deere. These are pretty retreats for gentlemen, especialy for those who are studious and lovers of privacy.

* Now the British Museum.

We return'd in the evening by Hamsted, to see Lord Wotton's house and garden *, built with vast expense by Mr. O'Neale, an Irish gent^n^ who married Lord Wotton's mother Lady Stanhope. The furniture is very particular for Indian cabinets, porcelane, and other solid and noble moveables. The gallery very fine, ye gardens very large, but ill kept, yet woody and chargeable. The soil a cold weeping clay, not answering the expence.

12 June. I went to Sr Tho. Bond's new and fine house by Peckham; it is on a flat, but has a fine garden and prospect thro' the meadows to London.

2 July. Dr. Castillion, Prebend of Canterbury, preached before the King on 15 John 22. at White-hall.

19. Went to the funeral of Sr William Sanderson, husband to ye mother of the Maids †, and author of two large but meane histories of King James and K. Charles the First. He was buried at Westminster.

1 Aug. In the afternoone, after prayers at St. James's Chapell, was christned a daughter of Dr. Leakes, the Duke's Chaplaine: Godmothers were Lady Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, and the Dutchesse of Monmouth: Godfather, the Earle of Bathe.

15. Came to dine with me my Lord Halifax, Sir Thomas Meeres, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, Sir John Clayton, Mr. Slingsby, Mr. Henshaw, and Mr. Bridgeman.

25. Din'd with Sir John Banks at his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on recommending Mr. Upman to be tutor to his sonn going into France. This Sir John Banks was a merchant of small beginning, but had amass'd 100,000*l.*

26. I din'd at ye Admiralty with Secretary Pepys, and supp'd at the Lord Chamberlaines. Here was Capt. Baker, who had ben lately on the attempt of the North West Passage. He reported prodigious depth of ice, blew as a sapphire, and as transparent. The thick mists were their cheife impediment and cause of their returne.

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* Belsize House.

† The Queen's Maids of Honour; there is or lately was a place with that title. (1816.)

2 Sept. I paid 1700*l.* to ye Marquiss de Sissac, which he had lent to my Lord Berkeley, and which I heard the Marquiss lost at play in a night or two.

The Dean of Chichester preach'd before the King on 24 Acts 16; and Dr. Crighton preach'd ye second sermon before him on 90 Psalm 12. of wisely numbering our daies and well employing our time.

3. Dined at Capt. Graham's, where I became acquainted with Dr. Compton, brother to the Earle of Northampton, now Bishop of London, and Mr. North, sonn to the Lord North, brother to the Ld Cheife Justice and Clerke of the Closet, a most hopefull young man. The Bishop had once ben a souldier, had also travel'd Italy, and became a most sober, grave, and excellent prelate.

6. Supped at the Lord Chamberlaine's, where also supped the famous beauty and errant lady the Dutchesse of Mazarine (all the world knows her storie), the Duke of Monmouth, Countesse of Sussex both natural children of the King by the Dutchess of Cleaveland *), and ye Countesse of Derby, a virtuous lady, daughter to my best friend the Earle of Ossorie.

10 Sept. Din'd with me Mr. Flamsted, the learned astrologer and mathematician, whom his Ma^ty^ had establish'd in the new Observatorie in Greenewich Park furnish'd with the choicest instruments. An honest, sincere man.

12. To London, to take order about the building of an house, or rather an appartment which had all the conveniencies of an house, for my deare friend Mr. Godolphin and lady, which I undertooke to contrive and survey, and employ workmen 'till it should be quite finished; it being just over against his Majesties wood yard by the Thames side, leading to Scotland yard.

19. To Lambeth, to that rare magazine of marble, to take order for chimney-pieces, &c. for Mr. Godolphin's house. The owner of the

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* Mr. Evelyn forgot himself here. The Duke of Monmouth's mother was, it is well known, Mrs. Lucy Walters, who was sometimes called Mrs. Barlow (mentioned before). Lady Anne Fitzroy, as she is called in the books of Peerage, was married to Lennard Dacre, Earl of Sussex, by whom she left a daughter only, who succeeded on her father's death to the Barony of Dacre. Mr. Evelyn probably meant to speak of either the Duke of Southampton, the Duke of Grafton, or the Duke of Northumberland, all of whom Charles the Second had by the Duchess of Cleaveland.

workes had built for himselfe a pretty dwelling-house; this Dutchman had contracted with the Genoese for all their marble. We also saw the Duke of Buckingham's Glasse-worke, where they made huge vases of mettal as cleare, ponderous and thick as chrystal; also looking-glasses far larger and better than any that come from Venice.

9 Oct. I went with Mrs. Godolphin and my wife to Black-wall, to see some Indian curiosities; the streetes being slippery I fell against a piece of timber with such violence that I could not speake nor fetch my breath for some space: being carried into an house and let bloud, I was removed to the water side and so home, where after a daies rest I recovered. This being one of my greatest deliverances, the Lord Jesus make me ever mindfull and thankfull.

31. Being my birth-day, and 56 yeares old, I spent the morning in devotion and imploring God's protection, w^h^ solemn thanksgiving for all his signal mercies to me, especially for that escape which concerned me this moneth at Black-wall: Dined with Mrs. Godolphin, and returned home through a prodigious and dangerous mist.

9 Nov. Finish'd ye lease of Spalding for Mr. Godolphin.

16. My sonn and I dining at my Lord Chamberlaine's, he shew'd us amongst others that incomparable piece of Raphael's, being *a Minister of State dictating to Guicciardini*, the earnestness of whose face looking up in expectation of what he was next to write is so to the life, and so naturall, as I esteeme it one of the choicest pieces of that admirable artist. There was *a Woman's head* of Leonardo da Vinci; a *Madona* of old Palma, and two of Van-Dyke's, of which one was *his owne picture* at length, when young, in a leaning posture; the other *an Eunuch singing*. Rare pieces indeede.

4 Dec. I saw the greate ball daunced by all the gallants and ladyes at the Dutchesse of York's.

10 Dec. There fell so deep a snow as hinder'd us from church.

12. To London, in so great a snow as I remember not to have seene the like.

17. More snow falling, I was not able to get to church.

1677. 8 Feb. I went to Roehampton with my lady Dutchesse of Ormond. The garden and perspective is pretty, the prospect most agreeable.

15 May. Came the Earle of Peterborough to desire me to be a Trustee for Lord Visc. Mordaunt and the Countesse, for ye sale of certaine lands set out by Act of Parliament to pay debts.

12. I went to London to give the Lo. Amb^r^ Berkeley (now return'd from the Treaty at Nimeguen) an account of the greate trust repos'd in me during his absence, I having receiv'd and remitted to him no lesse than 20,000*l.* to my no small trouble and losse of time, that during his absence and when the Lord Treasurer was no greate friend [of his] I yet procur'd him greate sums, very often soliciting his Ma^ty^ in his behalfe; looking after the rest of his estate and concernes intirely, without once accepting any kind of acknowledgment, purely upon the request of my dear friend Mr. Godolphin. I return'd with abundance of thanks and professions from my Lo. Berkeley and my Lady.

29. This business being now at an end and myself deliver'd from that intolerable servitude and correspondence, I had leisure to be somewhat more at home and to myselfe.

3 July. I sealed the deedes of sale of the Mannor of Blechinglee to Sir Robt Clayton, for payment of Lo. Peterborough's debts, according to the trust of the Act of Parliament.

16. I went to Wotton.—22. Mr. Evans, curate of Abinger, preach'd an excellent sermon on 5 Matthew 12. In ye afternoone Mr. Higham at Wotton catechised.

26. I din'd at Mr. Duncomb's at Sheere, whose house stands inviron'd with very sweete and quick streams.

29. Mr. Bohun, my sonn's late tutor, preached at Abinger on 4 Phil. 8. very elegantly and practically.

5 Aug. I went to visite my Lord Brounker, now taking the waters at Dulwich.

9. Din'd at the Earl of Peterborow's the day after ye marriage of my Lord of Arundel to Lady Mary Mordaunt daughter to the Earl of Peterborough.

28. To visite my Lord Chamberlaine in Suffolk; he sent his coach and 6 to meete and bring me from St. Edmonds Bury to Euston.

29. We hunted in the park and kill'd a very fat buck.—31. I went a hawking.

7 Sept. There din'd this day at my Lord's one Sr John Gaudy, a very handsome person, but quite dumb, yet very intelligent by signes, and a very fine painter; he was so civil and well bred as it was not possible to discerne any imperfection by him. His lady and children were also there, and he was at church in the morning with us.

4. I went to visite my Lord Crofts, now dying at St. Edmonds Bury, and tooke this opportunity to see this ancient Towne, and the remaines of that famous Monasterie and Abby. There is little standing intire save the gate-house; it has ben a vast and magnificent Gotic structure, and of greate extent. The gates are wood, but quite plated over with iron. There are also two stately churches, one especialy.

5. I went to Thetford, the Burrough Towne, where stand the ruines of a religious house; there is a round mountaine artificialy raised, either for some castle or monument, which makes a pretty landscape. As we went and return'd, a tumbler shew'd his extraordinary addresse in the Warren. I also saw the Decoy, much pleas'd with the stratagem.

9. A stranger preach'd at Euston church, and fell into a handsome panegyric on my Lord's new building the church, which indeede for its elegance and cherefullness is one of the prettiest country churches in England. My Lord told me his heart smote him that after he had bestow'd so much on his magnificent palace there, he should see God's House in the ruine it lay in. He has also rebuilt ye parsonage-house, all of stone, very neate and ample.

10. To divert me, my Lord would needs carry me to see Ipswich, when we din'd with one Mr. Mann by the way, who was Recorder of the towne. There were in our company my Lord Huntingtoure sonn to the Dutchesse of Lauderdale, S^r^ Ed. Bacon a learned gentleman of the family of ye greate Chanc^r^ Verulam, and Sir John Felton, with some other Knights and Gent^n^. After dinner came the Bailiff and Magistrates in their formalities with their maces to compliment my Lord and invite him to the Towne-house, where they presented us a collation of dried sweet meates and wine, the bells ringing, &c. Then we went to see the towne, and first, the Lord Visc^t^ Hereford's house, which stands in a park neere the towne, like that at Bruxelles in Flanders; the house not greate yet pretty, especialy ye hall. The stewes for fish

succeed one another and feed one the other, all paved at bottome. There is a good picture of the *Bl. Virgin* in one of ye parlours, seeming to be of Holbein or some good master. Then we saw the Haven, 7 miles from Harwich. The tide runs out every day, but the bedding being soft mudd it is safe for shipping and a station. The trade of Ipswich is for the most part Newcastle coales, with which they supply London, but it was formerly a cloathing towne. There is not any beggar asks alms in the whole place, a thing very extraordinary, so order'd by ye prudence of the Magistrates. It has in it 14 or 15 beautiful churches: in a word 'tis for building, cleanesse, and good order, one of the best townes in England. Cardinal Wolsey was a butcher's sonn of this towne, but there is little of that magnificent Prelate's foundation here, besides a schole and I think a library, which I did not see. His intentions were to build some greate thing. We return'd late to Euston, having trayell'd above 50 miles this day.

Since first I was at this place, I found things exceedingly improv'd. It is seated in a bottome between two gracefull swellings, the maine building being now in ye figure of a Greek Π with foure pavilions, two at each corner, and a breake in the front, rail'd and balustred at the top, where I caus'd huge jarrs to be plac'd full of earth to keepe them steady upon their pedestalls between the statues, which make as good a shew as if they were of stone, and tho' the building be of brick, and but two stories besides cellars, and garretts cover'd with blue slate, yet there is roome enough for a full court, the offices and out-houses being so ample and well dispos'd. The King's apartment is painted *à fresca*, and magnificently furnish'd. There are many excellent pictures of the greate masters. The gallery is a pleasant, noble roome: in the breake, or middle, is a billiard-table, but the wainscot being of firr, and painted, does not please me so well as Spanish oake without paint. The chapel is pretty, the porch descending to the gardens. The orange garden is very fine, and leads into the green-house, at ye end of which is a hall to eate in, and the conservatory some hundred feete long, adorn'd with mapps, as the other side is with the heads of Cæsars ill cut in alabaster; over head are several apartments for my Lord, Lady,

and Dutchesse *, with kitchens and other offices below in a lesser form, with lodgings for servants, all distinct, for them to retire to when they please and would be in private and have no communication with the palace, which he tells me he will wholly resign to his sonn-in-law and daughter, that charming young creature. The canall running under my lady's dressing-room chamber window is full of carps and foule which come and are fed there. The cascade at the end of ye canall turnes a corne-mill, which provides the family, and raises water for ye fountaines and offices. To passe this canal into the opposite meadows, Sr Sam. Moreland has invented a screw-bridge, wch being turn'd with a key lands you 50 foote distant at the entrance of an ascending walke of trees, a mile in length, as tis also on the front into the park, of 4 rows of ash-trees, and reaches to the park-pale, which is 9 miles in compass, and the best for riding and meeting the game that I ever saw. There were now of red and fallow deere almost a thousand, with good covert, but the soile barren and flying sand, in which nothing will grow kindly. The tufts of firr and much of the other wood were planted by my direction some yeares before. This seate is admirably plac'd for field sports, hawking, hunting, or racing. The mutton is small, but sweete. The stables hold 30 horses and 4 coaches. The out-offices make two large quadrangles, so as servants never liv'd with more ease and convenience, never master more civil. Strangers are attended and accommodated as at their home, in pretty apartments furnish'd with all manner of conveniencies and privacy. There is a library full of excellent books. There are bathing-roomes, elaboratorie, dispensatorie, a decoy, and places to keepe and fat fowl in. He had now in his new church (neere ye garden) built a dormitory or vault with several repositories in which to burie his family. In the expence of this pious structure, the church is most laudable, most of the Houses of God in this country resembling rather stables and thatch'd cottages than temples in which to serve the Most High. He has built a lodge in the park for the keeper, which is a neate dwelling and might become any gentleman.

* His daughter, wife of the Duke of Grafton.

The same has he don for the parson, little deserving it, for murmuring that my Lord put him some time out of his wretched hovel, whilst it was building. He has also erected a faire inn at some distance from his palace, with a bridge of stone over a river neere it, and repaired all the tenants houses, so as there is nothing but neatenesse and accommodations about his estate, which I yet think is not above £.1500 a yeare. I believe he had now in his family 100 domestic servants. His lady (being one of the Bredrodes daughters, grandchild to a natural sonn of Henry Frederick Prince of Orange) is a good-natur'd and obliging woman. They love fine things and to live easily, pompously, and hospitably, but with so vast expence as plunges my Lord into debt exceedingly. My Lord himselfe is given to no expensive vice but building, and to have all things rich, polite, and princely. He never plays, but reades much, having the Latin, French and Spanish tongues in perfection. He has travell'd much, and is the best bred and courtly person his Ma^ty^ has about him, so as the publiq Ministers more frequent him than any of the rest of the Nobility. Whilst he was Secretary of State and Prime Minister he had gotten vastly, but spent it as hastily, even before he had establish'd a fund to maintaine his greatnesse; and now beginning to decline in favour (ye Duke being no great friend of his) he knows not how to retrench. He was sonn of a D^r^ of Laws whom I have seene, and being sent from Westminster Schole to Oxford with intention to be a Divine, and parson of Harlington *, a village neere Brainford, when Master of Arts, the Rebellion falling out, he follow'd the King's Army, and receiving an honourable *wound in the face* †, grew into favour, and was advanc'd from a meane fortune, at his Ma^tys^ restauration, to be an Earle and Kn^t^ of the Garter, Lord Chamberlaine of the Household, and first favourite for a long time, during which the King married his natural sonn, ye Duke of Grafton, to his onely daughter and heiress, as before mentioned, worthy for her beauty and virtue of the greatest Prince in Christendom. My Lord is, besides this, a prudent and

* See in Lord Clarendon's Continuation of his Life, &c. a curious circumstance relating to Sir Henry Bennett's taking his title, when first created a Baron, from this place.

† A deep cut across his nose, he was always obliged to wear a black patch upon it, and is so represented in his portraits.

understanding person in businesse and speakes well. Unfortunate yet in those he has advanc'd, most of them proving ungratefull. The many obligations and civilities I have receiv'd from this noble gentleman extracts from me this character, and I am sorry he is in no better circumstances.

Having now pass'd neere three weeks at Euston to my greate satisfaction, with much difficulty he suffer'd me to looke homeward, being very earnest with me to stay longer, and to engage me, would himselfe have carried and accompanied me to Lynn Regis, a towne of important traffiq, about 20 miles beyond, which I had never seene, as also the Travelling Sands about 10 miles wide of Euston, that have so damag'd the country, rouling from place to place, and like the Sands in ye Deserts of Lybia, quite overwhelm'd some gentlemen's whole estates, as the relation extant in print and brought to our Society describes at large.

13 Sept. My Lord's coach convey'd me to Bury, and thence baiting at Newmarket, stepping in at Audley End to see that house againe, I slept at Bishops Stortford, and the next day home. I was accompanied in my journey by Major Fairfax, of a younger house of the Lord Fairfax, a souldier, a traveller, an excellent musitian, a good-natur'd well-bred gentleman.

18. I preferred Mr. Philips (nephew of Milton) to the service of my Lord Chamberlaine, who wanted a scholar to reade to & entertaine him sometimes.

12 Oct. With Sr Robert Clayton to Marden, an estate he had bought lately of my kinsman Sr John Evelyn of Godstone in Surrey, which from a despicable farme house Sr Robert had erected into a seate with extraordinary expence. 'Tis in such a solitude among hills, as being not above 16 miles from London, seems almost incredible, the ways up to it so winding and intricate. The gardens are large, and well wall'd, and the husbandry part made very convenient and perfectly understood. The barnes, the stacks of corne, the stalls for cattle, pigeon-house, &c. of most laudable example. Innumerable are the plantations of trees, especialy wallnuts. The orangerie and gardens are very curious. In the house are large and noble roomes. He and his lady (who is very curious in distillery) entertain'd me three or foure days very freely. I

earnestly suggested to him the repairing of an old desolate dilapidated Church, standing on the hill above the house*, wch I left him in good disposition to do, and endow it better; there not being above foure or five houses in the parish besides that of this prodigious rich Scrivener †. This place is exceeding sharp in the winter, by reason of the serpenting of the hills; and it wants running water; but the solitude much pleas'd me. All the ground is so full of wild thyme, marjoram, and other sweete plants, that it cannot be overstock'd with bees; I think he had neere 40 hives of that industrious insect.

14. I went to Church at Godstone, and to see old Sir John Evelyn's *dormitory*, joining to the church, pav'd with marble, where he and his lady lie on a very stately monument at length; he in armour, of white marble ‡. The inscription is only an account of his particular branch of the family on black marble.

15. Returned to London; in the evening, I saw the Prince of Orange, and supped with Lord Ossory.

23. Saw againe the Prince of Orange: his marriage with the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to the Duke of York, by Mrs. Hyde, the late Dutchesse, was now declared.

11 Nov. I was all this week composing matters betweene old Mrs. Howard and Sr Gabriel Sylvius, upon his long and earnest addresses to Mrs. Ann her second daughter §, mayd of honor to the Queene. My

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* Woldingham. The Church consists of one room about 30 feet long and 21 wide, without any tower, spire, or bell. It is considered as a Donative, not subject to the Bishop, service performed once a month. No Churchwarden; two farm-houses, four cottages. By the Population Return in 1811, the number of inhabitants was 58. That disposition which was thought to have appeared subsided; the Church remains as it then was.

† In London there was formerly a Company called Scriveners, now extinct. The last member of it, named Ellis, died at the age of more than 90. Dr. Johnson speaks well of him in the present reign. The business comprehended that of a Banker, and what is now called a Conveyancer; they had money deposited with them for the purpose of making purchases, or lending on mortgage, they preparing the Conveyances. In the time of K. Charles I. during the troubles and the *interregnum*, a gentleman of the name of Abbot in the City had a very great share of this business. Sir Robert Clayton and a Mr. Morris were his clerks at the same time, and jointly succeeded to his business, in which they had acquired a great estate. Mr. Morris died first, and having no children, left his property to his friend Sir Robert. The Editor lately saw a deed attested by Mr. Abbot as Scrivener, and by Mr. Morris and Mr. Clayton as his *servants*.

‡ It is a very fine monument, in perfect preservation, (1816.) § See p. 479 note.

friend Mrs. Godolphin (who exceedingly lov'd the young lady) was most industrious in it, out of pitty to ye languishing knight; so as tho' there were greate differences in their yeares, it was at last effected, and they were married the 13th in Hen. 7th's^ Chapell by the Bishop of Rochester *, there being besides my wife and Mrs. Graham, her sister, Mrs. Godolphin, and very few more. We din'd at the old lady's, and supp'd at Mr. Graham's at St. James's.

15. The Queene's birth-day, a greate Ball at Court, where the Prince of Orange and his new Princesse daunced.

19. They went away, and I saw embarqu'd my Lady Sylvius, who went into Holland with her husband, made Hoffmaester to the Prince, a considerable employment. We parted with greate sorrow, for the greate respect and honour I bore her, a most pious and virtuous lady.

27. Din'd at the Lord Treasurer's with Prince Rupert, Visc^t^ Falkenberg, Earle of Bathe, Lord O'Brien, Sir John Lowther, Sir Christ. Wren, Dr. Grew, and other learned men.

30. Sr Joseph Williamson, Principal Secretary of State, was chosen President of the Royal Society after my Lord Viscount Brounker had possess'd the chaire now sixteen yeares successively, and therefore now thought fit to *change*, that prescription might not prejudice.

4 Dec. Being the first day of his taking the chaire, he gave us a magnificent supper.

20. Carried to my Lord Treasurer an account of the Earl of Bristol's Librarie at Wimbleton, which my Lord thought of purchasing, till I acquainted him that it was a very broken collection, consisting much in books of judicial astrologie, romances, and trifles †.

25. I gave my sonn an Office, with instructions how to govern his youth; I pray God give him the grace to make a right use of it.

1678. 23 Jan. Din'd with ye Duke of Norfolk, being the first time I had seene him since the death of his elder brother, who died at Padoa in Italy, where he had resided above 30 yeares. The Duke

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* Dr. John Dolben, also Dean of Westminster, translated afterwards to York.

† A library of this description would at this day be deemed a very curious one, and an object probably of much competition. *Habent sua fata libelli!*

had now newly declar'd his marriage to his concubine, whom he promis'd me he never would marry *. I went with him to see the Duke of Buckingham, thence to my Lord Sunderland, now Secretary of State, to shew him that rare piece of Vosterman's (son of old Vosterman) which was a view or landscape of my Lord's palace, &c. at Althorp in Northamptonshire.

8 Feb. Supping at my Lord Chamberlaine's, I had a long discourse with the Conte de Castel Mellor, lately Prime Minister in Portugal, who taking part with his master King Alphonso was banish'd by his brother Don Pedro, now Regent, but had behaved himselfe so uncorruptly in all his ministrie, that tho' he was acquitted and his estate restored, yet would they not suffer him to returne. He is a very intelligent and worthy gentleman.

18. My Lord Treasurer sent for me to accompany him to Wimbledon, which he had lately purchased of ye Earle of Bristol; so breaking fast with him privately in his chamber, I accompanied him with two of his daughters, my Lord Conway and Sr Bernard Gascoyne, and having surveyed his gardens and alterations, returned late at night.

22. Dr. Pierce preach'd at White-hall on 2 Thessal. 3. 6. against our late Schismatics, in a rational discourse, but a little over-sharp and not at all proper for the auditory there.

22 Mar. Dr. South preached *coram Rege* an incomparable discourse on this text, "A wounded spirit who can beare!" Note: Now was our communion table plac'd altar-wise; the church steeple, clock, and other reparations finish'd.

16 April. I shewed Dom. Emanuel de Lyra (Portugal Ambass^r^) and the Count de Castel Mellor the Repository of the R. Society and the Colledge of Physitians.

18. I went to see New Bedlam Hospital, magnificently built †, and most sweetely placed in More-fields, since the dreadful fire in London.

* It appears by the Books of Peerage that his Grace married to his second wife Mrs. Jane Bickerton, daughter of a Scotch gentleman, Robert Bickerton, Esq. who was Gentleman of the Wine Cellar to King Charles II. There are engraved portraits both of this Duke and his Duchess. See pp, 444, 498.

† Taken down, being greatly decayed, in 1814, and a new one erected on the Surrey side of the Thames, in the road leading from St. George's Fields to Lambeth. On pulling it down, the

28 June. I went to Windsor with my Lord Chamberlaine (the Castle now repairing with exceeding cost) to see the rare worke of Verrio, and incomparable carving of Gibbons.

29. Return'd with my Lord by Hounslow Heath, where we saw the new-rais'd army encamp'd, design'd against France, in pretence at least, but which gave umbrage to the Parliament. His Ma^ty^ and a world of company were in the field, and the whole army in battalia, a very glorious sight. Now were brought into service a new sort of Soldiers call'd *Granadiers*, who were dextrous in flinging hand granados, every one having a pouch full; they had furr'd caps with coped crownes like Janizaries, which made them looke very fierce, and some had long hoods hanging down behind, as we picture fools. Their clothing being likewise pybald yellow and red.

8 July. Came to dine with me my Lord Longford, Treasurer of Ireland, nephew to that learned gentleman my Lord Aungier, with whom I was long since acquainted: also the Lady Stidolph and other company.

19. The Earle of Ossory came to take his leave of me, going into Holland to command the English forces.

20. I went to the Tower to try a mettal at the Assay-masters, wch onely prov'd Sulphur; then saw Monsr Rotiere, that excellent graver belonging to the Mint, who emulates even the ancients, in both mettal and stone; he was now moulding an horse for ye King's statue, to be cast in silver, of a yard high. I din'd with Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint.

23. Went to see Mr. Elias Ashmole's library and curiosities at Lambeth. He has divers MSS. but most of them astrological, to wch study he is addicted, tho' I believe not learned, but very industrious, as his History of the Order of the Garter proves. He shew'd me a toade included in amber. The prospect from a turret is very fine, it being so neere London, and yet not discovering any house about the

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foundations were found to be very bad, as it had been built on part of the Towne-ditch; and on a soil very unfit for the erection of so large a building. Patients were removed to the new building in August 1815.

country. The famous John Tradescant bequeathed his Repository to this gentleman, who has given them to the University of Oxford, and erected a lecture on them, over the Laboratorie, in imitation of the R. Society *.

Mr. Godolphin was made Master of the Robes to the King.

25. There was sent me 70*l.* from whom I knew not, to be by me distributed among poore people; I afterwards found it was from that deere friend (Mrs. Godolphin) who had frequently given me large sums to bestow on charities.

16 Aug. I went to Lady Mordaunt, who put 100*l.* into my hands to dispose of for pious uses, relief of prisoners, poore, &c. Many a sum had she sent me on similar occasions: a blessed creature she was, and one that loved and feared God exemplarily.

23. Upon Sir Robt Reading's importunity I went to visite the Duke of Norfolk at his new palace at Weybridge †, where he has laid out in building neere £.10,000, on a copyhold, and in a miserable, barren, sandy place by the street side; never in my life had I seene such expense to so small purpose. The roomes are wainscotted, and some of them richly parquetted with cedar, yew, cypresse, &c. There are some good pictures, especialy that incomparable painting of Holbein's, where the Duke of Norfolk, Charles Brandon, and Hen. VIII. are dauncing with the three ladies, with most amourous countenances and sprightly motion exquisitely expressed. 'Tis a thousand pities (as I told my Lord of Arundel his son) that that jewel should be given away.

24. I went to see my Lord of St. Alban's house at Byflete, an old large building. Thence to the paper mills, where I found them making

* The donation took place in 1677, and a suitable building was erected by Sir Christ. Wren, bearing the name of the "Ashmolean Museum." This was the first public institution for the reception of Rarities in Art or Nature established in England; and, in the infancy of the study of Natural History in this country, possessed what was then considered as a valuable and superior collection. There are good portraits of Ashmole, and of the Tradescant family by Dobson, in the Museum, from which engravings have been very inaccurately taken.

† This house was the property of Mrs. Bickerton, whom the Duke married. After his death she married Mr. Maxwell, and they, together with Lord George Howard (her eldest son by the Duke) sold it to the Countess of Dorchester (mistress to James II.) Her daughter married David Colyer Earl of Portmore, whose descendant is the present owner, but the house is uninhabited, and in a most ruinous state (1816).

a coarse white paper. They cull the raggs, which are linnen, for white paper, woollen for brown; then they stamp them in troughs to a papp with pestles or hammers like ye powder-mills, then put it into a vessell of water, in which they dip a frame closely wyred with wyre as small as a haire and as close as a weaver's reede; on this they take up the papp, the superfluous water draining thro' the wyre; this they dextrously turning, shake out like a pancake on a smooth board between 2 pieces of flannell, then presse it between a greate presse, the flannell sucking out ye moisture; then taking it out, they ply and dry it on strings, as they dry linnen in the laundry; then dip it in alum-water, lastly polish and make it up in quires. They put some gum in the water in which they macerate the raggs. The mark we find on the sheets is formed in the wyre.

25. After evening prayer visited Mr. Sheldon (nephew to the late Abp. of Canterbury) and his pretty melancholy garden; I tooke notice of the largest *arbor thuyris* I had ever seene. The place is finely water'd, and there are many curiosities of India, shewn in the house*.

There was at Weybridge the Dutchesse of Norfolk, Lord Tho. Howard (a worthy and virtuous gentleman, with whom my sonn was some time bred up in Arundel House) who was newly come from Rome, where he had been some time; also one of the Duke's daughters by his first lady. My Lord leading me about the house made no scruple of shewing me all the hiding-places for the Popish priests, and where they said masse, for he was no bigotted Papist. He told me he never trusted them with any seacret, and us'd Protestants only in all businesses of importance.

I went this evening with my Lord Duke to Windsor, where was a magnificent Court, it being the first time of his Ma^ty^ removing thither since it was repair'd.

27 Augt. I tooke leave of ye Duke, and din'd at Mr. Hen. Brouncker's, at ye Abby of Sheene, formerly a Monastery of Carthusians, there yet remaining one of their solitary cells with a crosse. Within this ample inclosure are several pretty villas and fine gardens

* This seems to be near Weybridge, but where?

of the most excellent fruites, especialy Sir W^m. Temple's (lately Ambassador into Holland), and the Lord Lisle's, sonn to ye Earle of Leicester, who has divers rare pictures, above all, that of Sir Brian Tuke's by Holbein.

After dinner I walk'd to Ham, to see the house and garden of the Duke of Lauderdale, which is indeede inferior to few of the best villas in Italy itselfe; the house furnish'd like a greate Prince's; the parterres, flower gardens, orangeries, groves, avenues, courts, statues, perspectives, fountaines, aviaries, and all this at the banks of the sweetest river in the world, must needes be admirable.

Hence I went to my worthy friend Sr Henry Capel [at Kew] brother to the Earle of Essex: it is an old timber house, but his garden has the choicest fruit of any plantation in England, as he is the most industrious and understanding in it.

29. I was call'd to London to wait upon the D. of Norfolk, who having at my sole request bestow'd the Arundelian Library on the Royal Society, sent to me to take charge of the bookes and remove them, onely stipulating that I would suffer the Heraulds cheif officer, Sir Wm Dugdale, to have such of them as concern'd Herauldry and the Marshall's office, bookes of Armorie and Genealogies, the Duke being Earl Marshall of England. I procur'd for our Society, besides printed bookes, neere 100 MSS., some in Greeke of greate concernment. The printed bookes being of the oldest impressions are not the lesse valuable; I esteem them almost equal to MSS. Amongst them are most of the Fathers printed at Basil, before the Jesuits abus'd them with their expurgatory Indexes; there is a noble MS. of Vitruvius. Many of these bookes had ben presented by Popes, Cardinals, and greate persons, to the Earls of Arundel and Dukes of Norfolk; and the late magnificent Earle of Arundel bought a noble library in Germanie, which is in this collection. I should not, for the honour I beare the family, have persuaded the Duke to part with these, had I not seene how negligent he was of them, suffering the priests and every body to carry away and dispose of what they pleas'd, so that abundance of rare things are irrecoverably gone.

Having taken order here, I went to the Royal Society to give them an account of what I had procur'd, that they might call a Council and appoint a day to waite on the Duke to thank him for this munificent gift.

3 Sept. I went to London to dine with Mrs. Godolphin [formerly Mrs. Blagg, who had ben maid of honour to the Queene], and found her in labour; she was brought to-bed of a sonn, who was baptiz'd in the chamber, by the name of Francis, ye susceptors being S^r^ W^m^. Godolphin (head of the family), Mr. Jno Hervey, Treass^r^ to the Queene, and Mrs. Boscawen, sister to Sr William and the father.

8. Whilst I was at church came a letter from Mr. Godolphin that my deare friend his lady was exceedingly ill, and desiring my prayers and assistance. My wife and I tooke boate immediately and went to White-hall, where, to my inexpressible sorrow, I found she had ben attacq'd with the new fever, then reigning this excessive hot autumn, and which was so violent that it was not thought she could last many hours.

9. She died in the 26th yeare of her age, to the inexpressible affliction of her deare husband and all her relations, but of none in the world more than of myselfe, who lost the most excellent and inestimable friend that ever liv'd. Never was a more virtuous and inviolable friendship; never a more religious, discreet and admirable creature, beloved of all, admired of all, for all possible perfections of her sex. She is gon to receive the reward of her signal charity, and all other her Christian graces, too blessed a creature to converse with mortals, fitted as she was by a most holy life to be received into the mansions above. She was for witt, beauty, good-nature, fidelity, discretion, and all accomplishments, the most incomparable person. How shall I ever repay the obligations to her for the infinite good offices she did my soule by so oft ingaging me to make religion the termes and tie of the friendship there was between us! She was the best wife, the best mistress, the best friend that ever husband had. But it is not here that I pretend to give her character, *having design'd to consecrate her worthy life to posterity.*

Her husband, struck with unspeakable affliction, fell down as dead. The King himselfe and all the Court expressed their sorrow. To the

poore and miserable her losse was irreparable, for there was no degree but had some obligation to her memorie. So carefull and provident was she to be prepared for all possible accidents, that (as if she foresaw her end) she received the heavenly viaticum but the Sunday before, after a most solemn recollection. She put all her domestic concerns into ye exactest order, and left a letter directed to her husband, to be opened in case she died in child-bed, in which with the most pathetic and endearing expressions of a most loyal and virtuous wife, she begs his kindnesse to her memorie might be continu'd by his care and esteeme of those she left behind, even to her domestic servants, to the meanest of which she left considerable legacies, as well as to the poore. It was now seven yeares since she was maid of honor to ye Queene, that she reguarded me as a father, a brother, and what is more, a friend. We often prayed, visited the sick and miserable, received, read, discoursed, and communicated in all holy offices together. She was most deare to my wife and affectionate to my children. But she is gon! This onely is my comfort that she is happy in Christ and I shall shortly behold her againe*! She desir'd to be buried in the dormitorie of his family, neere 300 miles from all her other friends. So afflicted was her husband at this severe losse, that the intire care of her funerall was committed to me. Having closed the eyes and dropped a teare upon the cheeke of my deare departed friend, lovely even in death, I caused her corps to be embalmed and wrapped in lead, with a plate of brasse soldered thereon, with an inscription, and other circumstances due to her worth, with as much diligence and care as my greived heart would permit me; I then retired home for two daies, which were spent in solitude and sad reflections.

17. She was accordingly carried to Godolphin in Cornwall, in a hearse with six horses, attended by two coaches of as many, with about 30 of her relations and servants. There accompanied the hearse her husband's brother S^r^ W^m^, two more of his brothers, and three sisters: her husband was so overcome with grief, that he was wholly

* In the subsequent part of these memoirs it will appear that Mr. Godolphin (afterwards Lord Godolphin) continued the steady friend of Mr. Evelyn, whose grandson married into the family. The infant now mentioned as born, carried on the friendship to the family through a long life.

unfit to travel so long a journey till he was more composed. I went as far as Hounslow with a sad heart, but was obliged to return upon some indispensible affaires. The corpse was ordered to be taken out of the hearse every night, and decently placed in ye house, with tapers about it, and her servants attending, to Cornwall; and then was honorably interr'd in the parish church of Godolphin. This funeral cost not much less than £1,000.

With Mr. Godolphin I looked over and sorted his lady's papers, most of which consisted of Prayers, Meditations, Sermon-notes, Discourses, and Collections on severall religious subjects, and many of her owne happy composing, and so pertinently digested, as if she had ben all her life a student in divinity. We found a diary of her solemn resolutions, all tending to practical virtue, with letters from select friends, all put into exact method. It astonish'd us to see what she had read and written, her youth considered.

1 Oct. The Parliament and the whole Nation were alarm'd about a conspiracy of some eminent Papists for ye destruction of the King and introduction of Popery, discover'd by one Oates and Dr. Tongue*,

* Ezrael Tong, bred in University College, Oxford, being puritanically inclined, quitted the University, but in 1648 returned, and was made a Fellow. He had the living of Pluckley in Kent, but quitted it, being vexed by his parishioners and Quakers. In 1657 he was made Fellow of the new erected College at Durham, and that being dissolved in 1660, he taught school at Islington. He then went with Col. Edward Harley to Dunkirk, but that being given up, he took a small living in Herefordshire (Lentwardine); but soon quitted it for St. Mary Stayning in London, which, after the fire in 1666, was united to St. Michael, Wood Street, and he held them to his death, in 1680. He was a great opponent of the Papists. Wood mentions several publications of his, amongst which are, "The Jesuits unmasked," 1678; "Jesuitical Aphorisms," 1678; "The Jesuits' Morals," 1680 (1670); the two last translated from the French. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. II. p. 502.

Mr. Evelyn speaks of Dr. Tong's having translated the last of these by his desire.

Oates said that Thomas Whitbread, a priest, on 13 June, 16... did tell the Rector of St. Omer's, that a Minister of the Church of England had scandalously put out the "Jesuits' Morals" in English, and had endeavoured to render them odious, and had asked the Rector whether he thought Oates might know him? and the Rector called the deponent, who heard these words as he stood at the chamber door, and when he went into the chamber of the Provincial, he asked him "If he knew the author of the Jesuits' Morals?" deponent answered, "His person, but not his name." Whitbread then demanded, whether he would undertake to poison or assassinate the author; which deponent undertook, having £50. reward promised him, and appointed to return to England.—From a publication of Oates.

which last I knew, being the translator of the "Jesuites' Morals;" I went to see and converse with him at White-hall, with Mr. Oates, one that was lately an apostate to the Church of Rome, and now return'd againe with this discovery. He seem'd to be a bold man, and in my thoughts furiously indiscreete; but every body believ'd what he said; and it quite chang'd the genius and motions of the Parliament, growing now corrupt and interested with long sitting and court practices: but with all this Poperie would not go downe. This discoverie turn'd them all as one man against it, and nothing was don but to find out the depth of this. Oates was encourag'd, and every thing he affirm'd taken for gospel;—the truth is, the Roman Catholics were exceeding bold and busy every where, since the Duke forbore to go any longer to the Chapell.

16 Oct. Mr. Godolphin requested me to continue the trust his wife had reposed in me in behalfe of his little sonn, conjuring me to transfer the friendship I had for his deare wife, on him and his.

21 Oct. The murder of Sr Edmondbury Godfrey, found strangl'd about this time, as was manifest by ye Papists, he being a Justice of the Peace, and one who knew much of their practices, as conversant with Colman (a servant of the^e^. . . . . now accus'd), put the whole nation into a new ferment against them.

31. Being my 58th of my age, required my humble addresses to Almighty God, and that he would take off his heavy hand, still on my family, and restore comforts to us after the losse of my excellent friend.

5 Nov. Dr. Tillotson preach'd before ye Commons at St. Margaret's. He said the Papists were now ariv'd at that impudence as to deny that there ever was any such thing as the gunpowder conspiracy; but he affirm'd that he himself had severall letters written by Sir Everard Digby (one of the traytors), in wch he gloried that he was to suffer for it; and that it was so contriv'd, that of the Papists not above two or three should have ben blown up, and they, such as were not worth saving.

15. The Queene's birth-day. I never saw the Court more brave, nor the nation in more apprehension and consternation. Coleman and one Staly had now ben tried, condemn'd, and executed. On this

Oates grew so presumptuous, as to accuse the Queene of intending to poison the King, which certainly that pious and vertuous lady abhorr'd the thoughts of, and Oates his circumstances made it utterly unlikely, in my opinion. He probably thought to gratifie some who would have ben glad his Ma^ty^ should have married a fruitfull lady; but the King was too kind a husband to let any of these make impression on him. However divers of the Popish Peeres were sent to ye Towre, accus'd by Oates, and all the Roman Catholic Lords were by a new act for ever excluded the Parliament, which was a mighty blow. The King's, Queen's, and Duke's servants, were banish'd, and a test to be taken by every body who pretended to enjoy any office of publiq trust, and who would not be suspected of Popery. I went with Sr Wm Godolphin, a member of the Commons House, to ye Bp. of Ely (Dr. Pet. Gunning), to be resolv'd whether masses were idolatry, as the test express'd it, wch was so worded that several good Protestants scrupl'd, and Sr William, tho' a learned man and excellent divine himselfe, had some doubts about it. The Bishop's opinion was, that he might take it, tho' he wish'd it had ben otherwise worded in the test.

1679. 15 Jan. I went with my Lady Sunderland to Chelsey, and din'd with the Countesse of Bristol [her mother] in the greate house, formerly the Duke of Buckingham's, a spacious and excellent place for the extent of ground and situation in a good aire. The house is large, but ill contriv'd, tho' my Lord of Bristol, who purchas'd it after he sold Wimbledon to my Lord Treasurer, expended much mony on it. There were divers pictures of Titian and Vandyke, and some of Bassano, very excellent, especialy an *Adonis and Venus*, a *Duke of Venice*, a *Butcher in his shambles selling meate to a Swisse;* and of Van-Dyke, my *Lord of Bristol's* picture, with the *Earl of Bedford's* at length, in the same table. There was in the garden a rare collection of orange-trees, of which she was pleas'd to bestow some upon me.

16. I supp'd this night with Mr. Secretary at one Mr. Houblon's, a French merchant, who had his house furnish'd *en Prince*, and gave us a splendid entertainment.

25. The Long Parliament, which had sat ever since the Restauration, was dissolv'd by persuasion of the Lord Tress^r^, tho' divers of

them were believ'd to be his pensioners. At this all the politicians were at a stand, they being very eager in pursuite of the late Plot of the Papists.

30. Dr. Cudworth preached before the King at White-hall, on 2 Timothy 3. 5. reckoning up the perils of ye last times, in which, amongst other wickednesse, Treasons should be one of the greatest, applying it to the occasion, as committed under a forme of reformation and godlinesse; concluding that the prophesy did intend more particularly the present age, as one of the last times; the sinns there enumerated, more aboundantly reigning then ever.

2 Feb. Dr. Durell, Dean of Windsor, preach'd to the Household at White-hall, on 1 Cor. 16. 22; he read ye whole sermon out of his notes, which I had never before seene a Frenchman do, he being of Jersey, and bred at Paris.

4. Dr. Pierce, Deane of Salisbury, preached on 1 John 4. 1, "Try the Spirits, there being so many delusorie ones gone forth of late into the world:" he inveied against the pernicious doctrines of Mr. Hobbes.

My brother Evelyn was now chosen Knight for ye County of Surrey, carrying it against my Lord Longford and Sr Adam Brown of Betchworth Castle. The country coming in to give him their suffrages were so many, that I believe they eate and dranke him out neere £.2,000, by a most abominable costome.

1 April. My friend Mr. Godolphin was now made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and of the Privy Council.

4. The Bp. of Gloucester preach'd, in a manner very like Bishop Andrews, full of divisions, and scholastical, and that with much quicknesse. The holy Communion followed.

20. Easter Day. Our Vicar preached exceeding well on 1 Cor. 5 and 7. The holy Communion followed, at which I and my daughter Mary (now about 14 yeares old) received for the first time. The Lord Jesus continue his grace unto her, and improve this blessed beginning.

24. The Duke of York, voted against by the Commons for his recusancy, went over to Flanders, which made much discourse.

4 June. I din'd with Mr. Pepys in the Tower, he having ben committed by ye House of Commons for misdemeanors in the Admiralty when he was Secretary; I believe he was unjustly charg'd *. Here I saluted my Lords Stafford and Petre, who were committed for the Popish Plot.

7. I saw the magnificent cavalcade and entry of the Portugal Ambassador.

17. I was godfather to a sonn of Sir Christ^r^ Wren, Surveyor of his Ma^tys^ buildings, that most excellent and learned person, with Sr William Fermor and my Lady Viscountesse Newport, wife of the Treasurer of the Household.

Thence to Chelsey, to Sr Stephen Fox, and my lady, in order to his purchase of the C^sse^ of Bristol's house there, which she desir'd me to procure a chapman for.

19. I din'd at Sr Robt Clayton's with Sr Robt Viner, the greate banquer.

22. There were now divers Jesuites executed about the Plot, and a rebellion in Scotland of the Phanatics, so that there was a sad prospect of public affairs.

25. The new Commissioners of the Admiralty came to visite me, *viz.* Sr Hen. Capel, brother to the Earle of Essex, Mr. Finch, eldest son to the Lord Chancellor, Sir Humph. Winch, Sr Tho. Meeres, Mr. Hales, with some of ye Commissioners of the Navy. I went with them to London.

1 July. I dined at Sr William Godolphin's, and with that learned gentleman went to take ye aire in Hyde Park, where was a glorious cortege.

3 July. Sending a piece of venison to Mr. Pepys, still a prisoner, I went and din'd with him.

6. Now were there papers, speeches, and libels, publiqly cried in the streetes against ye Dukes of York and Lauderdale, &c. obnoxious

* Mr. Pepys was concerned in a contested election in 1684, and his opponent accused him of being a Papist, which the House of Commons inquired into, but without finding any proof. By Grey's Debates it appears that he was accused of having sent information to the French court of the state of the English Navy. Most incredible!

to the Parliament, with too much and indeede too shameful a liberty; but ye people and Parliament had gotten head by reason of the vices of the greate ones.

There was now brought up to London a child, son of one Mr. Wotton *, formerly amanuensis to Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winton, who both read and perfectly understood Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac, and most of the modern languages; disputed in Divinity, Law, and all the Sciences; was skilful in History both Ecclesiastical and Profane; in Politics; in a word, so universally and solidly learned at 11 yeares of age, that he was looked on as a miracle. Dr. Lloyd, one of the most deepe learned divines of this nation in all sorts of literature, with Dr. Burnet, who had severely examin'd him, came away astonish'd, and told me they did not believe there had the like appear'd in

* The Rev. Henry Wotton, Minister of Wrentham, in Suffolk. This son was afterwards the celebrated Wm. Wotton, the friend and defender of Dr. Bentley, and the antagonist of Sir William Temple in the great Controversy about Antient and Modern Learning. His early and extraordinary proficiency in letters and general knowledge of every kind, was commemorated by his father in a pamphlet "On ye Education of Children," addressed to King Charles II. and reprinted in 1753, with the attestations of several learned men who had examined him, to the truth of his uncommon abilities and wonderful acquisitions in the different languages, both antient and modern; yet it is remarkable those eminent qualifications did not advance him in the line of his profession beyond a Fellowship at Cambridge and a country parsonage, viz. Milton, in Buckinghamshire, which was given him by the Earl of Nottingham, to whom he had been Chaplain. Sir Philip Skippon, who lived at Wrentham in Suffolk, in a letter to Mr. John Ray, Sep. 18, 1671, writes: "I shall somewhat surprize you with what I have seen in a little boy, Wm Wotton, 5 years old last month, son of Mr. Wotton, minister of this parish, who hath instructed his child within the last 3 q^rs^ of a year in the reading the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, wch he can read almost as well as English, and that tongue he could read at four years and three months old, as well as most lads of twice his age." Sir Philip left a draft of a longer letter to Mr. Ray, in which he adds, "He is not yet able to parse any language, but what he performs in turning the 3 learned tongues into English, is done by strength of memory, so that he is ready to mistake when some words of different signification have near the same sound. His father hath taught him by no rules, but only uses his memory in remembering words."—He was admitted of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, April 1676, some months before he was 10 years old. He took the degree of B. A. when only 12 years and 5 months old. Dr. Burnet, Bp. of Sarum, recommended him to Dr. Lloyd, Bp. of St. Asaph, who took him as an assistant in making a Catalogue of his books, and carried him to St. Asaph, and gave him the sinecure of Llandrillo in Denbighshire. He suffered from the satirical pen of Swift; but this is no wonder, as he had spoken of the Tale of a Tub as a profane piece of ribaldry. He compiled Memoirs of the Cathedral Churches of St. David and St. Asaph, which Browne Willis published. When very young, he remembered almost the whole of any discourse he had heard, and repeated to Bp. Lloyd one of his own sermons. He died in 1726, aged 61, and was buried at Buxted in Sussex.

the world. He had onely ben instructed by his father, who being himselfe a learned person, confess'd that his sonn knew all that he himselfe knew. But what was more admirable than his vast memory was his judgment and invention, he being tried with divers hard questions, which requir'd maturity of thought and experience. He was also dextrous in Chronology, Antiquities, Mathematics. In sum, an *Intellectus universalis*, beyond all that we reade of Picus Mirandula, and other precoce witts, and yet withall a very humble child.

14. I went to see how things stood at Parson's Green, my lady Viscountesse Mordaunt (now sick in Paris, whither she went for health) having made me a trustee for her children, an office I could not refuse to this most excellent, pious, and virtuous lady, my long acquaintance.

15. I din'd with Mr. Sidney Godolphin, now one of the Lords Commiss^rs^ of ye Treasury.

18. I went early to the Old Bailey Sessions-house, to the famous trial of Sir George Wakeman, one of the Queene's physitians, and three Benedictine Monks; the first (whom I was well acquainted with, and take to be a worthy gentleman abhorring such a fact) for intending to poison the King; the others, as accomplices to carry on the plott, to subvert the government and introduce Popery. The Bench was crowded with ye Judges, Lord Maior, Justices, and innumerable spectators. The cheife accusers, Dr. Oates (as he call'd himselfe), and one Bedlow, a man of inferior note. Their testimonys were not so pregnant, and I feare much of it from hearsay, but swearing positively to some particulars, which drew suspicion upon their truth; nor did circumstances so agree as to give either the Bench or Jury so entire satisfaction as was expected. After therefore a long and tedious tryal of 9 houres, the Jury brought them in not guilty, to the extraordinary triumph of the Papists, and without sufficient disadvantage and reflections on the witnesses, especialy Oates and Bedlow. This was a happy day for the Lords in the Tower, who expecting their triall, had this gon against the prisoners at ye bar, would all have ben in the utmost hazard. For my part, I looke on Oates as a vain insolent man, puff'd up with the favour of the Commons for having discover'd something realy true, more especialy as detecting the dangerous intrigue of Coleman, prov'd out of his

owne letters, and of a generall designe which the Jesuited party of the Papists ever had, and still have, to ruine the Church of England; but that he was trusted with those greate seacrets he pretended, or had any solid ground for what he accus'd divers noblemen of, I have many reasons to induce my contrary beliefe. That among so many Commissions as he affirm'd to have deliver'd to them from P. Oliva * and the Pope, he who made no scruple of opening all other papers, letters, and seacrets, should not only not open any of those pretended Commissions, but not so much as take any copy or witnesse of any one of them, is almost miraculous. But the Commons (some leading persons I meane of them) had so exalted him, that they tooke all he said for gospell, and without more ado ruin'd all whom he nam'd to be conspirators; nor did he spare whoever came in his way. But indeede the murder of Sr Edm. Godfrey, suspected to have ben compass'd by the Jesuite party for his intimacy with Coleman (a buisy person whom I also knew) and the feare they had that he was able to have discover'd some things to their prejudice, did so exasperate not only the Commons but all the Nation, that much of these sharpnesses against the more honest Roman Catholics who liv'd peaceably, is to be imputed to that horrid fact.

The Sessions ended, I din'd, or rather supp'd (so late it was), with the Judges † in the large roome annex'd to ye place, and so return'd home. Tho' it was not my costome or delight to be often present at any capital trials, we having them commonly so exactly publish'd by those who take them in short-hand, yet I was inclin'd to be at this signal one, that by the ocular view of the carriages and other circumstances of the managers and parties concerned, I might informe myselfe, and regulate my opinion of a cause that had so alarm'd ye whole nation.

22 July. Din'd at Clapham at Sr D. Gauden's; went thence with him to Windsor, to assist him in a business with his Ma^ty^. I lay that

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* Padrè Oliva, General of the Order of Jesuits.

† The Judges were, Lord Chief Justice North, Mr. Justice Atkins, Mr. Justice Windham, Mr. Justice Pemberton, Mr. Justice Dolben.

night at Eton College, the Provost's lodgings (Dr. Craddock), where I was courteously entertained.

23. To Court: after dinner I visited that excellent painter Verrio, whose works in fresca in the King's palace at Windsor will celebrate his name as long as those walls last. He shew'd us his pretty garden, choice flowers, and curiosities, he himselfe being a skilfull gardener.

I went to Clifden, that stupendous natural rock, wood, and prospect, of ye Duke of Buckingham's *, buildings of extraordinary expence. The grotts in ye chalky rock are pretty: 'tis a romantic object, and the place altogether answers the most poetical description that can be made of solitude, precipice, prospect, or whatever can contribute to a thing so very like their imaginations. The stande, somewhat like *Frascati* as to its ffont, and on ye platform, is a circular view to ye utmost verge of ye horizon, which with the serpenting of the Thames is admirable. The staire case is for its materials singular; the cloisters, descents, gardens, and avenue thro' the wood, august and stately, but the land all about wretchedly barren, and producing nothing but ferne. Indeede, as I told his Ma^ty^ that evening (asking me how I lik'd Clifden) without flattery, that it did not please me so well as Windsor for the prospect and park, which is without compare, there being but one only opening, and that narrow, which led one to any variety, whereas that of Windsor is every where greate and unconfin'd.

Returning I call'd at my cousin Evelyn's, who has a very pretty seate in the forest, 2 miles behither Clifden, on a flat, with gardens exquisitely kept tho' large, and the house a stanch good old building, and what was singular, some of the roomes floor'd dove-tail-wise without a nail, exactly close. One of the closetts is parquetted with plaine deale, set in diamond, exceeding stanch and pretty.

7 Aug. Dined at the Sheriffs, when, the Company of Drapers and their wives being invited, there was a sumptuous entertainment ac-

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* ———— Cliefden's proud alcove,
The bower of wanton Shrewsbury and Love. Pope.

The Countess of Shrewsbury, whose husband having challenged the Duke, she is said to have held the horse of the latter in the habit of a page whilst they fought.

cording to the formes of the Citty with musiq, &c. comparable to any Prince's service in Europ.

8. I went this morning to shew my Lord Chamberlaine, his Lady, and the Dutchesse of Grafton, the incomparable work of Mr. Gibbons the carver, whom I first recommended to his Ma^ty^, his house being furnish'd like a cabinet, not onely with his owne work, but divers excellent paintings of ye best hands. Thence to Sir Stephen Foxes, where we spent the day.

31. After evening service to see a neighbour, one Mr. Bohun, related to my sonn's late tutor of that name, a rich Spanish merchant, living in a neate place, which he has adorned with many curiosities, especialy severall carvings of Mr. Gibbons, and some pictures by Streeter.

13 Sept. To Windsor, to congratulate his Ma^ty^ on his recovery; I kiss'd the Duke's hand now lately return'd from Flanders to visite his brother the King, on which there were various bold and foolish discourses, the Duke of Monmouth being sent away.

19. My Lord Sunderland, one of the principal Secretaries of State, invited me to dinner, where was the King's natural sonn, the Earle of Plymouth, the Earle of Shrewsbury, E. of Essex, E. of Mulgrave, Mr. Hyde, and Mr. Godolphin. After dinner I went to prayers at Eton, and visited Mr. Hen. Godolphin, fellow there, and Dr. Cradock.

25. Mr. Slingsby and Sig^r^ Verrio came to dine with me, to whom I gave China oranges off my owne trees, as good, I think, as were ever eaten.

6 Oct. A very wet and sickly season.

23. Dined at my Ld Chamberlaines, the King being now newly returned from his New-market recreations.

4 Nov. Din'd at the Lord Maior's, and in the evening went to ye funerall of my pious, dear, and ancient learned friend, Dr. Jasper Needham, who was buried at St. Bride's Church. He was a true and holy Christian, and one who lov'd me with greate affection. Dr. Dove preach'd with an eulogie due to his memory. I lost in this person one of my dearest remaining sincere friends.

5. I was invited to dine at my Lord Tividale's, a Scotch Earle, a learned and knowing nobleman. We afterwards went to see Mr. Mountague's new palace neere Bloomsbery, built by our curator Mr. Hooke, somewhat after the French; it was most nobly furnish'd, and a fine, but too much expos'd garden *.

6. Din'd at the Countesse of Sunderland's, and was this evening at the re-marriage † of the Dutchesse of Grafton to the Duke (his Majesty's natural sonn) she being now 12 years old. The ceremonie was perform'd in my Lord Chamberlaines (her fathers) lodgings at Whitehall by ye Bishop of Rochester, his Ma^ty^ being present. A sudden and unexpected thing, when every body believ'd the first marriage would have come to nothing; but the measure being determin'd I was privately invited by my Lady, her mother, to be present. I confesse I could give her little joy, and so I plainely told her, but she said the King would have it so, and there was no going back. This sweetest, hopefullest, most beautifull child, and most vertuous too, was sacrific'd to a boy that had ben rudely bred, without any thing to encourage them but his Ma^ty's^ pleasure. I pray God the sweete child find it to her advantage, who, if my augury deceive me not, will in few years be such a paragon as were fit to make the wife of the greatest Prince in Europe. I staied supper, where his Ma^ty^ sate betweene the Dutchesse of Cleaveland (the mother of ye Duke of Grafton) and the sweete Dutchesse the bride; there were several greate persons and ladies, without pomp. My love to my Lord Arlington's family and the sweete child made me behold all this with regret, tho' as the Duke of Grafton affects the sea, to which I find his father intends to use him, he may emerge a plaine, usefull, and robust officer, and were he polish'd, a tolerable person, for he is exceeding handsome, by far surpassing any of the King's other naturall issue.

8 Nov. At Sir Stephen Fox's, and was agreeing for the Countesse of Bristol's house at Chelsey within £.500.

18. I din'd at my Lord Maiors [Sir Robt Clayton] being desir'd by the Countesse of Sunderland to carry her thither on a solemn day, that

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* This is now the British Museum. See under the year 1683, Oct. † See p. 456.

she might see the pomp and ceremonie of this Prince of Citizens, there never having ben any, who, for ye stateliness of his palace, prodigious feasting, and magnificence, exceeded him. This Lord Maior's acquaintance had ben from the time of his being apprentice to one Mr. Abbot, his uncle *, who being a scrivener, and an honestworthy man, one who was condemn'd to die at the beginning of the troubles 40 years past, as concern'd in the commission of array for K. Charles I. had escap'd with his life; I often us'd his assistance in money matters. Robt Clayton, then a boy, his nephew, became after his uncle Abbot's death, so prodigiously rich and opulent, that he was reckon'd one of the wealthiest citizens. He married a free-hearted woman, who became his hospitable disposition, and having no children, with the accession of his partner and fellow apprentice †, who also left him his estate, he grew excessively rich. He was a discreete magistrate, and tho' envied, I think without much cause. Some believ'd him guilty of hard dealing, especialy with the Duke of Buckingham, much of whose estate he had swallow'd, but I never saw any ill by him, considering the trade he was of. The reputation and known integrity of his uncle Abbot brought all the royal party to him, by which he got not onely greate credit, but vast wealth, so as he pass'd this office with infinite magnificence and honor.

20 Nov. I din'd with Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, with my wife, invited to heare musiq, which was exquisitely perform'd by foure of the most renown'd masters; Du Prue, a Frenchman, on ye lute; Sign^r^ Bartholomeo, an Italian, on the harpsichord; Nicolao on the violin; but above all for its sweetnesse and novelty, the *viol d'amore* of 5 wyre-strings plaied on with a bow, being but an ordinary violin, play'd on lyre way by a German. There was also a flute douce, now in much request for accompanying the voice. Mr. Slingsby, whose sonn and daughter play'd skilfully, had these meetings frequently in his house.

21. I din'd at my Lord Maior's to accompany my worthiest and generous friend the Earl of Ossorie; it was on a Friday, a private day,

* See p. 494.

† Mr. Morris.

but the feast and entertainment might have become a King. Such an hospitable costume and splendid magistrature dos no city in the world shew, as I believe.

23. Dr. Allestree preach'd before the household on 11 St. Luke 2. Dr. Lloyd on 28 Matt. 20. before the King, shewing with how little reason the Papists applied those words of our Blessed Saviour to maintaine the pretended infallibility they boast of. I never heard a more Christian and excellent discourse: yet were some offended that he seemed to say the Church of Rome was a true Church; but 'twas a captious mistake, for he never affirmed any thing that could be more to their reproach, and that such was the present Church of Rome, showing how much it had erred. There was not in this sermon so much as a shadow for censure, no person of all the Cleargy having testified greater zeale against the errors of the Papists than this pious and most learned person. I dined at the Bishop of Rochester's, and then went to St. Paul's to heare that greate wit Dr. Sprat, now newly succeeding Dr. Outram in the cure of St. Margaret's. His talent was a great memory, never making use of notes, a readinesse of expression in a most pure and plain style of words, full of matter, easily deliver'd.

26 Nov. I met the Earle of Clarendon with the rest of my fellow executors of ye Will of my late Lady Visc^sse^ Mordaunt, viz. Mr. Laurence Hyde, one of ye Commiss^rs^ of the Treasury, and lately Plenipotentiary Ambassador at Nimeguen; Andrew Newport, and Sr Charles Wheeler, to examine and audit and dispose of this year's accompt of the estate of this excellent Lady, according to the direction of her will.

27. I went to see Sir John Stonehouse, with whom I was treating a marriage between my sonn and his daughter-in-law.

28. Came over the Duke of Monmouth from Holland unexpectedly to his Ma^ty^, whilst the Duke of York was on his journey to Scotland, whither the King sent him to reside and governe. The bells and bonfires of the Citty at this arrival of the Duke of Monmouth publishing their joy, to the no small regret of some at Court. This Duke, whom for distinction they call'd the Protestant Duke (tho' the sonn of an abandon'd woman), ye people made their idol.

4 Dec. I din'd, together with Lord Ossorie and the E. of Chesterfield, at the Portugal Ambass^rs, now newly come, at Cleaveland House, a noble palace, too good for that infamous . . . . . The staire-case is sumptuous, and the gallerie and garden, but above all ye costly furniture belonging to the Ambassador, especialy the rich Japan cabinets, of which I think there were a dozen. There was a billiard-table, with as many more hazards as ours commonly have; the game being only to prosecute ye ball till hazarded, without passing the port or touching the pin; if one miss hitting the ball every time, the game is lost, or if hazarded. Tis more difficult to hazard a ball, tho' so many, than in our table, by reason the bound is made so exactly even, and the edges not stuff'd; the balls also are bigger, and they for the most part use the sharp and small end of ye billiard stick, which is shod with brasse or silver. The entertainment was exceeding civil, but besides a good olio, the dishes were trifling, hash'd and condited after their way, not at all fit for an English stomach, which is for solid meate. There was yet good fowle, but roasted to coale, nor were the sweetemeates good.

30 Dec. I went to meete Sr John Stonehouse, and give him a particular of the settlement on my sonn, who now made his addresses to the young lady his daughter-in-law, daughter of Lady Stonehouse.

1680. 25 Jan. Dr. Cave, author of "Primitive Christianity," &c. a pious and learned man, preached at White-hall to the household on 3 James 17, concerning the duty of grace and charity.

30. I supped with Sir Stephen Fox, now made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

19 Feb. The writings for the settling joynture and other contracts of marriage of my sonn were finished and sealed. The lady was to bring 5000*l.* in consideration of a settlement of 500*l.* a yeare present maintenance, which was likewise to be her jointure, and 500*l.* a yeare after myne and my wife's decease. But with God's blessing it will be at the least 1000*l.* a yeare more in few yeares. I pray God make him worthy of it, and a comfort to his excellent mother, who deserves much from him.

21. Shrove Tuesday. My sonn was married to Mrs. Martha Spencer, daughter to my Lady Stonehouse by a former gentleman, at St.

Andrew's Holborn, by our Vicar, borrowing the Church of Dr. Stillingfleet, Deane of St. Paul's, the present incumbent. We afterwards din'd at a house in Holborn; and after the solemnity and dauncing was don, they were bedded at Sr John Stonehouse's lodging in Bow-streete, Covent Garden.

26. To the R. Society, where I met an Irish Bishop with his Lady, who was daughter to my worthy and pious friend Dr. Jeremy Taylor, late Bp. of Downe and Connor; they came to see the Repository. She seemed to be a knowing woman, beyond the ordinary talent of her sex.

3 March. I din'd at my Lord Mayor's in order to the meeting my Lady Beckford, whose daughter (a rich heiresse) I had recommended to my brother of Wotton for his only sonn, she being the daughter of the lady by Mr. Ersfield [Eversfield], a Sussex gentleman.

16. To London, to receive 3000*l.* of my daughter in law's portion, which was paid in gold.

26. The Dean of Sarum preach'd on Jerem. 45, 5, an hour and halfe from his common-place book of kings and greate men retiring to private situations. Scarce any thing of Scripture in it.

18 April. On the earnest invitation of the Earle of Essex I went with him to his house at Cashioberie in Hartford-shire. It was on Sunday, but going early from his house in the square of St. James, we ariv'd by ten o'clock; this he thought too late to go to church, and we had prayers in his chapell. The house is new, a plaine fabric, built by my friend Mr. Hugh May. There are divers faire and good roomes, and excellent carving by Gibbons, especialy the chimney-piece of ye Library. There is in the porch or entrance a painting by Verrio, of Apollo and the Liberal Arts. One roome parquetted with yew, which I lik'd well. Some of the chimney mantles are of Irish marble, brought by my Lord from Ireland when he was Lord Lieutenant, and not much inferior to Italian. The tympanum or gabal at the front is a bass-relievo of Diana hunting, cut in Portland stone, handsomely enough. I did not approve of the middle dores being round, but when the Hall is finish'd as design'd, it being an oval with a cupola, together with the other wing, it will be a very noble palace. The library is large, and very nobly furnish'd, and all the books are richly bound

and gilded; but there are no MSS. except the Parliament Rolls and Journals, the transcribing and binding of wch cost him, as he assur'd me, 500*l.*

No man has ben more industrious than this noble Lord in planting about his seate, adorn'd with walkes, ponds, and other rural elegancies; but the soile is stonie, churlish, and uneven, nor is the water neere enough to the house, tho' a very swift and cleare streame run within a flight shot from it in the vally, which may fitly be call'd Cold-brook, it being indeede excessive cold, yet producing fair troutes. 'Tis pitty the house was not situated to more advantage, but it seemes it was built just where the old one was, which I believe he onely meant to repaire; this leads men into irremediable errors, and saves but a little.

The land about it is exceedingly addicted to wood, but the coldnesse of the place hinders the growth. Black cherry-trees prosper even to considerable timber, some being 80 foote long; they make also very handsome avenues. There is a pretty oval at the end of a faire walke, set about with treble rows of Spanish chesnut trees.

The gardens are very rare, and cannot be otherwise, having so skillful an artist to govern them as Mr. Cooke, who is, as to ye mechanic part, not ignorant in Mathematics, and pretends to Astrologie. There is an excellent collection of the choicest fruit.

As for my Lord, he is a sober, wise, judicious, and pondering person, not illiterate beyond the rate of most noblemen in this age, very well vers'd in English historie and affaires, industrious, frugal, methodical, and every way accomplish'd. His Lady (being sister of the late Earle of Northumberland) is a wise, yet somewhat melancholy woman, setting her heart too much on the little lady her daughter, of whom she is over fond. They have an hopeful son at ye Academie.

My Lord was not long since come from his Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, where he shew'd his abilities in administration and government, as well as prudence in considerably augmenting his estate without reproch. He had ben Ambass^r^ Extraordinary in Denmark, and, in a word, such a person as became the sonn of that worthy Hero his father to be, the late Lord Capel, who lost his life for K. Charles I.

We spent our time in the mornings in walking or riding, and con-

triving [alterations], and the afternoones in the Library, so as I pass'd my time for 3 or 4 daies with much satisfaction. He was pleas'd in conversation to impart to me divers particulars of state, relating to the present times. He being no great friend to the D—— was now laid aside, his integritie and abilities being not so suiteable in this conjuncture. 21. I returned to London.

30 April. To a meeting of the executors of late Viscsse Mordaunt's estate, to consider of the sale of Parsons Greene, being in treaty with Mr. Loftus, and to settle the halfe yeare's account.

1 May. Was a meeting of the feoffees of the poore of our parish. This yeare I would stand one of the collectors of their rents, to give example to others. My sonn was added to the feoffees.

This afternoone came to visit me Sr Edw. Deering of Surrendon in Kent, one of the Lords of the Treasury, with his daughter, married to my worthy friend Sr Robert Southwell, Clerk of the Council, now Extraordinary Envoye to the Duke of Brandenburgh, and other Princes in Germanie, as before he had ben in Portugal, being a sober, wise, and virtuous gentleman.

13. I was at the funeral of old Mr. Shish, master shipwright of his Matys Yard here, an honest and remarkable man, and his death a public losse, for his excellent successe in building ships (tho' altogether illiterate), and for breeding up so many of his children to be able artists. I held up the pall with three knights, who did him that honour, and he was worthy of it. It was the costome of this good man to rise in the night, and to pray kneeling in his owne coffin, wch he had lying by him many yeares. He was borne that famous yeare the Gunpowder plot 1605.

14 June. Came to dine with us the Countesse of Clarendon, Dr. Lloyd, Deane of Bangor, (since Bp. of St. Asaph,) Dr. Burnett, author of the History of the Reformation, and my old friend Mr. Henshaw. After dinner we all went to see the Observatory and Mr. Flamsted, who shew'd us divers rare instruments, especialy the greate quadrant.

24 July. Went with my wife and daughter to Windsor, to see that stately Court, now neere finish'd. There was erected in the Court the

King on horseback, lately cast in copper, and set on a rich pedestal of white marble, the worke of Mr. Gibbons, at the expence of Toby Rustate, a page * of the back staires, who by his wonderful frugality had ariv'd to a greate estate in mony, and did many works of charity, as well as this of gratitude to his Master, wch cost him 1000*l.* He is a very simple, ignorant, but honest and loyal creature.

We all din'd at the Countesse of Sunderland's, afterwards to see Sign^r^ Verrio's garden, thence to Eton College to salute the Provost, and heard a Latine speech of one of the Alumni (it being at the election), and were invited to supper, but took our leave, and got to London that night in good time.

26. My most noble and illustrious friend, the Earle of Ossorie, espying me this morning after sermon in the privy gallery, calling to me, told me he was now going his journey (meaning to Tangier, whither he was designed Governor and General of the Forces, to regaine the losses we had lately sustain'd from the Moors, when Inchequeen was Governor). I ask'd if he would not call at my house (as he always did whenever he went out of England on any exploit); he said he must embark at Portsmouth, "wherefore let you and I dine together to-day, I am quite alone, and have something to impart to you; I am not well, shall be private, and desire your company." Being retir'd to his lodgings and set down on a couch, he sent to his secretary for the copy of a letter wch he had written to Lord Sunderland (Secretary of State), wishing me to reade it; it was to take notice how ill he resented it that he should tell the King before Lord Ossorie's face, that Tangier was not to be kept, but would certainly be lost, and yet added that 'twas fit Lord Ossorie should be sent, that they might give some account of it to the world, meaning (as suppos'd) the next Parliament, when all such miscarriages would probably be examin'd; this Lord Ossorie took very ill of Lord Sunderland, and not kindly of the King, who resolving to send him with an incompetent force, seem'd, as his Lordship tooke it, to be willing to cast him away, not only on a hazardous adventure, but in

* Mr. Tobias Rustate. He was a great benefactor to Jesus College, Cambridge, in particular, by an endowment of scholarships there for the benefit of young students, orphan sons of Clergymen.

most men's opinion an impossibility, seeing there was not to be above 3 or 400 horse and 4000 foote for the garrison and all, both to defend ye towne, forme a camp, repulse the enemy, and fortifie what ground they should get in. This touch'd my Lord deeply, that he should be so little consider'd as to put him on a businesse in which he should probably not only loose his reputation, but be charg'd with all the miscarriages and ill successe; whereas at first they promis'd 6000 foote and 600 horse effective. My Lord being an exceeding brave and valiant person, and who had so approv'd himself in divers signal batailes, both at sea and land; so belov'd, and so esteem'd by ye people, as one they depended upon all occasions worthy of such a captain; he looked on this as too greate an indifference in his Ma^ty^ after all his services, and the merits of his father the Duke of Ormond, and a designe of some who envied his virtue. It certainly tooke so deepe roote in his mind, that he who was the most void of feare in the world (and assur'd me he would go to Tangier with 10 men if his Ma^ty^ commanded him) could not beare up against this unkindness. Having disburden'd himselfe of this to me after dinner, he went with his Ma^ty^ to the Sheriffs at a greate supper in Fishmongers Hall, but finding himselfe ill, tooke his leave immediately of his Ma^ty^, and came back to his lodging. Not resting well this night, he was persuaded to remove to Arlington House for better accommodation. His disorder turn'd to a malignant fever, wch increasing after all that six of the most able physicians could do, he became delirious, with intervals of sense, during which Dr. Lloyd (after Bp. of St. Asaph) administer'd the holy sacrament, of which I also participated. He died the Friday following, the 30 July, to the universal griefe of all that knew or heard of his greate worth, nor had any a greater losse than myselfe. Oft would he say I was the oldest acquaintance he had in England (when his Father was in Ireland), it being now of above 30 yeares, contracted abroad, when he rid in the Academie in Paris, and when we were seldome asunder. His Ma^ty^ never lost a worthier subject, nor father a better or more dutiful son; a loving, generous, good-natur'd, and perfectly obliging friend; one who had done innumerable kindnesses to severall before they knew it; nor did he ever advance any that were not worthy; no one more

brave, more modest: none more humble, sober, and every way virtuous. Unhappy England in this illustrions person's loss! Universal was the mourning for him and the eulogies on him; I staied night and day by his bed-side to his last gasp, to close his deare eyes! O sad father, mother, wife, and children! What shall I add! he deserv'd all that a sincere friend, a brave souldier, a virtuous courtier, a loyal subject, an honest man, a bountifull master, and good Christian could deserve of his Prince and Country. One thing more let me note, that he often express'd to me the abhorrence he had of that base and unworthy action which he was put upon, of engaging the Smyrna fleete in time of peace, in which tho' he behav'd himselfe like a greate captaine, yet he told me it was the onely blot in his life, and troubled him exceedingly. Tho' he was commanded, and never examin'd further when he was so, yet he always spake of it with regret and detestation. The Countesse was at the seate of her daughter, the Countesse of Derby, almost 200 miles off.

30 Augt. I went to visite a French gent^{n}, one Monsr Chardine, who having ben thrice in the East Indies, Persia, and other remote countries, came hither in our returne ships from those parts, and it being reported that he was a very curious and knowing man, I was desir'd by the R. Society to salute him in their name, and to invite him to honour them with his company. S^{r} Jo. Hoskins and Sr Christ^{r} Wren accompanied me. We found him at his lodgings in his Eastern habit, a very handsome person, extremely affable, a modest, well-bred man, not inclin'd to talke wonders. He spake Latine, and understood Greeke, Arabic, and Persian, from 11 years travels in those parts, whither he went in search of jewells, and was become very rich. He seem'd about 36 years of age. After the usual civilities we ask'd some account of ye extraordinary things he must have seene in travelling over land to those places where few, if any, Northern Europeans us'd to go, as the Black and Caspian Sea, Mingrelia, Bagdat, Nineveh, Persepolis, &c. He told us that the things most worthy of our sight would be, the draughts he had caus'd to be made of some noble ruines, &c. for that, besides his own little talent that way, he had carried two good painters with him, to draw landskips, measure and designe the remaines of the

palace wch Alexander burnt in his frolic at Persepolis, with divers temples, columns, relievos, and statues, yet extant, wch he affirm'd to be sculpture far exceeding any thing he had observ'd either at Rome, in Greece, or in any other part of ye world where magnificence was in estimation. He said there was an inscription in letters not intelligible, though entire. He was sorry he could not gratify the curiosity of the Society at present, his things not being yet out of the ship, but would wait on them with them on his returne from Paris, whither he was going the next day, but with intention to returne suddenly, and stay longer here, the persecution in France not suffering Protestants, and he was one, to be quiet. He told us that Nineveh was a vast citty, now all buried in her ruines, the inhabitants building on ye subterranean vaults, which were, as appear'd, the first stories of the old Cittie; that there were frequently found huge vasas of fine earth, columns, and other antiquities; that the straw which the Egyptians requir'd of ye Israelites, was not to burne, or cover the rowes of bricks as we use, but being chopp'd small to mingle with the clay, which being dried in the sun (for they bake not in the furnaces) would else cleave asunder; that in Persia are yet a race of Igniculi who worship the sun and the fire as Gods; that ye women of Georgia and Mingrelia were universaly, and without any compare, the most beautifull creatures for shape, features, and figure, in the world, and therefore the Grand Seignior and Bashaws had had from thence most of their wives and concubines; that there had, within these hundred yeares ben Amazons amongst them, that is to say, a sort or race of valiant women, given to warr; that Persia was extremely fertile; he spoke also of Japan and China, and of the many greate errors of our late geographers, as we suggested matter for discourse. We then took our leaves, failing of seeing his papers, but it was told us by others that indeede he durst not open or shew them till he had first shewed them to the French King, but of this he himselfe said nothing.

2 Sept. I had an opportunity, his Ma^ty^ being still at Windsor, of seeing his private library at White-hall, at my full ease. I went with expectation of finding some curiosities, but though there were about 1000 volumes, there were few of importance which I had not perus'd before. They consisted chiefly of such books as had from time to time

ben dedicated or presented to him; a few Histories, some Travels and French bookes, aboundance of mapps and sea charts, entertainments and pomps, buildings and pieces relating to the navy, some mathematical instruments; but what was most rare were 3 or 4 Romish breviaries, with a great deal of miniature and monkish painting and gilding, one of which is most exquisitely don, both as to the figures, grotesques, and compartments, to the utmost of that curious art. There is another in which I find written by the hand of K. Hen. VII. his giving it to his deare daughter Margaret, afterwards Queene of Scots, in wch he desires her to pray for his soule, subscribing his name at length. There is also ye processe of the philosophers great elixer, represented in divers pieces of excellent miniature, but the discourse is in High Dutch, a MS. There is another MS. in 4to. of above 300 yeares old in French, being an institution of physic, and in the botanical part the plants are curiously painted in miniature: also a folio MS. of good thicknesse, being the severall exercises, as Theames, Orations, Translations, &c. of K. Edward VI. all written and subscrib'd by his owne hand, and with his name very legible, and divers of the Greeke interleav'd and corrected after the manner of schole boys exercises, and that exceedingly well and proper, with some epistles to his preceptor, which shew that young Prince to have ben extraordinarily advanc'd in learning, and as Cardan, who had ben in England affirm'd, stupendiously knowing for his age. There is likewise his Journal *, no lesse testifying his early ripeness and care about the affaires of state.

There are besides many pompous volumes, some emboss'd with gold, and intaglias on achats, medailes, &c. I spent 3 or 4 intire daies, lock'd up and alone, among these bookes and curiosities. In the rest of the private lodgings contiguous to this, are divers of the best pictures of the greate masters, Raphael, Titian, &c. and, in my esteeme, above all, the *Noli me tangere of our blessed Saviour to Mary Magdalen after his Resurrection*, of Hans Holbein, than which I never saw so much reverence and kind of heavenly astonishment express'd in a picture.

* A note is added, that Dr. Burnet has transcribed many remarks out of this in his History of the Reformation.

There are also divers curious clocks, watches, and pendules of exquisite work, and other curiosities. An ancient woman, who made these lodgings cleane, and had all ye keys, let me in at pleasure for a small reward, by meanes of a friend.

6 Sept. I din'd with Sir Stephen Fox, now one of ye Lords Commissioners of ye Treasury. This gentleman came first a poore boy from the quire of Salisbury, then was taken notice of by Bp. Duppa, and afterwards waited on my Lord Percy (brother to Algernon E. of Northumberland), who procur'd for him an inferior place amongst the Clerks of the Kitchen and Greene Cloth side, where he was found so humble, diligent, industrious, and prudent in his behaviour, that his Ma^ty^ being in exile, and Mr. Fox waiting, both the King and Lords about him frequently employ'd him about their affaires; trusted him both with receiving and paying the little mony they had. Returning with his Ma^ty^ to England, after greate wants and greate sufferings, his Ma^ty^ found him so honest and industrious, and withall so capable and ready, that being advanc'd from Clerk of ye Kitchen to that of ye Greene-Cloth, he procur'd to be Paymaster to the whole Army, and by his dexterity and punctual dealing he obtain'd such credit among the banquers, that he was in a short time able to borrow vast sums of them upon any exigence. The continual turning thus of mony, and the souldiers moderate allowance to him for his keeping touch with them, did so inrich him, that he is believ'd to be worth at least 200,000*l.* honestly gotten and unenvied, which is next to a miracle. With all this he continues as humble and ready to do a courtesie as ever he was. He is generous, and lives very honorably, of a sweete nature, well spoken, well bred, and is so highly in his Ma^tys^ esteeme, and so usefull, that being long since made a knight, he is also advanc'd to be one of ye Lords Commiss^rs^ of ye Treasurie, and has ye revertion of the Cofferer's place after Harry Brouncker. He has married his eldest daughter to my Lord Cornwallis, and gave her 12,000 pounds, and restor'd that intangl'd family besides. He match'd his eldest son to Mrs. Trollop, who brings with her (besides a greate sum) neere, if not altogether 2000*l. per ann.* Sr Stephen's Lady (an excellent woman) is sister to Mr. Whittle, one of the King's chirurgeons. In a word, never was

man more fortunate than Sir Stephen; he is an handsom person, vertuous, and very religious.

23 Sept. Came to my house some German strangers and Sig^r Pietro a famous musitian, who had ben long in Sweden in Queene Christina's Court; he sung admirably to a *guitar*, and had a perfect good tenor and base, and had set to Italian composure many of Abraham Cowley's pieces, which shew'd extremely well. He told me that in Sweden the heate in some part of summer was as excessive as ye cold in winter; so cold, he affirm'd, that the streetes of all the townes are desolate, no creatures stirring in them for many moneths, all the inhabitants retiring to their stoves. He spake high things of that romantic Queene's learning and skill in languages, the majestie of her behaviour, her exceeding wit, and that the histories she had read of other countries, especialy of Italy and Rome, had made her despise her owne. That the real occasion of her resigning her Crowne was the Noblemen's importuning her to marrie, and the promise which the Pope had made her of procuring her to be Queene of Naples, which also caus'd her to change her religion; but she was cheated by his crafty Holiness *, working on her ambition; that the reason of her killing her Secretary at Fontaine Beleaue † was his revealing that intrigue with the Pope. But after all this I rather believe it was her mad prodigality and extreame vanity, which had consum'd those vast treasures the greate Adolphus, her father, had brought out of Germany during his [campaigns] there and wonderfull successes; and that if she had not voluntarily resign'd, as foreseeing the event, the Estates of her Kingdom would have compell'd her to do so.

30 Oct. I went to London to be private, my birthday being ye next day, and I now ariv'd at my sixtieth year, on which I began a more solemn survey of my whole life, in order to the making and confirming my peace with God, by an accurate scrutinie of all my actions past, as far as I was able to call them to mind. How difficult and uncertaine, yet how necessary a work! The Lord be mercifull to me, and accept

* Pope Alexander VII. of the family of Chighi at Sienna.

† So called and written at that time.

me! Who can tell how oft he offendeth? Teach me therefore so to number my daies that I may apply my heart to wisdom, and make my calling and election sure. Amen, Lord Jesus!

31. I spent this whole day in exercises. A stranger preach'd at White-hall on 16 Luke 30, 31.* I then went to St. Martin's, where ye Bp. of St. Asaph preach'd on 1 Peter 3, 15.; ye holy communion follow'd, at which I participated, humbly imploring God's assistance in the greate worke I was entering into. In ye afternoone I heard Dr. Sprat at St. Margaret's on 17 Acts 11.

I began and spent the whole weeke in examining my life, begging pardon for my faults, assistance and blessing for the future, that I might in some sort be prepar'd for the time that now drew neere, and not have the greate work to begin when one can worke no longer. The Lord Jesus help and assist me! I therefore stirr'd little abroad till the 5 Novr, when I heard Dr. Tenison, the now Vicar of St. Martin's; Dr. Lloyd, the former incumbent, being made Bishop of St. Asaph.

7. I participated of ye blessed Communion, finishing and confirming my resolutions of giving myselfe up more intirely to God, to whom I had now most solemnly devoted the rest of my poore remainder of life in this world; the Lord enabling me, who am an unprofitable servant, a miserable sinner, yet depending on his infinite goodnesse and mercy, accepting my endeavours.

15. Came to dine with us Sir Richard Anderson, his lady, sonn, and wife, sister to my daughter in law.

30 Nov. The anniversary election at the Royall Society, brought me to London, where was chosen President that excellent person and greate philosopher Mr. Robert Boyle, who indeede ought to have ben the very first; but neither his infirmitie nor his modestie could now any longer excuse him. I desired I might for this yeare be left out of the Council, by reason my dwelling was in the country. The Society according to costome dined together.

This signal day begun the trial (at which I was present) of my Lord Viscount Stafford, for conspiring the death of the King; second sonn

* This was probably to the King's household early in the morning.

to my Lord Thomas Howard Earle of Arundel and Surry, Earle Marishall of England and grandfather to the present Duke of Norfolk, whom I. so well knew, and from which excellent person I received so many favours. It was likewise his birth-day. The trial was in Westminster Hall, before the King, Lords, and Commons, just in the same manner as 40 yeares past, the greate and wise Earle of Strafford (there being but one letter differing their names) receiv'd his trial for pretended ill government in Ireland, in the very same place, this Lord Stafford's father being then High Steward. The place of sitting was now exalted some considerable height from the paved floore of the Hall, with a stage of boards. The throne, woolpacks for the Judges, long formes for the Peeres, chaire for the Lord Steward, exactly ranged, as in the House of Lords. The sides on both hands scaffolded to the very roofe for the Members of the House of Commons. At the upper end and on the right side of the King's state, was a box for his Ma^{ty}, and on the left others for the greate ladyes, and over heade a gallerie for Ambass^{rs} and public Ministers. At the lower end or entrance was a barr; and place for ye prisoner, the Lieut^{t} of the Tower of London, the axe-bearer and guards, my Lord Stafford's two daughters, the Marchionesse of Winchester being one; there was likewise a box for my Lord to retire into. At the right hand, in another box, somewhat higher, stood the Witnesses; at the left the Managers, in the name of the Commons of England, viz. Serjeant Maynard (the greate lawyer, the same who prosecuted the cause against the Earle of Strafford 40 yeares before, being now neere 80 yeares of age) Sr William Jones, late Attorney General, Sr Francis Winnington a famous pleader, and Mr. Treby now Recorder of London, not appearing in their gownes as lawyers, but in their cloakes and swords as representing the Commons of England: to these were joined Mr. Hampden, Mr. Sacheverell, Mr. Poule, Col. Titus, Sr Tho. Lee, all gentlemen of quality, and noted parliamentary men. The two first dayes, in which were read the commission and impeachment, were but a tedious entrance into matter of fact, at which I was but little present. But on Thursday I was commodiously seated amongst the Commons, when the witnesses were sworn and examined. The principal witnesses were Mr. Oates (who call'd himselfe Dr.) Mr.

Dugdale, and Turberville. Oates swore that he deliver'd a commission to Visc[t] Stafford from the Pope, to be Paymaster Generall to an army intended to be rais'd. Dugdale, that being at Lord Aston's, the prisoner dealt with him plainly to murder his Majestie: and Turberville, that at Paris he also propos'd the same to him.

3. The depositions of my Lord's witnesses were taken, to invalidate the King's witnesses; they were very slight persons, but, being 15 or 16, they tooke up all that day, and in truth they rather did my Lord injury than service.

4. Came other witnesses of the Commons to corroborate the King's, some being Peeres, some Commons, with others of good qualitie, who tooke off all the former day's objections, and set the King's witnesses *recti in Curia.*

6. Sir W[m] Jones summ'd up the evidence; to him succeeded all the rest of the Managers, and then Mr. Hen. Poule made a vehement oration. After this my Lord, as on all occasions, and often during the trial, spoke in his owne defence, denying the charge altogether, and that he had never seene Oates or Turberville at the time and manner affirm'd: in truth, their testimonie did little weigh with me; Dugdale's onely seem'd to press hardest, to which my Lord spake a greate while, but confusedly, without any method. One thing my Lord said as to Oates, which I confesse did exceedingly affect me; that a person who during his depositions should so vauntingly brag that tho' he went over to the Church of Rome, yet he was never a Papist, nor of their religion, all the time that he seem'd to apostatize from the Protestant, but only as a spie; tho' he confess'd he tooke their sacrament, worshipp'd images, went thro' all their oathes and discipline of their proselytes, swearing secrecy and to be faithfull, but with intent to come over againe and betray them; that such an hypocrite, that had so deeply prevaricated as even to turne idolater (for so we of the Church of England term'd it), attesting God so solemnly that he was intirely theirs and devoted to their interest, and consequently (as he pretended) trusted; I say that the witnesse of such a proflygate wretch should be admitted against the life of a Peere, this my Lord look'd upon as a monstrous thing, and such as must needs redound to the dishonour of our Reli-

gion and Nation. And verily I am of his Lordship's opinion; such a man's testimonie should not be taken against the life of a dog. But the merit of something material which he discover'd against Coleman, put him in such esteeme with the Parliament, that now, I fancy, he stuck at nothing, and thought every body was to take what he said for Gospel. The consideration of this and some other circumstances began to stagger me; particularly how 'twas possible that one who went among the Papists on such a designe, and pretended to be intrusted with so many letters and commissions from the Pope and the party, nay and deliver'd them to so many greate persons, should not reserve one of them to shew, nor so much as one copy of any commission, which he who had such dexterity in opening letters might certainly have done, to the undeniable conviction of those whom he accus'd: but, as I said, he gain'd credit on Coleman; but as to others whom he so madly flew upon, I am little inclin'd to believe his testimony, he being so slight a person, so passionate, ill bred, and of such impudent behaviour; nor is it likely that such piercing politicians as the Jesuits should trust him with so high and so dangerous seacrets.

7. On Tuesday I was againe at the trial, when judgment was demanded; and after my Lord had spoken what he could in denying the fact, the Managers answering the objections, the Peeres adjourned to their house, and within two houres returned againe. There was in the meane time this question put to the Judges, "whether there being but one witnesse to any single crime or act, it could amount to convict a man of treason." They gave an unanimous opinion that in case of treason they all were overt acts, for tho' no man should be condemn'd by one witnesse for any one act, yet for several acts to the same intent, it was valid, which was my Lord's case. This being past and the Peeres in their seates againe, the Lord Chancellor Finch (this day the Lord High Steward) removing to the woolsack next his Ma^{tys} state, after summoning the Lieutenant of the Tower to bring forth his prisoner, and proclamation made for silence, demanded of every peer (who were in all 86) whether William Lord Viscount Stafford were guilty of the treason laid to his charge, or not guilty. Then the Peere spoken to, standing

up, and laying his right hand on his breast; said Guilty, or Not guilty, upon my honour, and then sate down, the Lord Steward noting their suffrages as they answered upon a paper: when all had done, the number of Not guilty being but 31, the Guilty 55: and then after proclamation for silence againe, the Lord Steward directing his speech to the prisoner, against whom the axe was turned edgeways, and not before, in aggravation of his crime, he being ennobled by the King's father, and since received many favours from his present Majesty, (after enlarging on his offence) deploring first his own unhappinesse that he who had never condemn'd any man before, should now be necessitated to begin with him; he then pronounc'd sentence of death by hanging, drawing, and quartering, according to forme, with greate solemnity and dreadfull gravity, and after a short pause, told the prisoner that he believ'd the Lords would intercede for the omission of some circumstances of his sentence, beheading only excepted; and then breaking his white staff, the Court was dissolved. My Lord Stafford during all this latter part spake but little, and only gave their Lordships thanks after the sentence was pronounced; and indeede behaved himselfe modestly and as became him.

It was observ'd that all his owne relations of his name and family condemn'd him, except his nephew the Earle of Arundel, son to the Duke of Norfolk. And it must be acknowledg'd that ye whole trial was carried on with exceeding gravity: so stately and august an appearance I had never seene before; for besides the innumerable spectators of gentlemen and forraine ministers, who saw and heard all the proceedings, the prisoner had the consciences of all the Commons of England for his accusers, and all the Peeres to be his Judges and Jury. He had likewise the assistance of what Counsel he would, to direct him in his plea, who stood by him. And yet I can hardly think that a person of his age and experience should engage men whom he never saw before (and one of them that came to visite him as a stranger at Paris) *point blanq* to murder the King: God onely who searches hearts can discover the truth. Lord Stafford was not a man belov'd, especialy of his own family.

12. This evening looking out of my chamber window towards the west, I saw a meteor of an obscure bright colour, very much in shape like the blade of a sword, the rest of the skie very serene and cleare. What this may portend God onely knows; but such another phenomenon I remember to have seene in 1640, aboute the Triall of the greate Earle of Strafford, preceeding our bloudy Rebellion. I pray God avert his judgements. We have had of late severall comets, which tho' I believe appeare from naturall causes, and of themselves operate not, yet I cannot despise them. They may be warnings from God, as they commonly are forerunners of his animadversions. After many daies and nights of snow, clowdy and dark weather, the comet was very much wasted.

17 Dec. My daughter in law was brought to bed of a sonn, christen'd Richard.

22. A solemn publicq fast that God would prevent all Popish plotts, avert his judgements, and give a blessing to ye proceedings of Parliament now assembl'd, and which struck at the succession of the Duke of York.

29. The Viscount Stafford was beheaded on Tower-hill.

1681, 10 Feb. I was at the wedding of my nephew John Evelyn of Wotton, married by the Bp. of Rochester at Westminster in Henry VII. Chapell, to the daughter and heyre of Mr. Eversfield of Sussex, her portion £.8000. The solemnity was kept with a few friends onely at Lady Beckford's, the lady's mother.

8 Mar. Visited and din'd at ye Earle of Essex's, with whom I spent most of the afternoone alone. Thence to my (yet living) godmother and kinswoman Mrs. Keightley, sister to Sr Tho. Evelyn and niece to my father, being now 86 yeares of age, sprightly, and in perfect health, her eyes serving her as well as ever, and of a comely countenance, that one would not suppose her above 50.

27. The Parliament now conven'd at Oxford. Greate expectation of his Royal Highness's case as to the succession, against which the House was set.

An extraordinary sharp cold spring, not yet a leafe on ye trees, frost and snow lying: whilst the whole nation was in the greatest ferment.

11 April. I tooke my leave of Dr. Lloyd (now Bishop of St. Asaph) at his house in Leicester Fields, now going to reside in his dibcese.

12. I din'd at Mr. Brisbane's, Secretary to ye Admiralty, a learned and industrious person, whither came Dr. Burnet to thank me for some papers I had contributed towards his excellent History of the Reformation.

26. I din'd at Don Pietro Ronquillo's, the Spanish Ambassador, at Wild House*, who us'd me with extraordinary civility. The dinner was plentiful, halfe after the Spanish, halfe after the English way. After dinner he led me into his bed-chamber; where we fell into a long discourse concerning religion. Tho' he was a learned man in politics, and an advocate, he was very ignorant in religion, and unable to defend any point of controversy; he was however far from being fierce. At parting he earnestly wish'd me to apply humbly to the Blessed Virgin to direct me, assuring me that he had known divers who had ben averse from the Roman Catholic Religion, wonderfully enlighten'd and convinc'd by her intercession. He importun'd me to come and visite him often.

29 April. But one showre of rain all this month.

5 May. Came to dine with me Sr Wm Fermor of Northamptonshire, and Sr Christ^r^ Wren, his Majesty's Architect and Surveyor, now building the Cathedral of St. Paul, and the Columne in memorie of the Citty's conflagration, and was in hand with the building of 50 Parish Churches. A wonderful genius had this incomparable person.

16 May. Came my Lady Sunderland to desire that I would propose a match to Sr Stephen Fox for her sonn, Lord Spencer, to marry Mrs. Jane, Sir Stephen's daughter. I excus'd myself all I was able, for the truth is, I was afraid he would prove an extravagant man: for though a youth of extraordinary parts, and had an excellent education to render him a worthy man, yet his early inclinations to extravagance made me apprehensive that I should not serve Sir Stephen by proposing it, like a friend; this being now his only daughter, well bred, and likely to

* Near Drury Lane.

receive a large share of her father's opulence. Lord Sunderland was much sunke in his estate by gaming and other prodigalities, and was now no longer Secretary of State, having fallen into displeasure of the King for siding with the Commons about the Succession; but which I am assur'd he did not do out of his owne inclination, or for ye preservation of the Protestant religion, but by mistaking ye ability of the party to carry it. However, so earnest and importunate was the Countesse, that I did mention it to Sr Stephen, who said that it was too great an honour, that his daughter was very young as well as my Lord, and he was resolved never to marry her without the parties mutual liking, with other objections which I neither would nor could contradict. He desir'd me to expresse to the Countesse the greate sense he had of ye honour don him, that his daughter and her sonn were too young, that he would do nothing without her liking, which he did not think her capable of expressing judiciously till she was 16 or 17 yeares of age, of which she now wanted 4 yeares, and that I would put it off as civilly as I could.

20 May. Our new curate preach'd, a pretty hopefull young man, yet somewhat raw, newly come from colledge, full of Latine sentences, which in time will weare off. He read prayers very well.

25. There came to visite me Sir William Walter and Sir John Elowes; and the next day the Earle of Kildare, a young gent. related to my wife, and other company. There had scarce fallen any raine since Christmas.

2 June. I went to Hampton Court, when the Surrey gentlemen presented their addresses to his Mat^y^, whose hand I kiss'd, introduc'd by the Duke of Albemarle.

12. It still continu'd so great a drought as had never ben known in England, and it was said to be universal.

14 Aug. No sermon this afternoone, wch I think did not happen twice in this parish these 30 years; so gracious has God ben to it, and indeede to the whole nation: God grant that we abuse not this greate priviledge, either by our wantonnesse, schisme, or unfaithfulnesse, under such meanes as he has not favoured any other nation under heaven besides.

23. I went to Wotton, and on the following day was invited to Mr. Denzil Onslow's at his seate at Purford, where was much company and such an extraordinary feast as I had hardly seene at any country gentleman's table. What made it more remarkable was, that there was not any thing save what his estate about it did afford: as venison, rabbits, hares, pheasants, partridges, pigeons, quails, poultrie, all sortes of fowle in season from his owne decoy neere his house, and all sorts of fresh fish. After dinner we went to see sport at the decoy, where I never saw so many herons.

The seate stands on a flat, the ground pasture, rarely water'd, and exceedingly improv'd since Mr. Onslow bought it of Sr Robt Parkhurst, who spent a faire estate. The house is timber, but commodious, and with one ample dining-roome, the hall adorn'd with paintings of fowle and huntings, &c. the work of Mr. Barlow, who is excellent in this kind from the life*.

30. From Wotton I went to see Mr. Hussey† (at Sutton in Shere), who has a very pretty seate well water'd, neere my brother's. He is the neatest husband for curious ordering his domestic and field accommodations, and what pertains to husbandry, that I have ever seene, as to his granaries, tacklings, tooles, and utensills, ploughs, carts, stables, wood-piles, wood-house, even to hen-roosts and hog-troughs. Methought I saw old Cato or Varro in him; all substantial, all in exact order. The sole inconvenience he lies under, is the greate quantity of sand which the streame brings along with it, and fills his canals and receptacles for fish too soone. The rest of my time of stay at Wotton was spent in walking about the grounds and goodly woods, where I have in my youth so often entertain'd my solitude: and so on the 2d of Sept. I once more returned to my home.

6 Sept. Died my pretty grand-child, and was interr'd on the 8th [at Deptford.]

14. Din'd with Sir Stephen Fox, who propos'd to me ye purchasing of Chelsey College, which his Ma^ty^ had some time since given to our

* This house has been pulled down many years. The estate is the property of the Earl of Onslow. 1816.

† P. 431.

Society, and would now purchase it againe to build an Hospital or Infirmary for Souldiers there, in which he desired my assistance as one of the Council of the R. Society.

15. I had another opportunity of visiting his Ma^tys^ private Library at White-hall.

To Sir Sam. Moreland's, to see his house and mechanics*.

17. I went with Monsr Faubert about taking ye Countesse of Bristol's house for an academie, he being lately come from Paris for his religion, and resolving to settle here†.

23. I went to see Sr Tho. Bond's fine house and garden at Peckham.

2 Oct. I went to Camerwell, where that good man Dr. Par (late chaplain to Abp. Usher) preach'd on 16 Acts, 30.

11. I went to Fulham to visit the Bishop of London, in whose garden I first saw the *Sedum arborescens* in flower, which was exceedingly beautifull.

5 Nov. Dr. Hooper preach'd on 12 Mark, 16, 17, before the King, of the usurpation of the Church of Rome. This is one of ye first rank of pulpit men in the nation.

15. I din'd with ye Earle of Essex, who after dinner in his study, where we were alone, related to me how much he had ben scandaliz'd and injur'd in the report of his being privy to the marriage of his Lady's niece, ye rich young widow of the late Lord Ogle, sole daughter of ye E. of Northumberland; shewing me a letter of Mr. Thynn's excusing himself for not communicating his marriage to his Lordship. He acquainted me also with the whole story of that unfortunate lady being betray'd by her grandmother the Countesse of Northumberland, and Col. Bret, for money; and that tho', upon the importunity of the Duke of Monmouth, he had deliver'd to the grandmother a particular

* In Lambeth, at what is now Vauxhall, where Sir Sam. Moreland had fitted up a house, and built a large room, which he furnished in a sumptuous manner, and constructed in his garden some fountains. He was much in favour with the King for services he had rendered to him whilst abroad, and this is probably the place which it is said the King and his Ladies used to cross the water to go to. Hist. Surrey, III. 489, 490, 491.—See further particulars of him in p. 407, and vol. II. p. 49; and some of his inventions noticed in the present volume, pp. 444, 491, 552.

† He had a riding house between Swallow-street and King-street; the passage by it between those streets, is still (or lately was) called by his name (1816.)

of the jointure which Mr. Thynn pretended he would settle on the lady, yet he totally discourag'd ye proceeding, as by no means a competent match for one that both by birth and fortune might have pretended to the greatest prince in Christendom; that he also propos'd the Earle of Kingston, or the Lord Cranburn, but was by no means for Mr. Thynn.

19. I din'd with my worthy friend Mr. Erskin, Ma^r^ of the Charterhouse, uncle to the Dutchesse of Monmouth; a wise and learned gentleman, fitter to have ben a privy councillor and minister of state than to have been laied aside.

24. I was at ye audience of the Russia Ambassador before both their Majesties in the Banquetting-house. The presents were carried before him, held up by his followers in two ranks before the King's State, and consisted of tapissry (one suite of which was doubtless brought from France as being of that fabrick, the Ambass^r^ having pass'd thro' that Kingdom as he came out of Spain), a large Persian carpet, furs of sable and ermine, &c. but nothing was so splendid and exotic as the Ambassador who came soone after the King's Restauration*. This present Ambass^r^ was exceedingly offended that his coach was not permitted to come into the Court, till being told that no King's Ambassador did, he was pacified, yet requiring an attestation of it under the hand of Sir Cha. Cotterell, the Master of the Ceremonies; being, it seems, afraid he should offend his Master if he omitted the least punctilio. 'Twas reported he condemned his sonn to loose his head for shaving off his beard, and putting himselfe in ye French mode at Paris, and that he would have executed it had not the French King interceded—but qu. of this.

30 Nov. Sr Christ^r^ Wren chosen President [of ye Royal Society], Mr. Austine, Secretary, with Dr. Plot, the ingenious author of the History of Oxfordshire. There was a most illustrious appearance.

1682. 11 Jan. I saw ye audience of the Morocco Ambassador †, his retinue not numerous. He was receiv'd in the Banquetting-house, both their Majesties being present. He came up to the Throne with-

* See p. 355.

† Named Hamet. There are different prints of him; one of which is a large and fine one by Robert.

out making any sort of reverence, not bowing his head or body. He spake by a renegado Englishman, for whose safe return there was a promise. They were all clad in the Moorish habite, cassocks of colour'd cloth, or silk, with buttons and loopes, over this an *àlhaga*, or white woollen mantle, so large as to wrap both head and body, a shash or small turban, naked legg'd and arm'd, but with leather socks like the Turks, rich scymeter, and large calico sleeved shirts. The Ambass' had a string of pearls oddly woven in his turban. I fancy the old Romaii habite was little different as to the mantle and naked limbs. The Ambass' was an handsome person, well featur'd, of a wise looke, subtill, and extreamely civile. Their presents were lions and estridges (ostriches), &c.; their errand about a peace at Tangier. But the concourse and tumult of the people was intolerable, so as the officers could keepe no order, which these strangers were astonish'd at at first, there being nothing so regular, exact, and perform'd with such silence, as is on all these public occasions of their country, and indeede over all the Turkish dominions.

14. Din'd at the Bp. of Rochester's, at the Abby, it being his marriage day, after twenty-four yeares. He related to me how he had ben treated by Sr William Temple, foreseeing that he might be a delegate in the concerne of my Lady Ogle, now likely to come in controversy upon her marriage with Mr. Thynn; also how earnestly the late E. of Danby, Lord Treasurer, sought his friendship, and what plaine and sincere advice he gave him from time to time about his miscarriages and partialities; particularly his outing Sr John Duncomb from being Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sr Ste. Fox, above all, from Paymaster of ye Armie. The Treasurer's excuse and reason was, that Fox's credit was so over-greate with the bankers and monied men, that he could procure none but by his meanes; "for that reason," replied ye Bishop, "I would have made him my friend, Sir Stephen being a person both honest and of credit." He told him likewise of his stateliness and difficulty of accesse, and severall other miscarriages, and which indeede made him hated.

24. To the Royall Society, where at the Council we pass'd a new law for the more accurate consideration of candidates, as whether they

would really be useful; also concerning the honorary members, that none should be admitted but by diploma.

This evening I was at the entertainement of the Morocco Ambassador at the Dutchesse of Portsmouth's glorious apartments at Whitehall, where was a greate banquet of sweetemeates and musiq, but at which both the Ambass^{r} and his retinue behav'd themselves with extraordinary moderation and modesty, tho' plac'd about a long table, a lady betweene two moores, and amongst these were the King's natural children, *viz.* Lady Lichfield and Sussex, the Dutchess of Portsmouth, Nelly, &c. concubines, and cattell of that sort, as splendid as jewells and excesse of bravery could make them. The Moores neither admiring nor seeming to regard any thing, furniture, or the like, with any earnestnesse, and but decently tasting of the banquet. They dranke a little milk and water, but not a drop of wine; they also dranke of a sorbet and jacolatt; did not looke about, or stare on ye ladies, or expresse the least surprize, but with a courtly negligence in pace, countenance, and whole behaviour, answering only to such questions as were ask'd with a greate deale of wit and gallantrie, and so gravely tooke leave with this compliment, That God would blesse the Dutchess of Portsmouth and ye Prince her sonn, meaning the little Duke of Richmond. The King came in at the latter end, just as the Ambass^{r} was going away. In this manner was this slave (for he was no more at home) entertain'd by most of the nobility in towne, and went often to Hide Park on horseback, where he and his retinue shew'd their extraordinary activity in horsemanship, and flinging and catching their launces at full speede; they rid very short, and could stand upright at full speede, managing their spears with incredible agility. He went sometimes to ye theaters, where upon any foolish or fantastical action, he could not forbear laughing, but he endeavour'd to hide it with extraordinary modesty and gravity. In a word, the Russian Ambassador, still at Court, behav'd himselfe like a clowne, compar'd to this civil heathen.

27. This evening Sir Ste. Fox acquainted me againe with his Ma^{tys} resolution of proceeding in the erection of a Royal Hospital for emerited souldiers on that spot of ground which the Royal Society had

sold to his Ma^ty^ for 1300*l.* and that he would settle 5000*l. per ann.* on it, and build to ye value of 20,000*l.* for ye reliefe and reception of 4 companies, *viz.* 400 men, to be as in a colledge or monastrie. I was therefore desir'd by Sir Stephen (who had not onely the whole managing of this, but was, as I perceiv'd, himselfe to be a grand benefactor, as well it became him who had gotten so vast an estate by the souldiers) to assist him, and consult what method to cast it in, as to the government. So in his study we arranged the governor, chaplaine, steward, housekeeper, chirurgeon, cook, butler, gardener, porter, and other officers, with their several salaries and entertainments. I would needes have a Library, and mention'd several bookes, since some souldiers might possibly be studious when they were at leisure to recollect. Thus we made the first calculations, and set downe our thoughts to be consider'd and digested better, to shew his Ma^ty^ and the Archbishop. He also engag'd me to consider of what laws and orders were fit for ye government, which was to be in every respect as strict as in any religious convent.

After supper came in the famous treble Mr. Abel, newly return'd from Italy; I never heard a more excellent voice; one would have sworn it had ben a woman's, it was so high, and so well and skillfully manag'd, being accompanied by Signor Francesco on the harpsichord.

28. Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, shew'd me a large folio containing the whole mechanic part and art of building royal ships and men of warr, made by Sr Anth. Deane, being so accurate a piece from the very keele to ye lead block, rigging, gunns, victualling, manning, and even to every individual pin and naile, in a method so astonishing and curious, with the draught, both geometrical and in perspective, and severall sections, that I do not think the world can shew the like. I esteeme this booke as an extraordinary jewell.

7 Feb. My daughter Mary began to learn musick of Sign^r^ Bartholomeo, and dauncing of Monsr Isaac, reputed the best masters.

Having had several violent fits of an ague, recourse was had to bathing my legs in milk up to ye knees, made as hot as I could endure it; and sitting so in it in a deepe churn or vessell cover'd with blankets, and drinking carduus posset, then going to bed and sweating, I not

onely miss'd that expected fit, but had no more, only continued weake, that I could not go to church 'till Ash Wednesday, which I had not missed, I think, so long in twenty yeares, so gracious had God beene to me.

After this warning and admonition I now began to looke over and methodize all my writings, accompts, letters, papers; inventoried the goods, and other articles of the house, and put things into the best order I could, and made my will; that now growing in yeares, I might have none of these secular things and concerns to distract me when it should please Almighty God to call me from this transitory life. With this I prepar'd some special meditations and devotions for the time of sicknesse. The Lord Jesus grant them to be salutary for my poore soul in that day, that I may obtain mercy and acceptance!

1 March. My second grandchild was born, and christen'd the next day by our Viccar at Says Court, by ye name of John *. I beseeche God to bless him.

2. Ash Wednesday. I went to church; our Viccar preached on Proverbs, shewing what care and vigilance was required for the keeping of the heart upright. The holy Communion followed, on which I gave God thanks for his gracious dealing w^h^ me in my late sicknesse, and affording me this blessed opportunity of praising him in ye Congregation, and receiving the cup of salvation with new and serious resolutions.

Came to see and congratulate my recovery, Sr John Lowther, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Pepys, Sir Anth: Deane, and Mr. Hill.

10. This day was executed Coll. Vrats, and some of his accomplices, for the execrable murder of Mr. Thynn †, set on by the principal Konigsmark; he went to execution like an undaunted hero, as one that had done a friendly office for that base coward C. Koningsmark, who had hopes to marry his widow the rich Lady Ogle, and was acquitted by a corrupt jury, and so got away. Vrats told a friend of mine who

* Who became his successor, and was created a baronet in 1713.

† He lies buried in Westminster Abbey; the manner of his death being represented on his monument.

accompanied him to ye gallows, and gave him some advice, that he did not value dying of a rush, and hop'd and believ'd God would deale with him like a gentleman. Never man went so unconcern'd for his sad fate.

24. I went to see the corpse of that obstinate creature Coll. Vrats, ye King permitting that his body should be transported to his owne country, he being of a good family, and one of the first embalmed by a particular art invented by one Wm Russell, a coffin maker, which preserv'd the body without disbowelling, or to appearance using any bituminous matter. The flesh was florid, soft, and full, as if the person were onely sleeping. He had now ben dead neere 15 daies, and lay expos'd in a very rich coffin lin'd with lead, too magnificent for so daring and horrid a murderer.

At ye meeting of R. Society were exhibited some pieces of amber sent by ye Duke of Brandenburg, in one of wch was a spider, in another a gnat, both very intire. There was a discourse of ye tingeing of glass, especially with red, and ye difficulty of finding any red colour effectual to penetrate glass, among ye glass-painters; that ye most diaphonous, as blue, yellow, &c. did not enter into the substance of what was ordinarily painted, more than very shallow, unless incorporated in the mettal itselfe, other reds and whites not at all beyond ye superficies.

5 April. To ye R. Society, where at a Council was regulated what collections should be published monthly, as formerly the transactions, which had of late ben discontinu'd, but were now much call'd for by the curious abroad and at home.

12. I went this afternoone with severall of ye Royal Society to a supper wch was all dress'd, both fish and flesh, in Mr Papin's Digestors, by which the hardest bones of beefe itselfe, and mutton, were made as soft as cheese, without water or other liquor, and with lesse than 8 ounces of coales, producing an incredible quantity of gravy; and for close of all a jelly made of ye bones of beef, the best for clearness and good relish, and the most delicious that I had ever seene or tasted. We eat pike and other fish bones, and all without impediment; but nothing exceeded the pigeons, which tasted just as if bak'd in a pie, all these being stew'd in their own juice, without any addition of water

save what swam about the Digester, as *in balneo;* the natural juice of all these provisions acting on the grosser substances, reduc'd the hardest bones to tendernesse; but it is best descanted with more particulars for extracting tinctures, preserving and stewing fruite, and saving fuel, in Dr. Papin's booke, publish'd and dedicated to our Society, of which he is a member. He is since gone to Venice with the late Resident here (and also a member of our Society), who carried this excellent mechanic, philosopher, and physician, to set up a philosophical meeting in that citty. This philosophical supper caus'd much mirth amongst us, and exceedingly pleas'd all ye company. I sent a glass of ye jelley to my wife, to the reproch of all that the ladies ever made of the best hartshorn.

April. The season was unusually wet, with rain and thunder.

25 May. I was desir'd by Sir Ste. Fox and Sr Christ^r^ Wren to accompany them to Lambeth, with the plot and designe of the College to be built at Chelsey, to have the Abp.'s approbation. It was a quadrangle of 200 foote square after ye dimensions of the larger quadrangle at Christ Church, Oxford, for the accomodation of 440 persons, with governor and officers. This was agreed on.

The Duke and Dutchesse of York were just now come to London after his escape and shipwreck as he went by sea for Scotland.

28. At the Rolls Chapell preached the famous Dr. Burnet on 2 Peter i. 10. describing excellently well what was meant by Election; *viz.* not the effect of any irreversable decree, but so call'd because they embraced the Gospel readily, by which they became elect or precious to God. It would be very needlesse to make our calling and election sure, were they irreversable and what the rigid Presbyterians pretend. In the afternoone to St. Lawrence's church, a new and cheerful pile.

29. I gave notice to ye Bp. of Rochester of what Maimburg had publish'd about the motives of the late Dutchesse of York's perversion, in his Historie of Calvinism; and did myselfe write to the Bp. of Winchester * about it, who being concern'd in it, I urged him to set forth his vindication.

* Dr. Morley.

31. The Morocco Ambassador being admitted an honorary member of the R. Society, and subscribing his name and titles in Arabic, I was deputed by the Council to go and compliment him.

19 June. The Bantame*, or East India Ambass^rs (at this time we had in London ye Russian, Moroccan, and Indian Ambassadors,) being invited to dine at Lord Geo. Berkeley's (now Earl), I went to the entertainment to contemplate the exotic guests. They were both very hard-favour'd and much resembling in countenance some sort of monkeys. We eate at two tables, the Ambassadors and interpreter by themselves. Their garments were rich Indian silks, flower'd with gold, *viz.* a close wastcoate to their knees, drawers, naked legs, and on their heads capps made like fruit-baskets. They wore poison'd daggers at their bosoms, the hafts carv'd with some ugly serpents or devils heads, exceeding keene, and of Damasco metal. They wore no sword. The second Ambass^r (sent it seemes to succeed in case the first should die by ye way in so tedious a journey), having ben at Mecca, wore a Turkish or Arab shash, a little part of ye linnen hanging downe behinde his neck, with some other difference of habite, and was halfe a Negro, bare legg'd and naked feete, and deem'd a very holy man. They sate cross-legg'd like Turks, and sometimes in the posture of apes and monkeys; their nailes and teeth black as jet, and shining, which being the effect, as to their teeth, of perpetually chewing betel to preserve them from the tooth-ache, much raging in their country, is esteem'd beautifull. The first Ambass^r was of an olive hue, a flat face, narrow eyes, squat nose, and Moorish lips, no haire appear'd; they wore several rings of silver, gold, and copper on their fingers, which was a token of knighthood or nobility. They were of Java Major, whose Princes have ben turn'd Mahometans not above 50 yeares since, the inhabitants are still pagans and idolators. They seem'd of a dull and heavy constitution, not wondering at any thing they saw, but exceedingly astonished how our Law gave us propriety in our estates, and so

* The name of one was Pungearon Nia Para, of the other Kaia Nebbe, or Keay Nabee. There are different prints of both, representing them exactly as here described. There were others in the embassy, but probably of inferior degree.

thinking we were all Kings, for they could not be made to comprehend how subjects could possess any thing but at the pleasure of their Prince, they being all slaves; they were pleas'd with the notion, and admir'd our happinesse. They were very sober, and I believe subtle in their way. Their meate was cook'd, carried up, and they attended by several fat slaves, who had no covering save drawers, which appear'd very uncouth and loathsome. They eate their pilaw and other spoone-meate without spoones, taking up their pottage in the hollow of their fingers, and very dextrously flung it into their mouthes without spilling a drop.

17 July. Came to dine with me the Duke of Grafton and the young Earle of Ossorie, son to my most deare deceas'd friend.

30. Went to visit our good neighbour Mr. Bohun *, whose whole house is a cabinet of all elegancies, especially Indian; in the hall are contrivances of Japan skreens instead of wainscot; and there is an excellent pendule clock inclos'd in the curious flower-work of Mr. Gibbons in the middle of the vestibule. The landskips of the skreens represent the manner of living, and country of the Chinese. But above all, his lady's cabinet is adorn'd on the fret, cieling, and chimney-piece, with Mr. Gibbons's best carving. There are also some of Streeter's best paintings, and many rich curiosities of gold and silver as growing in the mines. The gardens are exactly kept, and the whole place very agreeable and well water'd. The owners are good neighbours, and Mr. Bohun has also built and endow'd an hospital for eight poor people, with a pretty chapell, and every necessarie accommodation.

1 Aug. To the Bp. of London at Fulham, to review ye additions wch Mr. Marshall had made to his curious booke of flowers in miniature, and collection of insects.

4. With Sr Stephen Fox, to survey the foundations of the Royal Hospital begun at Chelsey.

9. The Council of the R. Society had it recommended to them to be trustees and visitors, or supervisors, of the Academy which Monsr Faubert did hope to procure to be built by subscription of worthy gentlemen and noblemen, for the education of youth, and to lessen the vast

* This was at Lea. See Hasted's History of Kent, I. 67.

expence the Nation is at yearly by sending children into France to be taught military exercises. We thought good to give him all the encouragement our recommendation could procure.

15. Came to visite me Dr. Rogers, an acquaintance of mine long since at Padoa. He was then Consul of the English Nation, and student in that Universitie, where he proceeded Dr. in Physic; presenting me now with the Latine oration he lately made upon the famous Dr. Harvey's anniversarie in the Coll. of Physicians at London.

20. This night I saw another comet, neere Cancer, very bright, but the stream not so long as the forme.

29. Supp'd at Lord Clarendon's with Lord Hyde his brother, now the great favorite, who invited himselfe to dine at my house the Tuesday following.

30 Oct. Being my birth-day, and I now entering my greate climacterical of 63, after serious recollections of the yeares past, giving Almighty God thanks for all his mercifull preservations and forbearance, begging pardon for my sinns and unworthinesse, and his blessing and mercy on me the yeare entering, I went with my Lady Fox to survey her building, and give some directions for ye garden at Chiswick; the architect is Mr. May; somewhat heavy and thick, and not so well understood; the garden much too narrow, the place without water, neere an highway, and neere another greate house of my Lord Burlington, little land about it, so that I wonder at the expence; but women will have their will.

25. I was invited to dine with Mons. Lionberg, the Swedish Resident, who made a magnificent entertainment, it being the birth-day of his King. There dined the Duke of Albemarle, D. of Hamilton, Earle of Bathe, E. of Aylesbury, Lord Arran, Lord Castlehaven, the sonn of him who was executed 50 yeares before, and several greate persons. I was exceeding afraide of drinking (it being a Dutch feast), but the Duke of Albemarle being that night to waite on his Majestie, excesse was prohibited; and to prevent all, I stole away and left the company as soone as we rose from table.

28. I went to the Council of the Royal Society for ye auditing the last yeares accompt, where I was surpriz'd with a fainting fit that for

a time tooke away my sight, but God being mercifull to me, I recovered it after a short repose.

30 Nov. I was exceedingly indanger'd and importun'd to stand ye election [for President of ye R. S.] having so many voices, but by favor of my friends, and regard of my remote dwelling, and now frequent infirmities, I desir'd their suffrages might be transferr'd to Sir John Hoskins, one of the Masters of Chancery; a most learned virtuoso as well as lawyer, who accordingly was elected.

7 Dec. Went to congratulate Lord Hyde (ye great favorite), newly made Earle of Rochester *, and lately marrying his eldest daughter to the Earle of Ossorie.

18. I sold my East India adventure of 250*l.* principal for 750*l.* to the Royal Society, after I had been in that company 25 years, being extraordinary advantageous, by the blessing of God.

23 Jan. 1683. Sr Francis North, sonn to the Lord North, and Lord Cheife Justice, being made Lord Keeper on the death of the Earle of Nottingham, the Lord Chancellor, I went to congratulate him. He is a most knowing, learned, and ingenious man, and besides an excellent person, of an ingenuous and sweete disposition, very skillfull in music, painting, the new philosophy, and politer studies.

29. Supp'd at Sr Jos. Williamson's, where was a select companie of our Society, Sr Wm Petty, Dr. Gale (that learned schole-master of St. Paul's), Dr. Whistler, Mr. Hill, &c. The conversation was philosophicall and cherefull, on divers considerable questions proposed; as of the hereditary succession of the Roman Emperors; the Pica mentioned in the Preface to our Common Prayer, wch signifies onely the Greeke Kalendarium. These were mixed with lighter subjects.

2 Feb. I made my court at St. James's, when I saw the Sea Charts of Capt. Collins, which that industrious man now brought to shew the Duke, having taken all the coastings from the mouth of the Thames, as far as Wales, and exactly measuring every creeke, island, rock, soundings, harbors, sands, and tides, intending next Spring to proceed till he had finish'd the whole iland, and that measured by chains

* Laurence, second son of the Chancellor.

and other instruments. A most exact and usefull undertaking. He affirm'd, that of all the mapps put out since, there are none extant so true as those of Jo. Norden, who gave us the first in Qu. Elizabeth's time; all since him are erroneous.

12. This morning I receiv'd the newes of the death of my father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne, Knt. and Bart. who died at my house at Says Court this day at 10 in the morning, after he had labour'd under the gowt and dropsie for neere 6 moneths, in the 78th yeare of his age. The funerall was solemniz'd on the 19th at Deptford, with as much decency as the dignity of the person, and our relation to him, requir'd, There being invited the Bp. of Rochester, severall noblemen, knights, and all the fraternity of the Trinity Companie, of which he had ben Master, and others of the country. The Vicar preach'd a short but proper discourse on 39 Psalm. 10, on the frailty of our mortal condition, concluding with an ample and well-deserv'd eulogie on the defunct, relating to his honourable birth and ancestors, education, learning in Greeke and Latine, modern languages, travels, publiq employments, signal loyalty, character abroad, and particularly the honor of supporting the Church of England in its public worship during its persecution by the late Rebells usurpation and regicide, by the suffrages of divers Bishops, Doctors of the Church, and others, who found such an asylum in his house and family at Paris, that in their disputes with the Papists (then triumphing over it as utterly lost) they us'd to argue for its visibility and existence from Sir R. Browne's chapell and assembly there. Then he spake of his greate and loyal sufferings during 13 yeares exile with his present Matie, his returne with him in the signall yeare 1660; his hon^ble^ employment at home, his timely recesse to recollect himselfe, his greate age, infirmities, and death. He gave to the Trinity Corporation that land in Deptford on which are built those alms-houses for 24 widows of emerited seamen. He was borne the famous yeare of the Gunpowder Treason, in 1605, and being the last [male] of his family, left my wife, his onely daughter, heire. His grandfather Sir Richd Browne was the greate instrument under the greate Earl of Leicester (favorite to Queene Eliz.) in his government of the Netherlands. He was Master of the Household to King James, and Cofferer; I think

was the first who regulated the compositions thro' England for the King's household provisions, progresses*, &c. which was so high a service, and so gratefull to the whole nation, that he had acknowledgments and publiq thanks sent him from all the Counties; he died by the rupture of a veine in a vehement speech he made about the compositions in a Parliament of King James. By his mother's side he was à Gunson, Treasurer of the Navy in ye reignes of Hen. 8, Qu. Mary, and Qu. Eliz., and as by his large pedigree appeares, related to divers of the English nobility. Thus ended this honorable person, after so many changes and tossings to and fro, in the same house where he was borne. "Lord teach us so to number our days that we may apply our hearts to wisdom!"

By a special clause in his will he order'd that his body should be buried in the Church-yard under the South East window of the Chancel, adjoining to ye burying places of his ancestors, since they came out of Essex to Says Court, he being much offended at the novel costome of burying every one within the body of ye Church and Chancel, that being a favour heretofore granted only to martyrs and greate persons; this excesse of making Churches Charnel-houses being of ill and irreverend example, and prejudicial to the health of the living, besides the continual disturbance of the pavement and seates, and severall other indecencies. Dr. Hall, ye pious Bishop of Norwich, would also be so interr'd †, as may be read in his Testament.

16 March. I went to see Sr Josiah Child's prodigious cost in planting walnut trees about his seate ‡, and making fish-ponds, many miles in circuit, in Epping Forest, in a barren spot, as oftentimes these suddainly monied men for the most part seate themselves. He, from a merchant's apprentice, and management of the East India Company's stock, being ariv'd to an estate ('tis said) of £.200,000; and lately

* The different Counties were to find provisions of different sorts, which were collected by officers called purveyors, whose extortions often excited the attention of Parliament. For a particular account of their practices, see Archæologia, vol. III. p. 349.

† As was afterwards, at Fulham, Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, who used to say "The Church-yard for the dead, the Church for the living."

‡ Where that elegant mansion, Wanstead House, now stands.

married his daughter to the eldest sonn of the Duke of Beaufort, late Marques of Worcester, with £.50,000 portional present, and various expectations.

I din'd at Mr. Houblon's*, a rich and gentile French merchant, who was building a house in the Forest, neare Sir J. Child's, in a place where ye late Earle of Norwich dwelt some time, and which came from his lady the widow of Mr. Baker. It will be a pretty villa, about 5 miles from White-chapell.

18 March. I went to hear Dr. Horneck preach at the Savoy Church on 2 Phil. 5. He was a German borne, a most pathetic preacher, a person of a Saint-like life, and hath written an excellent treatise of Consideration †.

20. Din'd at Dr. Whistler's at the Physicians Colledge, with Sir Tho. Millington, both learned men; Dr. W. the most facetious man in nature, and now Censor of the College. I was here consulted where they should build their library; 'tis pity this Colledge is built so neere New-gate Prison, and in so obscure an hole, a fault in placeing most of our publiq buildings and Churches in the Citty, thro' the avarice of some few men, and his Maty not over-ruling it when it was in his power after the dreadfull conflagration.

21. Dr. Tenison preach'd at White-hall on 1 Cor. 6. 12; I esteeme him to be one of the most profitable preachers in the Church of England, being also of a most holy conversation, very learned and ingenious. The paines he takes and care of his parish will, I feare, weare him out, which would be an inexpressible losse ‡.

24. I went to heare Dr. Charleton's lecture on the heart in the Anatomie Theater at the Physicians Colledge.

30. I went to London in order to my passing the following weeke, for ye celebration of ye Easter now approaching, there being in the

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* The family were eminent merchants in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Morant's Essex, II. 513.

† The full title is, "The great Law of Consideration, or a Discourse wherein the nature, usefulness, and absolute necessity of Consideration, in order to a truly serious and religious life, are laid open;" it went through several editions.

‡ Dr. Thomas Tenison succeeded Tillotson in the metropolitical see of Canterbury, having been before Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields and Bishop of Lincoln. He lived to a great age.

Holy Weeke so many eminent preachers officiating at the Court and other places.

6 April. Good Friday. There was in the afternoone, according to costome, a Sermon before the King at White-hall; Dr. Sprat preached for the Bp. of Rochester.

17. I was at the launching of the last of the 30 ships order'd to be new built by Act of Parliament, named The Neptune, a second rate, one of the goodliest vessells of the whole navy, built by my kind neighbour young Mr. Shish, his Ma^tys^ master shipwright of this dock.

1 May. I went to Blackheath to see the new faire, being the first, procur'd by the Lord Dartmouth. This was the first day, pretended for the sale of cattle, but I think in truth to enrich the new tavern at the bowling greene, erected by Snape *, his Ma^ty's^ farrier, a man full of projects. There appeared nothing but an innumerable assembly of drinking people from London, pedlars, &c. and I suppose it too neere London to be of any greate use to the country.

March was unusually hot and dry, and all April excessively wet.

I planted all the out limites of the garden and long walks with holly †.

9. Din'd at Sr Gabriel Sylvius's, and thence to visite ye Duke of Norfolck, to ask whether he would part with any of his Cartoons and other drawings of Raphael and ye greate masters; he told me if he might sell them altogether, he would, but that the late Sr Peter Lely (our famous painter) had gotten some of his best. The person who desired me to treate for them was Vander Douse, grandson to that greate scholar, contemporary and friend of Joseph Scaliger.

16. Came to dinner and visite Sir Richard Anderson of Pendley and his Lady, with whom I went to London.

June 8. On my return home from the R. Society, I found Mr Wilbraham, a young gent. of Cheshire.

11. The Lord Dartmouth was elected Master of the Trinity House; sonn to Geo. Legg, late Master of the Ordnance, and one of the

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* Mr. Granger mentions a print of this person by White, and says he was father of Dr. Snape of Eton: one of this family has been serjeant-farrier to the King for three hundred years.

† 400 feet in length, 9 feet high, 5 in diameter, in my now ruined garden, thanks to the Czar of Muscovy. Sylva, book II. chap. vi.

groomes of the bedchamber; a greate favorite of the Duke's, an active and understanding gent^n^ in sea affairs.

13. To our Society, where we received the Count de Zinzendorp, Ambassador from the Duke of Saxonie, a very fine young man: we shew'd him divers experiments on the magnet, on wch subject the Society were upon.

16. I went to Windsor, dining by the way at Chesewick (Chiswick), at Sr Stephen Fox's, where I found Sir Robert Howard (that universal pretender), and Sign^r^ Verrio, who brought his draught and designs for the painting of ye staire-case of Sr Stephen's new house.

That which was new at Windsor since I was last there, and was surprizing to me, was that incomparable fresca painting in St. George's Hall, representing the legend of St. George, and triumph of the Black Prince, and his reception by Edw. III.; the volto, or roofe, not totally finish'd; then the *Resurrection* in the Chapell, where the figure of the Ascension is in my opinion comparable to any paintings of the most famous Roman masters; the *Last Supper* also over the altar. I liked the contrivance of the unseene organ behind the altar, nor lesse the stupendous and beyond all description the incomparable carving of our Gibbons, who is, without controversie, the greatest master both for invention and rarenesse of worke, that the world ever had in any age; nor doubt I at all that he will prove as greate a master in the statuary art.

Verrio's invention is admirable, his ord'nance full and flowing, antiq and heroical; his figures move; and if the walls hold (which is ye onely doubt by reason of the salts which in time and in this moist climate prejudice) the work will preserve his name to ages.

There was now the terrace brought almost round the old Castle; the grass made cleane, even, and curiously turf'd; the avenues to the new park, and other walkes, planted with elmes and limes, and a pretty canal, and receptacle for fowle; nor lesse observable and famous is the throwing so huge a quantity of excellent water to the enormous height of the Castle, for the use of the whole house, by an extraordinary invention of Sr Samuel Morland *.

* See of him p. 536, &c.

17 June. I din'd at ye Earle of Sunderland's with the Earles of Bath, Castlehaven, L^ds^ Vis^ts^. Falconberg, Faulkland, Bp. of London, the Grand Master of Malta, brother to the Duke de Vendosme, (a young wild spark,) and Mr. Dryden the Poet. After evening prayer I walk'd in the park with my Lord Clarendon, where we fell into discourse of the Bp. of Salisbury (Dr. Seth Ward), his subtilty, &c. Dr. Durell, late Deane of Windsor, being dead, Dr. Turner, one of the Duke's Chaplains, was made Deane.

I visited my Lady Arlington, Groome of the Stole to her Ma^ty^, who being hardly set down to supper, word was brought her that the Queene was going into the park to walke, it being now neere eleven at night; the alarm caus'd the Countesse to rise in all haste, and leave her supper to us. By this one may take an estimate of the extream slavery and subjection that courtiers live in, who have not time to eate and drinke at their pleasure. It put me in mind of Horace's Mouse, and to blesse God for my owne private condition.

Here was Monsr de l'Angle, the famous minister of Charenton, lately fled from the persecution in France, concerning ye deplorable condition of the Protestants there.

18. I was present, and saw and heard the humble submission and petition of the Lord Maior, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, on behalf of the Citty of London, on the *quo warranto* against their charter, which they deliver'd to his Ma^ty^ in the Presence-chamber. It was deliver'd kneeling, and then the King and Council went into the Council-chamber, the Maior and his brethren attending still in the Presence-chamber. After a short space they were called in, and my Lord Keeper made a speech to them, exaggerating the disorderly and riotous behaviour in the late election, and polling for Papillon and Du Bois after the Common-hall had ben formally dissolv'd; with other misdemeanors, libells on the Government, &c. by which they had incurr'd his Ma^tys^ high displeasure; and that but for this submission, and under such articles as the King should require their obedience to, he would certainly enter judgment against them, which hitherto he had suspended. The things requir'd were as follows: that they should

neither elect Maior, Sheriff, Aldermen, Recorder, Common Serjeant, Towne Cleark, Coroner, or Steward of Southwark, without his Maty's approbation; and that if they presented any his Maty did not like, they should proceed in wonted manner to a second choice; if that was disapprov'd, his Maty to nominate them; and if within five daies they thought good to assent to this, all former miscarriages should be forgotten. And so they tamely parted with their so ancient privileges after they had dined and ben treated by the King. This was a signal and most remarkable period. What the consequences will prove, time will shew. Divers of the old and most learned lawyers and judges were of opinion that they could not forfeit their charter, but might be personally punish'd for their misdemeanors; but the plurality of the younger judges and rising men judg'd it otherwise.

The Popish Plot also, which had hitherto made such a noise, began now sensibly to dwindle, thro' the folly, knavery, impudence, and giddiness of Oates, so as the Papists began to hold up their heads higher than ever, and those who had fled, flock'd to London from abroad. Such suddaine changes and eager doings there had ben, without any thing steady or prudent for these last seaven yeares.

19 June. I return'd to towne in a coach with the Earle of Clarendon, when passing by the glorious palace his father built but few yeares before, which they were now demolishing, being sold to certaine undertakers, I turn'd my head the contrary way till the coach was gone past it, least I might minister occasion of speaking of it, which must needs have griev'd him, that in so short a time their pomp was fallen.

28. After the Popish Plot there was now a new, and (as they call'd it) a Protestant Plot discover'd, that certaine Lords and others should designe the assassination of the King and the Duke as they were to come from New-market, with a general rising of ye Nation, and especialy of the Citty of London, disaffected to the present Government; upon which were committed to the Tower the Lord Russell, eldest son of the Earle of Bedford, the Earle of Essex, Mr. Algernon Sydney son to the old Earle of Leicester, Mr. Trenchard, Hampden, Lord Howard of Escrick, and others. A proclamation was issued against my Lord

Grey, the Duke of Monmouth, Sr Tho. Armstrong, and one Ferguson, who had escaped beyond sea; of these some were said to be for killing the King, others for onely seizing on him and persuading him to new counsels, on the pretence of the danger of Popery should the Duke live to succeed, who was now again admitted to the councils and cabinet seacrets. The Lords Essex and Russell were much deplor'd, few believing they had any evil intention against the King or the Church; some thought they were cunningly drawn in by their enemies for not approving some late councils and management relating to France, to Popery, to the persecution of the Dissenters, &c. They were discovered by the Lord Howard of Escrick and some false brethren of the club, and the designe happily broken; had it taken effect, it would, to all appearance, have expos'd the Government to unknowne and dangerous events, which God avert!

28. Was borne my grand-daughter at Says Court, and christned by the name of Martha Maria, our Viccar officiating. I pray God blesse her, and may she choose the better part.

13 July. As I was visiting Sr Tho. Yarbrow and his Lady in Covent Garden, the astonishing newes was brought to us of the Earle of Essex having cut his throat, having ben but three days a prisoner in the Tower, and this happening on the very day and instant that Lord Russell was on his trial, and had sentence of death. This accident exceedingly amaz'd me, my Lord Essex being so well known by me to be a person of such sober and religious deportment, so well at his ease, and so much oblig'd to the King. It is certaine the King and Duke were at the Tower, and pass'd by his window about the same time this morning, when my Lord asking for a rasor shut himselfe into a closet and perpetrated the horrid act. Yet it was wondred by some how it was possible he should do it in the manner he was found, for the wound was so deepe and wide, that being cut thro' the gullet, wind-pipe, and both the jugulars, it reach'd to the very vertebræ of ye neck, so that the head held to it by a very little skin as it were; ye gapping too of ye rasor, and cutting his owne fingers, was a little strange; but more, that having pass'd the jugulars he should have

strength to proceed so far, that an executioner could hardly have don more with an axe. There were odd reflections upon it *.

This fatal newes coming to Hicks's Hall upon the article of my Lord Russell's trial, was said to have had no little influence on the Jury and all the Bench to his prejudice. Others said that he had himselfe on some occasions hinted, that in case he should be in danger of having his life taken from him by any publiq misfortune, those who thirsted for his estate should misse of their aim; and that he should speak favourably of that Earle of Northumberland †, and some others who made away with themselves; but these are discourses so unlike his sober and prudent conversation, that I have no inclination to credit them. What might instigate him to this devilish fact, I am not able to conjecture. My Lord Clarendon, his brother-in-law, who was with him but the day before, assur'd me he was therr very cherefull, and declar'd it to be the effect of his innocence and loyalty; and most believe that his Maty had no severe intentions against him, tho' he was altogether inexorable as to Lord Russell, and some of the rest. For my part, I believe the crafty and ambitious Earle of Shaftesbury had brought them into some dislike of the present carriage of matters at Court, not with any designe of destroying the Monarchy (which Shaftesbury has in confidence and for unanswerable reasons told me he would support to his last breath, as having seene and felt the miserie of being under mechanic tyranny), but perhaps of setting up some other whom he might governe, and frame to his own Platonic fancie, without much regard to the religion establish'd under the Hierarchie, for which he had no esteeme; but when he perceiv'd those whom he had engag'd to rise, fail of his expectations, and the day past, reproching his complices that a second day for an exploit of this nature was never successfull, he gave them the slip, and got into Holland, where the fox died, three moneths before these unhappy Lords and others were discover'd or suspected. Every one deplor'd Essex and Russell,

* Bishop Burnet, after making every enquiry by desire of the Countess, does not believe that Essex was murdered. Own Times, vol. I. p. 569.

† Henry Percy, eighth Earl of Northumberland, shot himself in the Tower, to which he had been committed on a charge of high treason in June 1585.

especialy the last, as being thought to have ben drawn in on pretence only of endeavouring to rescue the King from his present councellors, and secure Religion from Popery, and the Nation from arbitrary Government, now so much apprehended; whilst the rest of those who were fled, especialy Ferguson and his gang, had doubtlesse some bloudy designe, to set up a Commonwealth, and turn all things topsy turvy. Of the same tragical principles is Sidney.

13. I had this day much discourse with Monsr Pontaq, son to ye famous and wise prime President of Bourdeaux.* This gentleman was owner of that excellent vignoble of Pontaq and Obrien, from whence come the choicest of our Bourdeaux wines; and I think I may truly say of him, what was not so truly said of St. Paul, that much learning had made him mad. He had studied well in philosophie, but cheifly the rabbines, and was exceedingly addicted to cabalistical fancies, an eternal hablador [babbler], and halfe distracted by reading aboundance of the extravagant Eastern Jewes. He spake all languages, was very rich, had a handsome person, and was well bred, about 45 yeares of age.

14 July. I visited Mr. Fraser, a learned Scots gentn, whom I had formerly recommended to Lord Berkeley for the instruction and government of his sonn, since dead at sea. He had now ben in Holland at the sale of ye learned Heinsius's library, and shewed me some very rare and curious bookes, and some MSS. which he had purchas'd to good value. There were three or foure Herbals in miniature, accurately don, divers Roman antiquities, of Verona, and very many books of Aldus's impression.

15. A stranger, an old man, preach'd on 6 Jerem. 8: the not hearkening to instruction, portentous of desolation to a people; much after Bp. Andrews's method, full of logical divisions, in short and broken periods, and Latine sentences, now quite out of fashion in the pulpit, which is grown into a far more profitable way, of plaine and practical discourses, of which sort this Nation, or any other, never had greater plenty or more profitable (I am confident); so much has it to answer for thriving no better on it.

The public was now in greate consternation on the late plot and conspiracy; his Majestie very melancholy, & not stirring without double guards; all the avenues and private dores about White-hall and the Park shut up, few admitted to walke in it. The Papists in the meane time very jocond, and indeede with reason, seeing their own plot brought to nothing, and turn'd to ridicule, and now a conspiracy of Protestants as they call'd them.

The Turks were likewise in hostility against the German Emperor, almost masters of the Upper Hungary, and drawing towards Vienna. On the other side the French King (who 'tis believ'd brought in the infidels) disturbing his Spanish and Dutch neighbours, having swallow'd up almost all Flanders, pursuing his ambition of a fifth universal monarchy; and all this blood and disorder in Christendom had evidently its rise from our defections at home, in a wanton peace, minding nothing but luxurie, ambition, and to procure money for our vices. To this add our irreligion and atheism, greate ingratitude, and selfe interest; the apostacy of some, and the suffering the French to grow so greate, and the Hollanders so weake. In a word, we were wanton, madd, and surfeiting with prosperity; every moment unsettling the old foundations, and never constant to any thing. The Lord in mercy avert the sad omen, and that we do not provoke him till he beare it no longer!

This summer did we suffer 20 French men of war to passe our Channell towards the Sound, to help the Danes against the Swedes who had abandon'd the French interest; we not having ready sufficient to guard our coasts or take cognizance of what they did; tho' the nation never had more, or a better navy, yet the sea never had so slender a fleete.

19 July. George Prince of Denmark, who landed this day, came to marry the Lady Anne, daughter to the Duke: so I returned home, having seene the young gallant at dinner at White-hall.

20. Severall of the Conspirators of ye lower forme were executed at Tyburn; and the next day,

21. Lord Russell was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the executioner giving him three butcherly strokes. The speech he made,

and paper which he gave the Sheriff declaring his innocence, the noblenesse of the family, the piety and worthynesse of ye unhappy gentleman, wrought much pity, and occasion'd various discourses on the plot.

25. I againe saw Prince George of Denmark: he had the Danish countenance, blonde, of few words, spake French but ill, seem'd somewhat heavy, but reported to be valiant, and indeede he had bravely rescu'd and brought off his brother the K. of Denmark in a battaile against the Swedes, when both those Kings were engag'd very smartly.

28. He was married to the Lady Anne at White-hall. Her Court and Household to be modell'd as the Duke's, her father, had ben, and they to continue in England.

1 Aug. Came to see me Mr. Flamsted, the famous astronomer, from his Observatorie at Greenewich, to draw the meridian for my pendule, &c.

2. The Countesses of Bristol and Sunderland, aunt and cousin german of the late Lord Russell, came to visite me, and condole his sad fate. The next day came Col. Russell, uncle to the late Lord Russell, and brother to the Earle of Bedford, and with him Mrs. Middleton, that famous and indeede incomparable beauty, daughter to my relation Sr Robt Needham.

19. I went to Bromely to visite our Bishop, and excellent neighbour, & to congratulate his now being made Archbishop of Yorke. On the 28th he came to take his leave of us, now preparing for his journey and residence in his province.

28. My sweete little grandchild Martha Maria died, and on the 29th was buried in the parish church.

2 Sept. This morning was read in the Church, after the office was done, the declaration setting forth the late conspiracy against the King's person.

3. I went to see what had ben done by the Duke of Beaufort on his late purchas'd house at Chelsey, which I once had the selling of for the Countesse of Bristol; he had made greate alterations, but might have built a better house with the materials and the cost he had been at.

Saw ye Countesse of Monte Feltre, whose husband I had formerly known; he was a subject of the Pope's, but becoming a Protestant, he resided in England, and married into the family of the Savilles of Yorkshire. The Count, her late husband, was a very learned gent: a greate politician, and a goodly man. She was accompanied by her sister exceedingly skill'd in painting, nor did they spare for colour on their owne faces. They had a greate deal of wit.

9. It being the day of publiq thanksgiving for his Maty's late preservation, the former declaration was againe read, and there was an office us'd, compos'd for the occasion. A loyal Sermon was preached on ye divine right of Kings, from 144 Psalm 10. "Thou hast preserved David from the peril of the sword."

15. Came to visite me the learned anatomist Dr. Tyson, with some other Fellows of our Society.

16. At the elegant villa and garden of Mr. Bohun's at Lee. He shewed me the zinnar tree or platanus, and told me that since they had planted this kind of tree about the Citty of Ispahan in Persia, the plague, wch formerly much infested the place, had exceedingly abated of its mortal effects, and render'd it very healthy.

18. I went to London to visite ye Dutchesse of Grafton, now greate with child, a most virtuous and beautifull lady. Dining with her at my Lord Chamberlaine's, met my Lord of St. Alban's, now grown so blind that he could not see to take his meate. He has liv'd a most easy life, in plenty even abroad, whilst his Maty was a sufferer; he has lost immense sums at play, which yet, at about 80 yeares old, he continues, having one that sits by him to name the spots in the cards. He eate and drank with extraordinary appetite. He is a prudent old courtier, and much enrich'd since his Maty's returne.

After dinner I walked to survey the sad demolition of Clarendon House, that costly and only sumptuous palace of the late Lord Chancellor Hyde, where I have often ben so cheerfull with him, and sometimes so sad: happening to make him a visite but the day before he fled from the angry Parliament, accusing him of mal-administration, and being envious at his grandeur, who from a private lawyer came to be father in law to the Duke of York, and as some would suggest, design-

ing his Ma^ty's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, not apt to breed; to this they imputed much of our unhappiness, and that he being sole minister and favorite at his Majesty's Restauration, neglected to gratify the King's suffering party, preferring those who were the cause of our troubles. But perhaps as many of these things were injuriously laid to his charge, so he kept the government far steadier than it has prov'd since. I could name some who I think contributed greately to his ruin, the buffoones and the *misses*, to whom he was an eye-sore. 'Tis true he was of a jolly temper after the old English fashion; but France had now the ascendant, and we were become quite another nation. The Chancellor gone, and dying in exile, the Earl his successor sold that which cost £50,000. building, to the young Duke of Albemarle for £25,000. to pay debts which how contracted remains yet a mystery, his sonn being no way a prodigal. Some imagine the Dutchesse his daughter had ben chargeable to him. However it were, this stately palace is decreed to ruine, to support the prodigious waste the Duke of Albemarle had made of his estate since the old man died. He sold it to the highest bidder, and it fell to certaine rich bankers and mechanics, who gave for it and the ground about it £35,000.; they designe a new towne as it were, and a most magnificent piazza (i. e. square.) 'Tis said they have already materials towards it with what they sold of the house alone, more worth than what they paid for it. See the vicissitude of earthly things! I was astonished at this demolition, nor less at the little army of labourers and artificers levelling the ground, laying foundations, and contriving greate buildings at an expence of £200,000. if they perfect their designe*.

* In a letter to Lord Cornbury, dated Says Court, 20 Jan. 1665-6, Mr. Evelyn having been to see Clarendon House, says, "I went with prejudice and a critical spirit, incident to those who fancy they know any thing in art; I acknowledge that I have never seene a nobler pile. My old friend and fellow traveller (inhabitants and co-temporaries at Rome) has perfectly acquitted himself. It is, without hyperbole, the best contrived, the most usefull, gracefull, and magnificent house in England; I except not Audley End, which, though larger and full of gaudy barbarous ornaments, dos not gratifie judicious spectators. Here is state and use, solidity and beauty, most symetrically combined together. Nothing abroad pleases me better, nothing at home approches it. I have no designe to gratifie the architect beyond what I am obliged as a professed honorer of virtue wheresoever 'tis conspicuous; but when I had seriously contemplated every roome (for I went

19. In my walkes I stepp'd into a goldbeaters work-house, where he shew'd me the wonderfull ductilitie of that spreading and oylie metall. He said it must be finer than the standard, such as was old angel gold, and that of such he had once to ye value of £100. stamp'd with the *agnus dei;* and coyn'd at the time of the holy war, which had ben found in a ruin'd wall somewhere in the North, neere to Scotland, some of which he beate into leaves, and the rest sold to ye curiosi in antiquities and medails.

23 Sept. We had now ye welcome tidings of the King of Poland raising the siege of Vienna, which had given terror to all Europe, and utmost reproch to ye French, who 'tis believ'd brought in the Turks for diversion that the French King might the more easily swallow Flanders, and pursue his unjust conquests on the Empire, whilst we sat unconcern'd and under a deadly charm from somebody.

There was this day a collection for rebuilding New-market, consum'd by an accidental fire, which removing his Ma^ty^ thence sooner than was intended, put by the assassinates, who were disappointed of their rendezvous and expectation by a wonderfull providence. This made the King more earnest to render Winchester the seate of his autumnal field diversions for the future, designing a palace there, where ye antient castle stood; infinitely indeede preferable to New-market for prospects, air, pleasure, and provisions. The surveior has already begun the foundation for a palace, estimated to cost £.35,000, and his Majesty is purchasing ground about it to make a parke, &c.

4 Oct. I went to London, on receiving a note from the Countesse of Arlington, of some considerable charge or advantage I might obtaine by applying myselfe to his Ma^ty^ on this signal conjuncture of his Majesty entering up judgment against the City Charter; the proposal made me I wholly declin'd, not being well satisfied with these violent transactions, and not a little sorry that his Ma^ty^ was so often put upon things of this nature against so greate a Citty, the consequences whereoff

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into 'em all, from the cellar to the platforme on the roofe), seene how well and judiciously the walls were erected, the arches cut and turn'd, the timber brac'd, their scantlings and contignations dispos'd, I was most highly satisfied, and do acknowledge myselfe to have much improv'd by what I observ'd."

may be so much to his prejudice; so I return'd home. At this time the Lord Cheif Justice Pemberton was displaced. He was held to be the most learned of the judges, and an honest man.. Sr Geo. Jefferies was advanc'd, reputed to be most ignorant, but most daring. Sr Geo. Treby, Recorder of London, was also put by, and one Genner, an obscure lawyer, set in his place. Eight of the richest and cheife aldermen were remov'd, and all the rest made onely justices of the peace, and no more wearing of gownes or chaines of gold. The Lord Mayor and two Sheriffs holding their places by new grants, as *Custodes*, at the King's pleasure. The pompe and grandure of the most august Citty in the world thus chang'd face in a moment, which gave greate occasion of discourse and thoughts of hearts, what all this would end in. Prudent men were for the old foundations.

Following his Ma^ty^ this morning thro' the gallerie, I went, with the few who attended him, into the Dutchesse of Portsmouth's *dressing-roome* within her bed-chamber, where she was in her morning loose garment, her maids combing her, newly out of her bed, his Ma^ty^ and the gallants standing about her; but that which engag'd my curiosity was the rich and splendid furniture of this woman's apartment, now twice or thrice pull'd down and rebuilt to satisfie her prodigal and expensive pleasures, whilst her Ma^tys^ dos not exceede some gentlemen's ladies in furniture and accommodation. Here I saw the new fabriq of French tapissry, for designe, tendernesse of worke, and incomparable imitation of the best paintings, beyond any thing I had ever beheld. Some pieces had Versailles, St. German's, and other palaces of the French King, with huntings, figures, and landskips, exotiq fowls, and all to the life rarely don. Then for Japan cabinets, screenes, pendule clocks, greate vases of wrought plate, tables, stands, chimney furniture, sconces, branches, braseras, &c. all of massie silver, and out of number; besides some of her Ma^tys^ best paintings.

Surfeiting of this, I din'd at Sr Stephen Fox's, and went contented home to my poor, but quiet villa. What contentment can there be in the riches and splendor of this world, purchas'd with vice and dishonour!

10 Oct. Visited the Dutchesse of Grafton, not yet brought to bed, and dining with my Lord Chamberlaine (her father), went with them to see Montagu House*, a palace lately built by Lord Montagu, who had married ye most beautifull Countesse of Northumberland†. It is a stately and ample palace. Sign^r^ Verrio's fresca paintings, especialy the funeral pile of Dido, on ye stayrecase, the labours of Hercules, fight with the Centaurs, effeminacy with Dejanira, and Apotheosis or reception amongst the gods, on ye walls and roofe of the greate roome above, I think exceedes any thing he has yet don, both for designe, colouring, and exuberance of invention, comparable to ye greatest of the old masters, or what they so celebrate at Rome. In the rest of the chamber are some excellent paintings of Holbein and other masters. The garden is large, and in good aire, but the fronts of the house not answerable to the inside. The Court at entrie, and wings for offices seeme too neere the streete, and that so very narrow and meanely built that the corridore is not in proportion to ye rest, to hide the court from being overlook'd by neighbours, all which might have ben prevented had they plac'd the house further into ye ground, of which there was enough to spare. But on the whole it is a fine palace, built after the French pavilion way, by Mr. Hooke, the Curator of the Royal Society. There were with us my Lady Scroope, the greate witt, and Monsr Chardine‡, the celebrated traveller.

13. Came to visite me my old and worthy friend Mr. Packer, bringing with him his nephew Berkeley, grandson to the honest judge. A most ingenious, virtuous, and religious gent^n^, seated neere Worcester, and very curious in gardening.

17 Oct. I was at the court leet of this manor, my Lord Arlington his Ma^ty's^ High Steward §.

26. Came to visite and dine with me, Mr. Brisbane, Secretary to the Admiralty, a learned and agreeable man.

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* See p. 513.

† He was made Earl of Montagu by King William, and Duke by Queen Anne. His wife was Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley Earl of Southampton, widow of Joceline Percy, the 11th and last Earl of Northumberland (of that family).

‡ See p. 567. § The manor of Deptford le Strond, alias West Greenwich.

30. I went to Kew to visite Sr Hen. Capell, brother to the late Earle of Essex; but he being gone to Cashioberry, after I had seene his garden * and the alterations therein, I return'd home. He had repair'd his house, roof'd his hall with a kind of cupola, and in a niche was an artificial fountaine; but the roome seems to me over melancholy, yet might be much improv'd by having the walls well painted *a fresca*. The two greene houses for oranges and mirtles communicating with the roomes below, are very well contriv'd †. There is a cupola made with pole-work betweene two elmes at the end of a walk, which being cover'd by plashing the trees to them, is very pretty: for the rest there are too many fir trees in the garden.

17 Nov. I tooke a house in Villiers Streete, York Buildings, for the winter, having many important concernes to dispatch, and for the education of my daughters.

23. The Duke of Monmouth, till now proclaim'd traytor on the pretended plot for which Lord Russell was lately beheaded, came this evening to White-hall and render'd himselfe, on which were various discourses.

26. I went to compliment the Dutchesse of Grafton, now laying-in of her first child, a sonn ‡, which she call'd for, that I might see it. She was become more beautiful, if it were possible, than before, and full of vertue and sweetnesse. She discours'd with me of many particulars, with greate prudence and gravity beyond her yeares.

29. Mr. Forbes shew'd me the plot of the garden making at Burleigh, at my Lord Exeter's, which I look'd on as one of the most noble that I had seene.

The whole court and towne in solemn mourning for the death of the K. of Portugal, her Maties brother.

30. At the anniversary dinner of the Royal Society the King sent us two does. Sr Cyril Wych was elected President.

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* Archæologia, vol. XII. p. 185.

† Of late years this plan has been adopted at many gentlemen's houses. (1816.)

‡ Charles, who succeeded his father killed in Ireland in 1690. This son was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Chamberlain, Privy Counsellor, K. G. &c. in the reigns of Anne, George I. and George II. There is a fine whole-length mezzotinto of him by Faber.

5 Dec. I was this day invited to a wedding of one Mrs. Castle, to whom I had some obligation, and it was to her fifth husband, a Lieut Colonel of the Citty. She was the daughter of one Burton, a broom-man, by his wife who sold kitchen stuff in Kent Streete, whom God so bless'd that the father became a very rich, and was a very honest man; he was Sheriff of Surrey*, where I have sat on the bench with him. Another of his daughters was married to Sir John Bowles; and this daughter was a jolly friendly woman. There was at the wedding ye Lord Maior, the Sheriff, several Aldermen, and persons of qualitie; above all; Sr Geo. Jefferies, newly made Lord Cheife Justice of England, with Mr. Justice Withings, daunc'd with the bride and were exceeding merrie. These greate men spent the rest of the afternoone, till 11 at night, in drinking healths, taking tobacco, and talking much beneath the gravity of Judges that had but a day or two before condemn'd Mr. Algernon Sidney, who was executed the 7th on Tower Hill, on the single witnesse of that monster of a man, Lord Howard of Escrick, and some sheets of paper taken in Mr. Sidney's study, pretended to be written by him, but not fully prov'd, nor the time when, but appearing to have ben written before his Majesty's restauration, and then pardon'd by the act of oblivion; so that tho' Mr. Sidney was known to be a person obstinately averse to government by a monarch (the subject of the paper was in answer to one of Sr E. Filmer), yet it was thought he had very hard measure. There is this yet observable, that he had ben an inveterate enemie to the last King, and in actual rebellion against him; a man of greate courage, greate sense, greate parts, which he shew'd both at his trial and death; for when he came on the scaffold, instead of a speech, he told them onely that he had made his peace with God, that he came not thither to talk, but to die; put a paper into the Sheriff's hand, and another into a friend's, sayd one prayer as short as a grace, laid down his neck, and bid the executioner do his office.

The Duke of Monmouth, now having his pardon, refuses to acknowledge there was any treasonable plot; for which he is banish'd White-

* In 1673.

hall. This was a greate disappointment to some who had prosecuted Trenchard, Hampden, &c. that for want of a second witnesse were come out of the Tower upon their habeas corpus.

The King had now augmented his guards with a new sort of dragoons, who carried also granados, and were habited after the Polish manner, with long picked caps, very fierce and fantastical.

7. I went to the Tower, and visited the Earl of Danby, the late Lord High Treasurer, who had ben imprison'd four years: he receiv'd me with greate kindnesse. I dined with him, and staied till night. We had discourse of many things, his Lady railing sufficiently at the keeping her husband so long in prison. Here I saluted the Lord Dunblaine's wife*, who before had ben married to Emerton, and about whom there was that scandalous businesse before ye delegates.

23. The small pox very prevalent and mortal; the Thames frozen.

26. I dined at Lord Clarendon's, where I was to meet that ingenious and learned gent^n^ Sr Geo. Wheeler, who has published the excellent description of Africa and Greece, and who being a Knight of a very fair estate and young, had now newly entred into holy orders.

27. I went to visite Sir John Chardin, a French gentleman who had travell'd three times by land into Persia, and had made many curious researches in his travells, of which he was now setting forth a relation. It being in England this year one of the severest frosts that had happen'd of many yeares, he told me the cold in Persia was much greater, the ice of an incredible thicknesse; that they had little use of iron in all that country, it being so moiste (tho' the aire admirably clear and healthy), that oyle would not preserve it from rusting, so that they had neither clocks nor watches; some padlocks they had for doores and boxes.

30. Dr. Sprat, now made Deane of Westminster, preached to the King at White-hall, on 6 Matt. 24. Recollecting the passages of the past yeare, I gave God thanks for his mercies, praying his blessing for the future.

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* Peregrine Viscount Dumblaine, youngest son of the Earl of Danby, so created in his father's life-time, and who became his successor in title and estate.

1684, 1 Jan. The weather continuing intolerably severe, streetes of booths were set upon the Thames; the aire was so very cold and thick, as of many yeares there had not ben the like. The small pox was very mortal.

2. I din'd at Sr Ste. Fox's: after dinner came a fellow who eate live charcoal, glowingly ignited, quenching them in his mouth, and then champing and swallowing them down. There was a dog also which seem'd to do many rational actions.

6. The river quite frozen.

9. I went cresse the Thames on the ice, now become so thick as to beare not onely streetes of boothes, in which they roasted meate, and had divers shops of wares, quite acrosse as in a towne, but coaches, carts, and horses, passed over. So I went from Westminster Stayres to Lambeth, and din'd with the Archbishop: where I met my Lord Bruce, Sir Geo. Wheeler, Coll. Cooke, and severall divines. After dinner and discourse with his Grace till evening prayers, Sir Geo. Wheeler and I walked over the ice from Lambeth Stayres to the horse ferry.

10. I visited Sir Robert Reading, where after supper we had musiq, but not comparable to that which Mrs. Bridgeman made us on the guittar with such extraordinary skill and dexterity.

16. The Thames was fill'd with people and tents, selling all sorts of wares as in the Citty.

24. The frost continuing more and more severe, the Thames before London was still planted with boothes in formal streetes, all sorts of trades and shops furnish'd and full of commodities, even to a printing presse, where the people and ladyes tooke a fancy to have their names printed, and the day and yeare set down when printed on the Thames *; this humour tooke so universally, that 'twas estimated the printer gain'd £5. a day, for printing a line onely, at sixpence a name, besides what he got by ballads, &c. Coaches plied from Westminster to tke Temple, and from several other staires to and fro, as in the

* By favour of a gentleman possessed of innumerable literary curiosities, I have one of these cards now before me. Within a treble border, "Monsr et Madm Justel. Printed on the River of Thames being frozen. In the 36th year of King Charles the II. February the 5th, 1683." v.s. is added with a pen, probably by Mr. Justell. Editor.

streetes, sleds, sliding with skeetes, a bull-baiting, horse and coach races, puppet plays and interludes, cookes, tipling, and other lewd places, so that it seem'd to be a bacchanalian triumph, or carnival on the water, whilst it was a severe judgment on the land, the trees not onely splitting as if lightning-struck, but men and cattle perishing in divers places, and the very seas so lock'd up with ice, that no vessells could stir out or come in. The fowles, fish, and birds, and all our exotiq plants and greenes universally perishing. Many parkes of deer were destroied, and all sorts of fuell so deare that there were greate contributions to preserve the poore alive. Nor was this severe weather much lesse intense in most parts of Europe, even as far as Spaine and the most Southern tracts. London, by reason of the excessive coldnesse of the aire hindering the ascent of the smoke, was so fill'd with the fuliginous steame of the sea-coale, that hardly could one see crosse the streetes, and this filling the lungs with its grosse particles, exceedingly obstructed the breast, so as one could scarcely breath. Here was no water to be had from the pipes and engines, nor could the brewers and divers other tradesmen worke, and every moment was full of disastrous accidents.

4 Feb. I went to Says Court to see how the frost had dealt with my garden, where I found many of the greenes and rare plantes utterly destroied. The oranges and mirtills very sick, the rosemary and laurells dead to all appearance, but ye cypress likely to indure it.

5. It began to thaw, but froze againe. My coach crossed from Lambeth to the Horseferry at Millbank, Westminster. The booths were almost all taken downe, but there was first a Map or Landskip cut in copper representing all the manner of the camp, and the several actions, sports, and pastimes thereon, in memory of so signal a frost*.

7. I dined with my Lord Keeper [North], and walking alone with him some time in his gallery, we had discourse of musiq. He told me he had ben brought up to it from a child, so as to sing his part at first sight. Then speaking of Painting, of which he was also a greate

* There are different representations of this curious scene, both in wood and copper-plate engravings.

lover, and other ingenious matters, he desir'd me to come oftener to him.

8. I went this evening to visite that greate and knowing virtuoso Monsr Justell. The weather was set in to an absolute thaw and raine, but ye Thames still frozen.

10. After eight weekes missing the foraine posts, there came aboundance of intelligence from abroad.

12. The Earle of Danby, late Lord Treasurer, together with the Roman Catholic Lords impeach'd of High Treason in the Popish Plot, had now their Habeas Corpus, and came out upon baile, after five yeares imprisonment in the Tower. Then were also tried and deeply fin'd Mr. Hampden and others for being suppos'd of the late Plot, for which Lord Russell and Col. Sidney suffer'd; as also the person who went about to prove that the Earle of Essex had his throat cut in the Tower by others; likewise Mr. Johnson, the author of that famous piece called Julian.

15. Newes of the Prince of Orange having accus'd the Deputies of Amsterdam of Crimen lesæ Majestatis, and being Pensioners to France.

Dr. Tenison communicated to me his intention of erecting a Library in St. Martin's parish, for the publiq use, and desir'd my assistance with Sr Christ^r^ Wren about the placeing and structure thereof. A worthy and laudable designe. He told me there were 30 or 40 young men in Orders in his parish, either Governors to young gentlemen or Chaplains to noblemen, who being reprov'd by him on occasion for frequenting taverns or coffee-houses, told him they would study or employ their time better, if they had books. This put the pious Doctor on this designe; and indeede a greate reproch it is that so greate a Citty as London should not have a publiq Library becoming it. There ought to be one at St. Paules; the West end of that church (if ever finish'd) would be a convenient place.

23. I went to Sir John Chardine, who desired my assistance for the engraving the plates, the translation, and printing his History of that wonderfull Persian Monument neere Persepolis, and other rare antiquities, which he had caus'd to be drawne from the originals in his second journey into Persia, which we now concluded upon. After-

wards I went with Sr Christ^r^ Wren to Dr Tenison, where we made the drawing and estimate of the expence of the Library, to be begun this next Spring neere the Mewes *.

Greate expectation of the Prince of Orange's attempts in Holland to bring those of Amsterdam to consent to the new levies, to which we were no friends, by a pseudo-politic adherence to the French interest.

26. Came to visite me Dr. Turner, our new Bishop of Rochester.

28. I din'd at Lady Tuke's, where I heard Dr Walgrave (Phy^e^sitian to ye Duke and Dutchesse) play excellently on the lute.

7 March. Dr. Meggot, Deane of Winchester, preached an incomparable sermon, (the King being now gone to New-market,) on 12 Heb. 15. shewing and pathetically pressing the care we ought to have least we come short of the grace of God. Afterwards I went to visite Dr. Tenison at Kensington, whither he was retired to refresh after he had ben sick of the small pox.

15. At White-hall preached Mr. Henry Godolphin, a prebend of St. Paules, and brother to my deare friend Sydnie, on 55 Isaiah 7. I dined at the Lord Keeper's, and brought to him Sir John Chardin, who shewed him his accurate draughts of his travells in Persia.

28. There was so greate a concourse of people with their children to be touch'd for the Evil, that 6 or 7 were crush'd to death by pressing at the Chirurgeon's doore for tickets. The weather began to be more mild and tolerable, but there was not the least appearance of any Spring.

30. Easter day. The Bp. of Rochester [Dr. Turner] preach'd before the King; after which his Ma^ty^, accompanied with three of his natural sonns, the Dukes of Northumberland, Richmond, and St. Alban's (sons of Portsmouth, Cleaveland, and Nelly), went up to the Altar; ye three boyes entering before the King within the railes, at the right hand, and three Bishops on the left, viz. London (who officiated), Durham, and Rochester, with the Sub-dean Dr. Holder. The King

* There is now (1817) a handsome room well furnished with books, under the care of the Vicar of St. Martin's, in Castle-street, near the Mews gate. Sion College is more peculiarly appropriated to the Clergy in the City.

kneeling before the Altar, making his offering, the Bishops first receiv'd, and then his Ma^ty; after which he retir'd to a canopied seate on the right hand. Note, there was perfume burnt before the Office began. I had receiv'd ye Sacrament at White-hall early with the Lords and Household, ye Bp. of London officiating. Then went to St. Martin's, where Dr. Tenison preach'd (recover'd from ye small-pox); then went againe to White-hall as above. In the afternoone went to St. Martin's againe.

4 April. I return'd home with my family to my house at Says Court, after five months residence in London; hardly the least appearance of any Spring.

30. A Letter of mine to the Royal Society concerning the terrible effects of the past winter being read, they desired it might be printed in the next Part of their Transactions *.

10 May. I went to visite my brother in Surrey. Call'd by the way at Ashted, where Sr Robt Howard (Auditor of the Exchequer) entertain'd me very civilly at his new built house, which stands in a Park on the Downe, the avenue South; tho' downe hill to the house, which is not greate, but with the outhouses very convenient. The staire-case is painted by Verrio with the storie of Astrea; amongst other figures is the Picture of the Painter himselfe, and not unlike him; the rest is well done, onely the columns did not at all please me; there is also Sir Robert's own Picture in an oval; the whole in *fresca*. The place has this greate defect, that there is no water but what is drawn up by horses from a very deepe well.

11. Visited Mr. Higham, who was ill, and died 3 days after. His grandfather and father (who christen'd me), with himselfe, had now ben Rectors of this parish 101 yeares, viz. from May 1583.

12. I return'd to London, where I found the Commissioners of the Admiralty abolish'd, and the office of Admiral restor'd to ye Duke, as to the disposal and ordering all Sea businesse; but his Ma^ty sign'd all Petitions, Papers, Warrants, and Commissions, that the Duke, not

* This was done in No. 158. See it at length in Dr. Kippis's new edition of the Biog. Brit. vol. V. p. 623.

acting as Admiral by commission or office, might not incur the penalty of the late Act against Papists and Dissenters holding offices, and refusing the Oath and Test. Every one was glad of this change, those in the late Commission being utterly ignorant in their duty, to the greate damage of the Navy.

The utter ruine of the Low Country was threaten'd by the siege of Luxembergh, if not timely reliev'd, and by the obstinacy of the Hollanders, who refus'd to assist the Prince of Orange, being corrupted by the French.

16. I received £.600 of Sr Charles Bickerstaff for the fee-farm of Pilton in Devon.

26. Lord Dartmouth was chosen Master of the Trinity Company, newly return'd with the fleete from blowing up and demolishing Tangier. In the sermon preach'd on this occasion, Dr. Can observ'd that, in the 27th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, the casting anchor out of the fore-ship had been cavill'd at as betraying total ignorance: that it is very true our seamen do not do so, but in the Mediterranean their ships were built differently from ours, and to this day it was the practice to do so there.

Luxembergh was surrender'd to the French, which makes them master of all the Netherlands, gives them entrance into Germany, and a fair game for universal monarchy; which that we should suffer, who only and easily might have hinder'd, astonish'd all the world. Thus is the poor Prince of Orange ruin'd, and this nation and all the Protestant interest in Europe following, unlesse God in his infinite mercy, as by a miracle, interpose, and our greate ones alter their counsels. The French fleete were now besieging Genoa, but after burning much of that beautifull citty with their bombs, went off with disgrace.

12 June. I went to advise and give directions about the building two streetes in Berkeley Gardens, reserving the house and as much of the garden as the breadth of the house. In the meane time I could not but deplore that sweete place (by far the most noble gardens, courts, and accommodations, stately porticos, &c. any where about the towne) should be so much straighten'd and turn'd into tenements. But that magnificent pile and gardens contiguous to it, built by the late Lord Chancellor Cla-

rendon, being all demolish'd, and design'd for Piazzas and buildings, was some excuse for my Lady Berkeley's resolution of letting out her ground also for so excessive a price as was offer'd, advancing neere £.1000 per ann. in mere ground-rents; to such a mad intemperance was the age come of building about a citty, by far too disproportionate already to the nation *: I having in my time seene it almost as large again as it was within my memory.

11. My cousin Verney, to whom a very greate fortune was fallen, came to take leave of us, going into the country; a very worthy and virtuous young gentleman.

22. Last Friday Sir Tho. Armstrong was executed at Tyburn for treason, without tryal, having ben outlaw'd and apprehended in Holland, on the conspiracy of the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russell, &c. which gave occasion of discourse to people and lawyers, in reguard it was on an outlawry that judgment was given and execution †.

2 July. I went to the Observatory at Greenewich, where Mr. Flamsted tooke his observations of the eclipse of the sun, now almost three parts obscured.

There had been an excessive hot and dry Spring, and such a drought still continu'd as never was in my memorie.

13 July. Some small sprinkling of raine; the leaves dropping from the trees as in Autumn.

25. I din'd at Lord Falkland's, Treasurer of the Navy, where after dinner we had rare musiq, there being, amongst others, Sign^r^ Pietro Reggio, and Sig^r^ John Battist, both famous, one for his *voice*, the other for playing on y^e^ *harpsicord*, few if any in Europe exceeding him. There was also a Frenchman who sung an admirable basse.

26. I return'd home where I found my Lord Cheife Justice [Jefferies], the Countesse of Clarendon, and Lady Cath. Fitz-Gerald, who dined with me.

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* What would Mr. Evelyn think if he saw what is now called London?

† When brought up for judgement Armstrong insisted on his right to a trial, the act giving that right to those who came in within a year, and the year was not expired. Jefferies refused it; and when Armstrong insisted that he asked nothing but law, Jefferies told him he should have it to the full, and ordered his execution in six days. When Jefferies went to the King at Windsor soon after the trial, the King took a ring from his finger, and gave it to Jefferies. Burnet, II. 989.

10 Aug. We had now rain after such a drowth as no man in England had known.

24. Excessive hot. We had not had above one or two considerable showers, and those storms, these 8 or 9 months. Many trees died for the want of refreshment.

31. Mr. Sidney Godolphin was made Baron Godolphin.

26 Sept. The King being return'd from Winchester, there was a numerous Court at White-hall.

At this time the Earle of Rochester was remov'd from the Treasury to the Presidentship of the Council; Lord Godolphin was made first Commiss^r of the Treasury in his place; Lord Middleton (a Scot) made Secretary of State, in ye room of Lord Godolphin. These alterations being very unexpected and mysterious, gave greate occasion of discourse.

There was now an Ambassador from ye King of Siam in ye East Indies to his Majesty.

22 Oct. I went with Sr William Godolphin to see the Rhinoceros, or Unicorn, being the first that I suppose was ever brought into England. She belong'd to some East India merchants, and was sold (as I remember) for above £.2000.

At the same time I went to see a Crocodile, brought from some of the West India islands, resembling the Egyptian Crocodile.

24 Oct. I din'd at Sir Stephen Fox's with the Duke of Northumberland. He seem'd to be a young gentleman of good capacity, well bred, civil, and modest: newly come from travell, and had made his campaigne at the siege of Luxemburg. Of all his Ma^tys^ children (of which he had now six Dukes) this seem'd the most accomplish'd and worth the owning. He is extraordinary handsome and well shap'd. What ye Dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's will prove, their youth does not yet discover; they are very pretty boys.

26. Dr. Goodman preach'd before the King on 2 James 12. concerning the law of liberty: an excellent discourse and in good method. He is author of "The Prodigal Son," a treatise worth reading, and another of the old Religion.

28. I carried Lord Clarendon thro' the Citty, amidst all the squibbs and Bacchanalia of the Lord Maior's shew, to ye Royal Society [at

Gresham Coll.] where he was propos'd a member; and then treated him at dinner.

I went to St. Clement's, that pretty built and contriv'd church, where a young divine gave us an eloquent Sermon on 1 Cor. 6. 20. inciting to gratitude and glorifying God for the fabriq of our bodys & the dignitie of our nature.

27. I visited the Lord Chamberlaine, where din'd the *black Baron* and Monsr Flamerin, who had so long ben banish'd France for a duel.

2 Nov. A suddaine change from temperate warme weather to an excessive cold raine, frost, snow, and storm, such as had seldome ben known. This Winter weather began as early and fierce as the past did late; till about Christmas there then had ben hardly any Winter.

4. Dr. Turner, now translated from Rochester to Ely upon the death of Dr. Peter Gunning, preached before the King at White-hall on 3 Romans 8, a very excellent sermon, vindicating the Church of England against the pernicious doctrines of the Church of Rome. He challenged the producing but of five Clergymen who forsooke our Church and went over to that of Rome, during all the troubles & rebellion in England, which lasted neere twenty yeares; and this was to my certaine observation a greate truth.

15. Being the Queene's birth-day, there were fire-works on the Thames before White-hall, with pageants of castles, forts, and other devices of gyrondolas, serpents, the King and Queene's armes and mottos, all represented in fire, such as had not ben seen here. But the most remarkable was the severall fires and skirmishes in the very water, which actually mov'd a long way, burning under the water, now and then appearing above it, giving reports like muskets and cannon, with granados and innumerable other devices. It is said it cost £.1500. It was concluded with a ball, where all the young ladys and gallants daunced in the greate hall. The Court had not ben seene so brave and rich in apparell since his Ma^ty's^ Restauration.

30. In the morning Dr. Fiennes, sonn of the Lord Say & Seale, preached before the King on 21 Joshua 11.

3 Dec. I carried Mr. Justell and Mr. Slingsby (Master of the Mint), to see Mr. Sheldon's collection of Medaills. The series of

Popes was rare, and so were several amongst the modernes, especialy that of John Husse's martyrdome at Constance; of the Roman Emp: Consulars; some Greeke, &c. in copper, gold, and silver; not many truly antique; a medallion of Otho, P. Æmil. &c. hardly antient. They were held at a price of £.1000. but not worth, I judge, above £.200.

7. I went to see the new church at St. James's, elegantly built; the altar was especialy adorn'd, the white marble inclosure curiously and richly carved, the flowers and garlands about the walls by Mr. Gibbons in wood; a pelican with her young at her breast, just over the altar in the cary'd compartment and border, invironing the purple velvet fring'd with I. H. S. richly embroider'd, and most noble plate, were given by Sr R. Geere, to the value (as was said) of £.200. There was no altar any where in England, nor has there ben any abroad, more handsomely adorn'd.

17. Early in the morning I went into St. James's Park to see three Turkish or Asian horses, newly brought over, and now first shewed to his Ma^ty. There were foure, but one of them died at sea, being three weekes coming from Hamborow. They were taken from a Bashaw at the siege of Vienna, at the late famous raising that leaguer. I never beheld so delicate a creature as one of them was, of somewhat a bright bay, two white feet, a blaze; such a head, eyes, cares, neck, breast, belly, haunches, legs, pasterns, and feete, in all reguards beautifull and proportion'd to admiration; spirited, proud, nimble, making halt, turning with that swiftnesse, and in so small a compasse, as was admirable. With all this so gentle and tractable as call'd to mind what I remember Busbequius speakes of them, to the reproch of our groomes in Europe, who bring up their horses so churlishly as makes most of them retain their ill habits. They trotted like does, as if they did not feele the ground. 500 ginnies was demanded for the first; 300 for the second; and 200 for the third, wch was browne. All of them were choicely shap'd, but the two last not altogether so perfect as the first. It was judg'd by the spectators, among whom was the King, Prince of Denmark, Duke of Yorke, and several of the Court, noble persons, skill'd in horses, especialy Mons. Faubert and his sonn, (provost masters of ye Academie, and esteem'd of the best in Europe,) that there were

never seene any horses in these parts to be compar'd with them. Add to all this, the furniture, consisting of embroidery on the saddle, housings, quiver, bow, arrows, scymeter, sword, mace, or battle-axe *à la Turcisq;* the Bashaw's velvet mantle furr'd with the most perfect ermine I ever beheld; all which, yron-worke in common furniture, being here of silver, curiously wrought and double gilt, to an incredible value. Such and so extraordinary was the embrodery, that I never saw any thing approching it. The reins and headstall were of crimson silk, cover'd with chaines of silver gilt. There was also a Turkish royal standard of an horse's taile, together with all sorts of other caparisons belonging to a general's horse, by which one may estimate how gallantly and magnificently those infidels appeare in the field, for nothing could be seene more glorious. The gentleman (a German) who rid the horse was in all this garb. They were shod with yron made round and closed at the heele, with a hole in the middle about as wide as a shilling. The hoofes most intire.

18 Dec. I went with Lord Cornwallis to see the young gallants do their exercise, Mr. Faubert having newly rail'd in a manage, and fitted it for the academy. There were the Dukes of Norfolk and Northumberland, Lord Newburgh, and a nephew of (Duras) Earle of Feversham. The exercises were, 1. running at the ring; 2. flinging a javelin at a Moor's head; 3. discharging a pistol at a mark; lastly, taking up a gauntlet with the point of a sword; all these perform'd in full speede. The D. of Northumberland hardly miss'd of succeeding in every one, a dozen times, as I think. The D. of Norfolk did exceeding bravely. Lords Newburgh and Duras seem'd nothing so dextrous. Here I saw the difference of what ye French call "*belle homme à cheval,*" and "*bon homme à cheval;*" the Duke of Norfolk being the first, that is, rather a fine person on a horse, the Duke of Northumberland being both in perfection, namely, a graceful person and excellent rider. But the Duke of Norfolk told me he had not ben at this exercise these 12 yeares before. There were in the field ye Prince of Denmark, and the Lord Landsdown, sonn of ye Earle of Bath, who had ben made a Count of ye Empire last Summer for his service before Vienna.

20. A villainous murder was perpetrated by Mr. St. John, eldest son to Sr Walter St. John, a worthy gentleman, on a knight of quality *, in a tavern. The offender was sentenc'd and repriev'd. So many horrid murders and duels were committed about this time as were never before heard of in England, which gave much cause of complaint and murmurings.

1685. 1 Jan. It prov'd so sharp weather, and so long and cruel a frost, that the Thames was frozen acrosse, but the frost was often dissolv'd, and then froze again.

11. A young man preached upon 13 St. Luke 5. after the Presbyterian tedious method and repetition.

24. I din'd at Lord Newport's, who has some excellent pictures, especialy that of *Sr Tho. Hanmer*, by Van Dyke, one of the best he ever painted; another of our English Dobson's painting; but above all, *Christ in the Virgin's lap* by Poussin, an admirable piece, with something of most other famous hands.

25. Dr. Dove preach'd before ye King. I saw this evening such a scene of profuse gaming, and the King in the midst of his three concubines, as I had never before seen. Luxurious dallying and prophanenesse.

27. I din'd at Lord Sunderland's, being invited to heare that celebrated voice of Mr. Pordage, newly come from Rome; his singing was after the Venetian recitative, as masterly as could be, and with an excellent voice both treble and basse; Dr. Walgrave accompanied it with his *theorba lute*, on which he perform'd beyond imagination, and is doubtlesse one of the greatest masters in Europe on that charming instrument. Pordage is a priest, as Mr. Bernard Howard told me in private.

There was in the roome where we din'd, and in his bed-chamber, those incomparable pieces of *Columbus, a Flagellation*, the *Grammar-*

* Sir William Estcourt. It was in a sudden quarrel, and there was doubt whether it was more than manslaughter: but he was advised to plead guilty, and then had a pardon, for which he paid £1,600. Exactly 100 years before, one of his family was tried for a similar offence, acquitted, but obliged to go abroad, though he was afterwards employed. Manning and Bray's Hist. of Surrey, III. 330. App. cxx.

schoole, the *Venus and Adonis* of Titian; and of Vandyke's that picture of the late *E. of Digby* (father of ye Countess of Sunderland), and *Earle of Bedford*, *Sr Kenelm Digby*, and two Ladys of incomparable performance; besides that of *Moses and the burning bush* of Bassano, and several other pieces of ye best masters. A marble head of M. Brutus, &c.

28. I was invited to my Lord Arundel of Wardour, (now newly releas'd of his 6 yeares confinement in ye Tower on suspicion of the Plot call'd Oates's Plot,) where after dinner the same Mr. Pordage entertain'd us with his voice, that excellent and stupendous artist Sign^r^ Jo. Baptist playing to it on the harpsichord. My daughter Mary being with us, she also sung to the greate satisfaction of both the masters, and a world of people of quality present.

She did so also at my Lord Rochester's the evening following, where we had the French Boy so fam'd for his singing, and indeede he had a delicate voice, and had ben well taught. I also heard Mrs. Packer (daughter to my old friend) sing before his Ma^ty^ and the Duke, privately, that stupendous basse Gosling accompanying her, but hers was so loud as tooke away much of the sweetnesse. Certainly never woman had a stronger or better eare, could she possibly have govern'd it. She would do rarely in a large church among the nunns.

4 Feb. I went to London, hearing his Ma^ty^ had ben the Monday before (2 Feb.) surpriz'd in his bed-chamber with an apoplectic fit, so that if, by God's providence, Dr. King (that excellent chirurgeon as well as physitian) had not ben accidentally present to let him blood (having his lancet in his pocket) his Ma^ty^ had certainly died that moment, which might have ben of direful consequence, there being nobody else present with the King save this Doctor and one more, as I am assur'd. It was a mark of the extraordinary dexterity, resolution, and presence of mind in the D^r^, to let him bloud in the very paroxysm, without staying the coming of other physitians, which regularly should have ben don, and for want of which he must have a regular pardon, as they tell me*. This rescu'd his Ma^ty^ for the instant, but it was

* The Privy Council approved of what he had done, and ordered him £1000, but which was never paid him. Burnet, II. 1010*.—There are two fine portraits of Dr. King engraved, and in mezzotinto, in which the above instance of his skill and promptitude is noticed.

only a short reprieve. He still complain'd, and was relapsing, often fainting, with sometimes epileptic symptoms, till Wednesday, for which he was cupp'd, let bloud in both jugulars, had both vomit and purges, wch so reliev'd him that on Thursday hopes of recovery were signified in the publiq Gazette, but that day, about noone, the physitians thought him feaverish. This they seem'd glad of, as being more easily allay'd and methodically dealt with than his former fits; so as they prescrib'd the famous Jesuits powder: but it made him worse, and some very able Doctors who were present did not think it a fever, but the effect of his frequent bleeding and other sharp operations us'd by them about his head, so that probably the powder might stop the circulation, and renew his former fits, which now made him very weake. Thus he pass'd Thursday night with greate difficulty, when complaining of a paine in his side, they drew 12 ounces more of bloud from him; this was by 6 in the morning on Friday, and it gave him reliefe, but it did not continue, for being now in much paine, and strugling for breath, he lay dozing, and after some conflicts, the physitians despairing of him, he gave up the ghost at halfe an houre after eleven in the morning, being the 6 of February 1685, in the 36th yeare of his reigne, and 54th of his age.

Prayers were solemnly made in all the Churches, especialy in both ye Court Chapells, where the Chaplaines reliev'd one another every halfe quarter of an houre from the time he began to be in danger till he expir'd, according to the forme prescrib'd in the Church Offices. Those who assisted his Majesty's devotions were, the Abp. of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Ely, but more especialy Dr. Ken, the Bp. of Bath and Wells *. It is sayd they exceedingly urg'd the

* The account given of this by King James II. is, that when the King's life was wholly despaired of, and it was time to prepare for another world, two Bishops came to do their function, who reading the prayers appointed in the Common Prayer Book on that occasion, when they came to the place where usually they exhort a sick person to make a confession of his sins, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was one of them, advertized him, *It was not of obligation;* and after a short exhortation asked him, if he were sorry for his sins? which the King saying he was, the Bishop pronounced the absolution, and then asked him if he pleased to receive the Sacrament? to which the King made no reply, and being pressed by the Bishop several times, gave no other answer but that it was time enough, or that he would think of it. King James says that he stood

receiving the Holy Sacrament, but his Maty told them he would consider of it, which he did so long 'till it was too late. Others whisper'd that the Bishops and Lords, except the Earles of Bath and Feversham, being order'd to withdraw the night before, Hurlston, the Priest, had presumed to administer the Popish Offices. He gave his breeches and keys to ye Duke, who was almost continually kneeling by his bed-side, and in teares. He also recommended to him the care of his natural children, all except the Duke of Monmouth, now in Holland, and in his displeasure. He intreated the Queene to pardon him (not without cause); who a little before had sent a Bishop to excuse her not more frequently visiting him, in reguard of her excessive griefe, and withall, that his Maty would forgive it if at any time she had offended him. He spake to ye Duke to be kind to the Dutchesse of Cleaveland, and especialy Portsmouth, and that Nelly might not starve.

Thus died King Charles II. of a vigorous and robust constitution, and in all appearance promising a long life. He was a Prince of many virtues, and many greate imperfections; debonaire, easy of accesse, not bloudy nor cruel; his countenance fierce, his voice greate, proper of person, every motion became him; a lover of the sea, and skilfull in shipping; not affecting other studies, yet he had a laboratory, and knew of many empyrical medicines, and the easier mechanical mathematics; he lov'd planting and building, and brought in a politer way of living, which pass'd to luxury and intolerable expence. He had a particular talent in telling a story, and facetious passages, of which he had innumerable; this made some buffoons and vitious wretches too presumptuous and familiar, not worthy the favour they abus'd. He

all the while by the bed-side, and seeing the King would not receive the Sacrament from them, and knowing his sentiments, he desired the company to stand a little from the bed, and then asked the King whether he should send for a Priest, to which the King replied, "For God's sake, brother, do, and lose no time." The Duke said he would bring one to him; but none could be found except father Huddleston, who had been so assistant in the King's escape from Worcester; he was brought up by a back staircase, and the company were desired to withdraw, but he (the Duke of York) not thinking fit that he should be left alone with the King, desired the Earl of Bath, a Lord of the Bedchamber, and the Earl of Feversham, Captain of the Guard, should stay; the rest being gone, father Huddleston was introduced, and administered the Sacrament. Life of James II. p. 747.

tooke delight in having a number of little spaniels follow him and lie in his bed-chamber, where he often suffer'd the bitches to puppy and give suck, which render'd it very offensive, and indeede made the whole Court nasty and stinking. He would doubtlesse have ben an excellent Prince, had he ben less addicted to women, who made him uneasy, and allways in want to supply their unmeasurable profusion, to ye detriment of many indigent persons who had signaly serv'd both him and his father. He frequently and easily chang'd favorites, to his greate prejudice. As to other publiq transactions and unhappy miscarriages, 'tis not here I intend to number them; but certainly never had King more glorious opportunities to have made himselfe, his people, and all Europe happy, and prevented innumerable mischeifs, had not his too easy nature resign'd him to be manag'd by crafty men, and some abandon'd and profane wretches who corrupted his otherwise sufficient parts, disciplin'd as he had ben by many afflictions during his banishment, which gave him much experience and knowledge of men and things; but those wicked creatures took him off from all application becoming so greate a King. The history of his reigne will certainely be the most wonderfull for the variety of matter and accidents, above any extant in former ages: the sad tragical death of his father, his banishment and hardships, his miraculous restauration, conspiracies against him, parliaments, wars, plagues, fires, comets, revolutions abroad happening in his time, with a thousand other particulars. He was ever kind to me, and very gracious upon all occasions, and therefore I cannot, without ingratitude, but deplore his losse, which for many respects as well as duty I do with all my soul.

His Majesty being dead, the Duke, now K. James II. went immediately to Council, and before entering into any businesse, passionately declaring his sorrow, told their Lordships that since the succession had fallen to him, he would endeavour to follow the example of his predecessor in his clemency and tendernesse to his people; that, however he had ben misrepresented as affecting arbitrary power, they should find the contrary, for that the Laws of England had made ye King as greate a monarch as he could desire; that he would endeavor to maintain the Government both in Church and State, as by Law

establish'd, its principles being so firme for monarchy, and the members of it shewing themselves so good and loyal subjects*; and that as he would never depart from the just rights and prerogatives of y Crown, so would he never invade any man's property; but as he had often adventur'd his life in defence of the Nation, so he would still proceede, and preserve it in all its lawful rights and liberties.

This being the substance of what he said, the Lords desir'd it might be publish'd, as containing matter of greate satisfaction to a jealous people upon this change, which his Ma^ty consented to. Then were the Counsel sworn, and a Proclamation order'd to be publish'd, that all Officers should continue in their stations, that there might be no failure of public justice, till his further pleasure should be known. Then the

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* This is the substance and very nearly in the words given by King James II. in his MS. printed in his Life; but in that MS. are some words which Mr. Evelyn has omitted, viz. after speaking of the Members of the Church of England as good and loyal subjects, the King adds, *and therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it.* The King then goes on to say, that being desired by some present to allow copies to be taken, he said he had not committed it to writing; on which Mr. Finch [then Solicitor General, afterwards Earl of Aylesford] replied, that what his Majesty had said had made so deep an impression on him, that he believed he could repeat the very words, and if his Majesty would permit him, he would write them down; which the King agreeing to, he went to a table and wrote them down, and this being shewn to the King, he approved of it, and it was immediately published.

The King then goes on to say;. No one can wonder that Mr. Finch should word the speech as strong as he could in favour of the Established Religion, nor that the King in such a hurry should pass it over without reflection; for though his Majesty intended to promise both security to their religion and protection to their persons, he was afterwards convinced it had been better expressed by assuring them he never would endeavour to alter the established Religion, rather than that he would endeavour to preserve it, and that he would rather support and defend the professors of it, rather than the Religion itself; they could not expect he should make a conscience of supporting what in his conscience he thought erroneous; his engaging not to molest the professors of it, nor to deprive them or their successors of any spiritual dignity, revenue, or employment, but to suffer the ecclesiastical affairs to go on in the track they were in, was all they could wish or desire from a Prince of a different persuasion; but having once approved that way of expressing it which Mr. Finch had made choice of, he thought it necessary not to vary from it in the declarations or speeches he made afterwards, not doubting but the world would understand it in the meaning he intended.——'Tis true afterwards *it was* pretended he kept not up to this engagement, but had they deviated no further from the duty and allegiance which both nature and repeated oaths obliged them to, *than he did from his word**, they had still remained as happy a people as they really were during his short reign in England. Vol. II. 435.

* The words in italics were afterwards interlined by the son of King James the Second. EDIT.

King rose, the Lords accompanying him to his bed-chamber, where, whilst he repos'd himselfe, tired indeede as he was with griefe and watching, they return'd againe into the Council-chamber to take order for the *proclaiming* his Ma^ty^, which (after some debate) they consented should be in the very forme his grandfather K. James I. was, after ye death of Queene Elizabeth; as likewise that the Lords, &c. should proceede in their coaches thro' the Citty for the more solemnity of it. Upon this was I, and severall other Gentlemen waiting in the Privy-gallerie, admitted into ye Council-chamber to be witnesse of what was resolv'd on. Thence with the Lords, the Lord Marshall and Heraulds, and other Crowne Officers being ready, we first went to White-hall-gate, where the Lords stood on foote bare-headed, whilst the Herauld proclaim'd his Majesty's title to the Imperial Crowne and Succession according to ye forme, the trumpets and kettle-drums having first sounded 3 times, which ended with the people's acclamations. Then a Herauld call'd the Lords' coaches according to rank, myselfe accompanying the solemnity in my Lord Cornwallis's coach, first to Temple Barr, where the Lord Maior and his brethren met us on horseback, in all theire formalities, and proclaim'd the King; hence to the Exchange in Cornhill, and so we return'd in the order we set forth. Being come to White-hall, we all went and kiss'd the King and Queenes hands. He had ben on ye bed, but was now risen and in his undresse. The Queene was in bed in her appartment; but put forth her hand, seeming to be much afflicted, as I believe she was, having deported herselfe so decently upon all occasions since she came into England, which made her universally belov'd.

Thus concluded this sad and not joyfull day.

I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and prophanenesse, gaming and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfullnesse of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day se'nnight I was witnesse of, the King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleaveland, and Mazarine, &c. a French boy singing love songs, in that glorious gallery, whilst about 20 of the greate courtiers and other dissolute persons were at Basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000 in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who were

with me made reflexions with astonishment. Six days after was all in the dust!

It was enjoyn'd that those who put on mourning should wear it as for a father, in ye most solemn manner.

10 Feb. Being sent to by the Sheriff of the County to appeare and assist in proclayming the King, I went the next day to Bromely, where I met the Sheriff and the Commander of the Kentish Troop, with an appearance, I suppose, of above 500 horse, and innumerable people, two of his Ma^ty's^ trumpets and a Serjeant with other officers, who having drawn up the horse in a large field neere the towne, march'd thence, with swords drawne, to the market-place, where making a ring, after sound of trumpets and silence made, the High Sheriff read the proclaiming titles to his Bailiffe, who repeated them aloud, and then after many shouts of the people, his Ma^ty's^ health being drunk in a flint glasse of a yard long, by the Sheriff, Commander, Officers and cheife Gentlemen, they all dispers'd, and I return'd.

13. I pass'd a fine on selling of Honson Grange in Staffordshire, being about £.20 *per ann.*, which lying so greate a distance I thought fit to part with it to one Burton, a farmer there. It came to me as part of my daughter-in-law's portion, this being but a fourth part of what was divided betweene ye mother and three sisters.

14. The King was this night very obscurely buried* in a vault under Hen. 7th's^ Chapell at Westminster, without any manner of pomp, and soone forgotten after all this vanity, and the face of the whole Court was exceedingly chang'd into a more solemn and moral behaviour; the new King affecting neither prophanenesse nor buffoonery.

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*"The funeral could not be performed with so great solemnity as some persons expected, because his late Majesty dying in, and his present Majesty professing, a different Religion from that of his people, it had been a difficult matter to reconcile the greater ceremonies which must have been performed according to the Rites of the Church of England, with the obligation of not communicating with it in spiritual things; to avoid, therefore, either disputes on one hand, or scandal on the other, it was thought more prudent to do it in a more private manner, though at the same time there was no circumstance of state and pomp omitted, which possibly could be allowed of. All the Privy Council, all the household, and all the Lords about towne attended at the funeral. Life of King James II. vol. II. p. 6.

All the greate Officers broke their staves over the grave, according to form.

15. Dr. Tenison preach'd to the Household. The second sermon should have ben before the King; but he, to the greate griefe of his subjects, did now for the first time go to masse publickly in ye little Oratorie at the Duke's lodgings, the doors being set wide open.

16. I din'd at Sr Robt Howard's, Auditor of the Exchequer, a gentleman pretending to all manner of arts and sciences, for which he had ben the subject of Comedy, under the name of Sir Positive; not ill-natur'd, but insufferably boasting. He was sonn to the late Earl of Berkshire.

17. This morning his Ma^ty^ restor'd the staffe and key to Lord Arlington, Chamberlaine; to Mr. Savell, Vice-chamberlaine; to Lords Newport and Mainard, Treasurer and Comptroler of the Household; Lord Godolphin made Chamberlaine to ye Queene; Lord Peterborow Groome of ye Stole in place of the Earle of Bath; the Treasurer's staff to the Earle of Rochester; and his brother the Earle of Clarendon Lord Privie Seale in place of the Marquis of Halifax, who was made President of the Council; the Secretarys of State remaining as before.

19. The Lord Treasurer and ye other new Officers were sworne at the Chancery Barr and the Exchequer.

The late King having the revenue of Excise, Costoms, and other late duties granted for his life only, they were now farmed and lett to severall persons, upon an opinion that the late King might lett them for three yeares after his decease; some of the old Commissioners refus'd to act. The lease was made but the day before the King died*; the major part of the Judges (but as some think not the best Lawyers) pronounc'd it legal, but four dissented.

The Clerk of the Closet had shut up the late King's private Oratorie next the Privy-chamber above, but the King caus'd it to be open'd againe, and that prayers should be said as formerly.

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* King James, in his Life, makes no mention of this lease, but only says *he* continued to collect them, which conduct was not blamed; but on the contrary, he was thanked for it in an address from the Middle Temple, penned by Sir Bartholomew Shore, and presented by Sir Humphrey Mackworth, carrying great authority with it, nor did the Parliament find fault. Vol. II. pp. 16, 17.

22. Several most useful Tracts against Dissenters, Papists, and Fanatics, and Resolutions of Cases, were now publish'd by the London Divines.

4 Mar. Ash-Wednesday; after evening prayers I went to London.

5. To my griefe I saw the new pulpit set up in the Popish Oratorie at White-hall for the Lent preaching, masse being publicly said, and the Romanists swarming at Court with greater confidence than had ever ben seene in England since the Reformation, so as every body grew jealous to what this would tend.

A Parliament was now summon'd, and greate industry us'd to obtaine elections which might promote the Court interest, most of the Corporations being now by their new Charters impower'd to make what returnes of members they pleas'd.

There came over divers envoyes and greate persons to condole the death of the late King, who were receiv'd by the Queene Dowager on a bed of mourning, the whole chamber, cieling and floore hung with black, and tapers were lighted, so as nothing could be more lugubrous and solemne. The Queene Consort sat out under a state on a black foot-cloth, to entertaine the circle (as the Queene us'd to do), and that very decently.

6. Lent Preachers continu'd as formerly in the Royal Chapell.

7. My daughter Mary was taken with the small pox, and there soon was found no hope of her recovery. A very greate affliction to me: but God's holy will be done.

10. She receiv'd the blessed Sacrament; after which, disposing herselfe to suffer what God should determine to inflict, she bore the remainder of her sicknesse with extraordinary patience and piety, and more than ordinary resignation and blessed frame of mind. She died the 14th, to our unspeakable sorrow and affliction, and not to ours onely, but that of all who knew her, who were many of the best quality, greatest and most virtuous persons. The justnesse of her stature, person, comelinesse of countenance, gracefullnesse of motion, unaffected tho' more than ordinary beautifull, were the least of her ornaments compared wit hthose of her mind. Of early piety, singularly religious, spending a part of every day in private devotion, reading and other vertuous exer-

cises; she had collected and written out many of the most usefull and judicious periods of the books she read in a kind of common-place, as out of Dr. Hammond on the New Testament, and most of the best practical treatises. She had read and digested a considerable deale of history and of places. The French tongue was as familiar to her as English; she understood Italian, and was able to render a laudable account of what she read and observed, to which assisted a most faithful memory and discernment; and she did make very prudent and discreete reflexions upon what she had observed of the conversations among which she had at any time ben, which being continualy of persons of the best quality, she thereby improved. She had an excellent voice, to which she play'd a thorough-bass on the harpsichord, in both which she arived to that perfection, that of the schollars of those two famous masters Signors Pietro and Bartholomeo she was esteem'd the best; for the sweetnesse of her voice and management of it added such an agreeablenesse to her countenance, without any constraint or concerne, that when she sung, it was as charming to the eye as to the eare; this I rather note, because it was a universal remarke, and for which so many noble and judicious persons in musiq desired to heare her, the last being at Lord Arundel's of Wardour (see p. 543). What shall I say, or rather not say, of the cheerefullness and agreeablenesse of her humour? condescending to the meanest servant in the family, or others, she still kept up respect, without the least pride. She would-often reade to them, examine, instruct, and pray with them if they were sick, so as she was exceedingly beloved of every body. Piety was so prevalent an ingredient in her constitution (as I may say) that even amongst equals and superiors she no sooner became intimately acquainted, but she would endeavour to improve them, by insinuating something of religious, and that tended to bring them to a love of devotion; she had one or two confidents with whom she used to passe whole dayes in fasting, reading and prayers, especialy before the monethly communion and other solemn occasions. She abhorr'd flattery, and tho' she had aboundance of witt, the raillery was so innocent and ingenuous that it was most agreeable; she sometimes would see a play, but since the stage grew licentious, express'd herselfe weary of them, and the time spent at the theater was

an unaccountable vanity. She never play'd at cards without extreame importunity and for the company, but this was so very seldome that I cannot number it among any thing she could name a fault.* No one could read prose or verse better or with more judgment; and as she read, so she writ, not only most correct orthography, with that maturitie of judgment and exactnesse of the periods, choice of expressions, and familiarity of stile, that some letters of hers have astonish'd me and others to whom she has occasionally written. She had a talent of rehersing any comical part or poeme, as to them she might be decently free with was more pleasing than heard on ye theater; she daunc'd with the greatest grace I had ever seene, and so would her master say, who was Monsr Isaac; but she seldome shew'd that perfection, save in the gracefullnesse of her carriage, which was with an aire of spritely modestie not easily to be described. Nothing affected, but natural and easy as well in her deportment as in her discourse, which was always materiall, not trifling, and to which the extraordinary sweetnesse of her tone, even in familiar speaking, was very charming. Nothing was so pretty as her descending to play with little children, whom she would caresse and humour with greate delight. But she most affected to be with grave and sober men, of whom she might learne something, and improve herselfe. I have ben assisted by her in reading and praying by me; comprehensive of uncommon notions, curious of knowing every thing to some excesse, had I not sometimes repressed it. Nothing was so delightfull to her as to go into my study, where she would willingly have spent whole dayes, for as I sayd she had read abundance of history, and all the best poets, even Terence, Plautus, Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid; all the best romances and modern poemes; she could compose happily, and put in pretty symbols, as in the *Mundus Muliebris**, wherein is an enumeration of the immense variety of the modes and ornaments belonging to the sex; but all these are vaine trifles to the virtues which adorn'd her soule; she was sincerely religious, most dutifull to her parents, whom she lov'd with an affection temper'd with greate esteeme, so as we were easy and free, and never were so well

* A poem of Mr. Evelyn's.

pleas'd as when she was with us, nor needed we other conversation; she was kind to her sisters, and was still improving them by her constant course of piety. Oh deare, sweete, and desireable child, how shall I part with all this goodness and virtue without the bitternesse of sorrow and reluctancy of a tender parent! Thy affection, duty, and love to me was that of a friend as well as a child. Nor lesse deare to thy mother, whose example and tender care of thee was unparellel'd, nor was thy returne to her lesse conspicuous; Oh! how she mourns thy loss! how desolate hast thou left us! To the grave shall we both carry thy memory!

God alone (in whose bosom thou art at rest and happy!) give us to resigne thee and all our contentments (for thou indeede wert all in this world) to his blessed pleasure! Let him be glorified by our submission, and give us grace to blesse him for the graces he implanted in thee, thy virtuous life, pious and holy death, which is indeede the onely comfort of our soules, hastening thro' the infinite love and mercy of the Lord Jesus to be shortly with thee, deare child, and with thee and those blessed saints like thee, glorifye the Redeemer of the world to all eternity! Amen!

It was in the 19th year of her age that this sicknesse happen'd to her. An accident contributed to this disease; she had an apprehension of it in particular, and which struck her but two days before she came home, by an imprudent gentlewoman whom she went with Lady Falkland to visite, who after they had ben a good while in the house, told them she had a servant sick of the small pox (who indeede died the next day); this my poore child acknowledg'd made an impression on her spirits. There were foure gentlemen of quality offering to treate with me about marriage, and I freely gave her her owne choice, knowing her discretion. She showed great indifference to marrying at all, for truly, says she to her mother (the other day), were I assur'd of your life and my deare father's, never would I part from you; I love you and this home, where we serve God, above all things, nor ever shall I be so happy; I know and consider the vicissitudes of the world, I have some experience of its vanities, and but for decency more than inclination, and that you judge it expedient for me, I would not change my condi-

tion, but rather add the fortune you designe me to my sisters, and keepe up the reputation of our family, This was so discreetly and sincerely utter'd that it could not but proceede from an extraordinary child, and one who lov'd her parents beyond example.

At London she tooke this fatal disease, and the occasion of her being there was this; my Lord Viscount Falkland's Lady having ben our neighbour (as he was Treasurer of the Navy), she tooke so greate an affection to my daughter, that when they went back in the autumn to the Citty, nothing would satisfie their incessant importunity but letting her accompany my Lady, and staying sometime with her; it was with ye greatest reluctance I complied. Whilst she was there, my Lord being musical, when I saw my Lady would not part with her till Christmas, I was not unwilling she should improve the opportunity of learning of Sign^r^ Pietro, who had an admirable way both of composure and teaching. It was the end of February before I could prevail with my Lady to part with her; but my Lord going into Oxfordshire to stand for Knight of the Shire there, she express'd her wish to come home, being tir'd of ye vain and empty conversation of the towne, ye theatres, the court, and trifling visites wch consum'd so much precious time, and made her sometimes misse of that regular course of piety that gave her ye greatest satisfaction. She was weary of this life, and I think went not thrice to Court all this time, except when her mother or I carried her. She did not affect shewing herselfe, she knew ye Court well, and pass'd one summer in it at Windsor with Lady Tuke one of the Queene's women of the bed chamber (a most virtuous relation of hers); she was not fond of that glittering scene, now become abominably licentious, though there was a designe of Lady Rochester and Lady Clarendon to have made her a maid of honour to the Queene as soon as there was a vacancy. But this she did not set her heart upon, nor indeede on any thing so much as the service of God, a quiet and regular life, and how she might improve herselfe in the most necessary accomplishments, and to wch she was ariv'd at so greate a measure.

This is ye little history and imperfect character of my deare child, whose piety, virtue, and incomparable endowments deserve a monument more durable than brasse and marble. Precious is the memorial

of the just. Much I could enlarge on every period of this hasty account, but that I ease and discharge my overcoming passion for the present, so many things worthy an excellent Christian and dutifull child crowding upon me. Never can I say enough, oh deare, my deare child, whose memory is so precious to me!

This deare child was born at Wotton in the same house and chamber in which I first drew my breath, my wife having retir'd to my brother there in the great sicknesse that yeare upon the first of that moneth, and neere the very houre that I was borne, upon the last: *viz.* October.

16 March. She was interr'd in the South-east end of the Church at Deptford, neere her grandmother and severall of my younger children and relations. My desire was she should have ben carried and layed among my own parents and relations at Wotton, where I desire to be interr'd myselfe, when God shall call me out of this uncertaine transitory life, but some circumstances did not permit it. Our vicar Dr. Holden preach'd her funeral sermon on 1 Phil. 21. "For to me to live is Christ and to die is gaine," upon which he made an apposite discourse, as those who heard it assur'd me (for griefe suffer'd me not to be present), concluding with a modest recital of her many virtues and signal piety, so as to draw both teares and admiration from the hearers. I was not altogether unwilling that something of this sort should be spoken, for the edification and encouragement of other young people.

Divers noble persons honour'd her funeral, some in person, others sending their coaches, of wch there were six or seven with six horses, *viz.* the Countesse of Sunderland, Earle of Clarendon, Lord Godolphin, Sr Stephen Fox, Sr Wm Godolphin, Viscount Falkland, and others. There were distributed amongst her friends about 60 rings.

Thus liv'd, died, and was buried the joy of my life, and ornament of her sex and of my poore family! God Almighty of his infinite mercy grant me the grace thankfully to resigne myselfe and all I have, or had, to his Divine pleasure, and in his good time, restoring health and comfort to my family: "teach me so to number my days that I may apply my heart to wisdom," be prepar'd for my dissolution, and that into the hands of my blessed Saviour I may recommend my spirit! Amen!

On looking into her closet, it is incredible what a number of collections she had made from historians, poetes, travellers, &c. but above all devotions, contemplations, and resolutions on these contemplations, found under her hand in a booke most methodicaly dispos'd; prayers, meditations, and devotions on particular occasions, with many pretty letters to her confidants; one to a divine (not nam'd) to whom she writes that he would be her ghostly father, and would not despise her for her many errors and the imperfections of her youth, but beg of God to give her courage to acquaint him with all her faults, imploring his assistance and spiritual directions. I well remember she had often desir'd me to recommend her to such a person, but I did not think fit to do it as yet, seeing her apt to be scrupulous, and knowing the great innocency and integrity of her life.

It is astonishing how one who had acquir'd such substantial and practical knowledge in other ornamental parts of education, especialy music both vocal and instrumental, in dauncing, paying and receiving visites, and necessary conversation, could accomplish halfe of what she has left; but as she never affected play or cards, which consume a world of precious time, so she was in continual exercise, which yet abated nothing of her most agreeable conversation. But she was a little miracle while she liv'd, and so she died!

26 Mar. I was invited to the funerall of Capt. Gunman, that excellent pilot and seaman, who had behav'd himselfe so valiantly in the Dutch warr. He died of a gangrene, occasion'd by his fall from the pier of Calais. This was the Captain of the yatcht carrying the Duke (now King) to Scotland, and was accus'd for not giving timely warning when she split on the sands, where so many perish'd; but I am most confident he was no ways guilty, either of negligence or designe, as he made appeare not onely at the examination of the matter of fact, but in the Vindication he shew'd me, and which must needes give any man of reason satisfaction. He was a sober, frugal, cheerfull, and temperate man; we have few such seamen left.

8 April. Being now somewhat compos'd after my greate affliction, I went to London to hear Dr. Tenison (it being on a Wednesday in Lent) at White-hall. I observ'd that tho' the King was not in his

seate above in the chapell, the Doctor made his three congees, which they were not us'd to do when the late King was absent, making then one bowing onely. I ask'd the reason; it was sayd he had a special order so to do. The Princesse of Denmark was in the King's Closet, but sat on the left hand of the chaire, the Clearke of the Closet standing by His Ma^tys chaire, as if he had ben present.

I met the Queene Dowager going now first from White-hall to dwell at Somerset-house.

This day my brother of Wotton and Mr. Onslow were candidates for Surrey against Sr Adam Brown and my cousin Sr Edwd Evelyn, and were circumvented in their election by a trick of the Sheriff's* taking advantage of my brother's party going out of the small village of Leatherhead to seek shelter and lodging, the afternoone being tempestuous, proceeding to the Election when they were gon; they expecting the next morning; whereas before and then they exceeded the other party by many hundreds, as I am assur'd. The Duke of Norfolk led Sr Edw. Evelyn's and Sr Adam Brown's party. For this Parliament, very meane and slight persons (some of them gentlemen's servants, clearkes, and persons neither of reputation nor interest) were set up, but the country would choose my brother whether he would or no, and he miss'd it by the trick above mention'd. Sr Adam Brown was so deafe that he could not heare one word. Sr Edw. Evelyn† was an honest gent^n much in favour with his Majesty.

10. I went early to White-hall to heare Dr. Tillotson, Deane of Canterbury, preaching on 9 Eccles. 18. I returned in the evening, and visited Lady Tuke, and found with her Sr Geo. Wakeman, the physitian, whom I had seene tried and acquitted‡, amongst the plotters for poisoning the late King, on the accusation of the famous Oates; and surely I believ'd him guiltlesse.

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* Mr. Samuel Lewen. His name does not appear in the History of Surrey amongst the landowners, but it is there stated that in 1709 Sir William Lewen purchased the rectory of Ewel, and that he was Lord Mayor of London in 1717. Vol. I. 470.

† His seat was at Long Ditton, near Kingston, which town had surrendered their charter to King Charles II. about a month before his death. King James appointed Sir Edward Evelyn one of the new Corporation.

‡ P. 509.

14. According to my costome I went to London to passe the holy weeke.

17. Good Friday. Dr. Tenison preached at the new church at St. James's, on 1 Cor. 16, 22, upon the infinite love of God to us, which he illustrated in many instances. The holy Sacrament followed, at which I participated. The Lord make me thankfull. In the afternoone Dr. Sprat, Bp. of Rochester, preached in Whitehall Chapell, the auditory very full of Lords, the two Archbishops, and many others, now drawne to towne upon the occasion of the Coronation and ensuing Parliament. I supp'd with the Countesse of Sunderland and Lord Godolphin, and return'd home.

23. Was the Coronation of the King and Queene. The solemnity was magnificent, as is set forth in print. The Bp. of Ely preach'd; but, to the greate sorrow of the people, no Sacrament, as ought to have ben. However the King begins his reigne with greate expectations, and hopes of much reformation as to the late vices and prophanenesse both of Court and Country. Having ben present at the late King's Coronation, I was not ambitious of seeing this ceremonie.

3 May. A young man preach'd, going chaplain with Sir Jo. Wiburn, Governor of Bombay in the East Indies.

7. I was in Westm^r Hall when Oates, who had made such a stir in the kingdom, on his revealing a Plot of the Papists, and alarm'd several Parliaments, and had occasioned the execution of divers Priests, Noblemen*, &c. was tried for perjurie at the King's Bench; but being very tedious, I did not endeavour to see the issue, considering that it would be published. Aboundance of Roman Catholics were in the Hall in expectation of the most gratefull conviction and ruine of a person who had ben so obnoxious to them, and, as I verily believe, had don much mischeife and greate injury to several by his violent and ill-grounded proceedings; whilst he was at first so unreasonably blowne up and encouraged, that his insolence was no longer sufferable.

Mr. Roger L'Estrange (a gentleman whom I had long known, and a person of excellent parts abating some affectations) appearing first

* Page 509.

against the Dissenters in several Tracts, had now for some yeares turn'd his style against those whom (by way of hateful distinction) they call'd Whiggs and Trimmers, under the title of Observator, which came out 3 or 4 days every weeke, in which sheets, under pretence to serve the Church of England, he gave suspicion of gratifying another party, by several passages which rather kept up animosities than appeas'd them, especialy now that nobody gave the least occasion*.

10. The Scots valueing themselves exceedingly to have ben ye first Parliament call'd by his Ma^ty^, gave the Excise and Costomes to him and his successors for ever; ye D. of Queensberry making eloquent speeches, and especialy minding them of a speedy suppression of those late desperate Field-Conventiclers who had done such unheard-of assassinations. In the meane time elections for the ensueing Parliament in England were thought to be very indirectly carried on in most places. God grant a better issue of it than some expect!

16. Oates was sentenced to be whipped and pilloried with the utmost severity.

21 May. I din'd at my Lord Privy Seale's with Sr Wm Dugdale, Garter King at Armes, author of the Monasticon and other learned workes: he told me he was 82 yeares of age, and had his sight and memory perfect†. There was shewn a draught of ye exact shape and dimensions of the Crowne the Queene had been crown'd withall, together with the jewells and pearles; their weight and value, wch amounted to £.100,658 sterling, attested at the foote of the paper by the jeweller and goldsmith who sett them.

22. In the morning I went with a French gentleman, and my Lord Privy Seale, to the House of Lords, where we were plac'd by his lordship next the Bar, just below ye Bishops, very commodiously both

* In the first Dutch war, whilst Mr. Evelyn was one of the Commissioners for sick and wounded, Mr. L'Estrange in his Gazette mentioned the barbarous usage of the Dutch prisoners of war; Mr. Evelyn wrote him a very spirited letter, desiring that the Dutch Ambassador (who was then in England) and his friends would visit the prisoners, and examine their provisions; and he desired Mr. L'Estrange would publish his vindication in his next number.

† Sir Isaac Heard, the present Garter King at Arms, is about the same age, and in equal possession of his faculties (1816.)

for hearing and seeing. After a short space came in ye Queene and Princesse of Denmark, and stood next above the Archbishops, at the side of the House on the right hand of the throne. In the interim divers of the Lords, who had not finish'd before, tooke the Test and usual Oathes, so that her Ma^ty^, the Spanish and other Ambassadors, who stood behind the throne, heard the Pope and worship of the Virgin Mary, &c. renounc'd very decently, as likewise the prayers which follow'd, standing all the while. Then came in the King, the Crowne on his head, and being seated, the Commons were introduced, and the House being full, he drew forth a paper containing his speech, which he read distinctly enough, to this effect: "That he resolv'd to call a Parliament from the moment of his brother's decease, as the best meanes to settle all the concernes of the Nation, so as to be most easy and happy to himselfe and his subjects; that he would confirme whatever he had said in his declaration at the first Council concerning his opinion of the principles of the Church of England, for their loyaltie, and would defend and support it, and preserve its government as by law now establish'd; that, as he would invade no man's property, so he would never depart from his owne prerogative; and as he had ventur'd his life in defence of the Nation, so he would proceede to do still; that, having given this assurance of his care of our Religion (his word was *your* Religion) and Property (wch he had not said by chance but solemnly), so he doubted not of suitable returnes of his subjects duty and kindnesse, especialy as to settling his Revenue for life, for ye many weighty necessities of government, wch he would not suffer to be precarious; that some might possibly suggest that it were better to feede and supply him from time to time only, out of their inclination to frequent Parliaments, but that that would be a very improper method to take with him, since the best way to engage him to meete oftener would be always to use him well, and therefore he expected their compliance speedily, that this Session being but short, they might meet againe to satisfaction." At every period of this the House gave loud shouts. Then he acquainted them with that morning's news of Argyle's being landed in the West Highlands of Scotland from Holland, and the treasonous declaration he had published, which he would communicate to them, and that he should

take the best care he could it should meete with the reward it deserv'd, not questioning the Parliament's zeale and readinesse to assist him as he desir'd; at which there follow'd another *Vive le Roi*, and so his Ma^ty^ retir'd.

So soone as ye Commons were return'd and had put themselves into a grand Committee, they immediately put the question, and unanimously voted the Revenue to his Ma^ty^ for life. Mr. Seymour made a bold speech against many Elections, and would have had those members who (he pretended) were obnoxious, to withdraw, till they had clear'd the matter of their being legally return'd; but no one seconded him. The truth is, there were many of the new members whose Elections and Returns were universally censur'd, many of them being persons of no condition or interest in the Nation, or places for which they serv'd, especially in Devon, Cornwall, Norfolk, &c. said to have ben recommended by the Court and from the effect of the new charters changing ye electors. It was reported that Lord Bath carried down with him [into Cornwall] no fewer than 15 charters, so that some call'd him the Prince Elector; whence Seymour told the House in his speech that if this was digested, they might introduce what religion and lawes they pleas'd, and that tho' he never gave heed to ye feares and jealousies of the people before, he now was really apprehensive of Popery. By the printed list of Members of 505 there did not appeare to be above 135 who had ben in former Parliaments, especialy that lately held at Oxford.

In ye Lords House Lord Newport made an exception against two or three young Peeres, who wanted some moneths, and some only four or five daies of being of age.

The Popish Lords who had ben sometime before releas'd from their confinement about the Plot, were now discharg'd of their impeachment, of wch I gave Lord Arundel of Wardour joy.

Oates, who had but two dayes before ben pilloried at severall places and whipt at ye carts taile from Newgate to Aldgate, was this day plac'd on a sledge, being not able to go by reason of so late scourging, and dragg'd from prison to Tyburn, and whipt againe all ye way, which some thought to be very severe and extraordinary; but if he was guilty of the perjuries, and so of the death of many innocents, as I feare he

was, his punishment was but what he deserv'd. I chanc'd to pass just as execution was doing on him. A strange revolution!

Note: there was no speech made by the Lord Keeper [Bridgeman] after his Ma^ty, as usual.

It was whisper'd he would not be long in that situation, and many believe the bold Cheif Justice Jefferies, who was made Baron of Wem in Shropshire, and who went thorough stitch in that tribunal, stands fair for that office. I gave him joy the morning before of his new honour, he having always ben very civil to me.

24 May. We had hitherto not any raine for many moneths, so as ye caterpillars had already devour'd all ye winter fruite thro' the whole land, and even kill'd severall greater old trees. Such two winters and summers I had never knowne.

4 June. Came to visite and take leave of me Sr Gab. Sylvius, now going Envoy extraordinary into Denmark, with his Secretary and Chaplaine, a Frenchman, who related the miserable persecution of the Protestants in France; not above 10 Churches left them, and those also threaten'd to be demolish'd; they were commanded to christen their children within 24 houres after birth, or else a Popish Priest was to be call'd, and then ye infant brought up in Popery. In some places they were 30 leagues from any minister or opportunity of worship. This persecution had displeas'd the most industrious part of ye nation, and dispers'd those into Swisse, Burgundy, Holland, Germany, Denmark, England, and the Plantations. There were with Sr Gabriel, his lady, Sr Wm Godolphin and sisters, and my Lord Godolphin's little son, my charge. I brought them to the water side where Sir Gabriel embark'd, and the rest return'd to London.

14. There was now certaine intelligence of the Duke of Monmouth landing at Lyme in Dorsetshire, and of his having set up his standard as King of England. I pray God deliver us from the confusion which these beginnings threaten!

Such a dearth for want of raine was never in my memory.

17. The Duke landed with but 150 men, but the whole Kingdom was alarm'd, fearing that the disaffected would joyn them, many of the train'd bands flocking to him. At his landing he publish'd a declara-

tion, charging his Ma^ty^ with usurpation and several horrid crimes, on pretence of his owne title, and offering to call a free Parliament. This declaration was order'd to be burnt by the hangman, the Duke proclaim'd a traytor, and a reward of £.5,000 to any who should kill him.

At this time the words engraved on the monument in London, intimating that the Papists fir'd the Citty, were erased and cut out.

The exceeding drowth still continues.

18. I received a warrant to send out a horse with 12 dayes provision, &c.

28. We had now plentiful raine after 2 yeares excessive drowth and severe winters.

Argyle taken in Scotland and executed, and his party dispers'd.

2 July. No considerable account of the troops sent against the Duke, tho' greate forces sent. There was a smart skirmish, but he would not be provok'd to come to an encounter, but still kept in the fastnesses.

Dangerfield whipp'd, like Oates, for perjurie.

8 July. Came news of Monmouth's utter defeate, and the next day of his being taken by Sr Wm Portman and Lord Lumley with the militia of their counties. It seemes the horse, commanded by Lord Grey, being newly rais'd and undisciplin'd, were not to be brought in so short a time to endure the fire, which expos'd the foote to the King's, so as when Monmouth had led the foote in greate silence and order, thinking to surprize Lieut^t^ Genl Lord Feversham newly encamp'd, and given him a smart charge, interchanging both greate and small shot, the horse, breaking their owne ranks, Monmouth gave it over, and fled with Grey, leaving their party to be cut in pieces to the number of 2000. The whole number reported to be above 8,000, the King's but 2,700. The slaine were most of them *Mendip-miners*, who did greate execution with their tooles, and sold their lives very dearely, whilst their leaders flying were pursu'd and taken the next morning, not far from one another. Monmouth had gone 16 miles on foote, changing his habite for a poore coate, and was found by Lord Lumley in a dry ditch cover'd with fern-brakes, but without sword, pistol, or any weapon, and so might have pass'd for some countryman, his beard being

grown so long and so grey as hardly to be known, had not his George discover'd him, which was found in his pocket. 'Tis said he trembl'd exceedingly all over, not able to speake. Grey was taken not far from him. Most of his party were anabaptists and poore clothworkers of ye country, no gentlemen of account being come in to him. The arch-boutefeu Ferguson, Matthews, &c. were not yet found. The £.5,000 to be given to whoever should bring Monmouth in, was to be distributed among the militia by agreement between Sr Wm Portman and Lord Lumley. The battail ended, some words, first in jest, then in passion, pass'd between Sherrington Talbot (a worthy gent^n^, son to Sr John Talbot, and who had behav'd himselfe very handsomely) and one Capt. Love, both commanders of the militia, as to whose souldiers fought best, both drawing their swords and passing at one another. Sherrington was wounded to death on the spot, to the greate regret of those who knew him. He was Sir John's only son.

9 July. Just as I was coming into the lodgings at White-hall, a little before dinner, my Lord of Devonshire standing very neere his Ma^ty's^ bed-chamber dooré in the lobby, came Col. Culpeper, and in a rude manner looking my Lord in the face, asked whether this was a time and place for excluders to appeare; my Lord at first tooke little notice of what he said, knowing him to be a hot-headed fellow, but he reiterating it, my Lord ask'd Culpeper whether he meant him; he said, yes, he meant his Lordship. My Lord told him he was no excluder (as indeed he was not); the other affirming it againe, my Lord told him he lied, on which Culpeper struck him a box on the eare, which my Lord return'd and fell'd him. They were soone parted, Culpeper was seiz'd, and his Ma^ty^, who was all the while in his bed-chamber, order'd him to be carried to the Green Cloth Officer, who sent him to the Marshalsea as he deserv'd. My Lord Devon had nothing said to him.

I supp'd this night at Lambeth at my old friend's Mr. Elias Ashmole's, with my Lady Clarendon, ye Bishop of St. Asaph, and Dr. Tenison, when we were treated at a greate feast.

10 July. The Count of Castel Mellor, that greate favourite and prime minister of Alphonso, late King of Portugal, after several yeares banishment, being now receiv'd to grace and call'd home by Don

Pedro the present King, as having ben found a person of the greatest integrity after all his sufferings, desir'd me to spend part of this day with him, and assist him in a collection of books and other curiosities, which he would carry with him into Portugal.

Mr. Hussey *, a young gentleman who made love to my late deare child, but whom she could not bring herselfe to answer in affection, died now of the same cruel disease, for. wch I was extreamly sorry, because he never enjoy'd himselfe after my daughter's decease, nor was I averse to the match, could she have overcome her disinclination.

15. I went to see Dr. Tenison's Library [in St. Martin's.]

Monmouth was this day brought to London and examin'd before the King, to whom he made greate submission, acknowledg'd his seduction by Ferguson the Scot, whom he nam'd ye bloudy villain. He was sent to ye Tower, had an interview with his late Dutchesse, whom he receiv'd coldly, having liv'd dishonestly with ye Lady Henrietta Wentworth for two yeares. He obstinately asserted his conversation with that debauch'd woman to be no sin, whereupon, seeing he could not be persuaded to his last breath, the divines who were sent to assist him thought not fit to administer the Holy Communion to him. For ye rest of his faults he profess'd greate sorrow, and so died without any apparent feare; he would not make use of a cap or other circumstance, but lying downe, bid the fellow do his office better than to the late Lord Russell, and gave him gold; but the wretch made five chopps before he had his head off; wch so incens'd the people, that had he not been guarded and got away, they would have torn him to pieces.

The Duke made no speech on the scaffold (wch was on Tower Hill) but gave a paper containing not above 5 or 6 lines, for the King, in which he disclaims all title to ye Crown, acknowledges that the late King, his father, had indeede told him he was but his base sonn, and so desir'd his Ma^ty to be kind to his wife and children. This relation I had from Dr. Tenison (Rector of St. Martin's), who, with the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, were sent to him by his Ma^ty, and were at the execution.

* Son of Peter Hussey, Esq. of Sutton, in Shere, Surrey. See pp. 431, 535.

Thus ended this quondam Duke, darling of his father and ye ladies, being extreamly handsome and adroit; an excellent souldier and dancer, a favourite of the people, of an easy nature, debauch'd by lust, seduc'd by crafty knaves who would have set him up only to make a property, and took the opportunity of the King being of another religion, to gather a party of discontented men. He fail'd, and perish'd.

He was a lovely person, had a virtuous and excellent lady that brought him greate riches, and a second dukedom in Scotland. He was Master of the Horse, General of the King his father's Army, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, Knight of the Garter, Chancellor of Cambridge, in a word had accumulations without end. See what ambition and want of principles brought him to! He was beheaded on Tuesday 14th July. His mother, whose name was Barlow, daughter of some very meane creatures, was a beautiful strumpet, whom I had often seene at Paris; she died miserably without any thing to bury her; yet this Perkin had ben made to believe that the King had married her; a monstrous and ridiculous forgerie; and to satisfy the world of the iniquity of the report, the King his father (if his father he really was, for he most resembl'd one Sidney *, who was familiar with his mother) publickly and most solemnly renounc'd it, to be so enter'd in the Council Booke some yeares since, with all ye Privy Councellors attestation †.

* Mr. Robert Sidney, commonly called handsome Sidney, related to the Earl of Leicester of that name.

† Ross, tutor to the Duke of Monmouth, proposed to Bishop Cozens to sign a certificate of the King's marriage to Mrs. Barlow, though her own name was Walters: this the Bishop refused. She was born of a gentleman's family in Wales, but having little means and less grace, came to London to make her fortune. Algernon Sidney, then a Colonel in Cromwell's army, had agreed to give her 50 broad pieces (as he told the Duke of York); but being ordered hastily away with his regiment, he missed his bargain. She went into Holland, where she fell into the hands of his brother Colonel Robert Sidney, who kept her for some time, till the King hearing of her, got her from him. On which the Colonel was heard to say, Let who will have her she is already sped; and after being with the King she was so soon with child that the world had no cause to doubt whose child it was, and the rather that when he grew to be a man, he very much resembled the Colonel both in stature and countenance, even to a wort on his face. However the King owned the child. In the King's absence she behaved so loosely, that on his return from his escape at Worcester, he would have no further commerce with her, and she became a common prostitute at Paris. Life of King James II. vol. I. 491.

Had it not pleas'd God to dissipate this attempt in ye beginning, there would in all appearance have gather'd an irresistable force which would have desperately proceeded to ye ruine of ye Church and Government, so general was the discontent and expectation of the opportunity. For my owne part I look'd upon this deliverance as most signal. Such an inundation of phanatics and men of impious principles must needs have caus'd universal disorder, cruelty, injustice, rapine, sacrilege, and confusion, an unavoidable civil war and misery without end. Blessed be God the knot was happily broken, and a faire prospect of tranquillity for the future if we reforme, be thankfull, and make a right use of this mercy.

18 July. I went to see the muster of the 6 Scotch and English regiments whom the Prince of Orange had lately sent to his Ma^ty^ out of Holland upon this rebellion, but which were now returning, there having ben no occasion for their use. They were all excellently clad and well disciplin'd, and were incamped on Blackheath with their tents: the King and Queene came to see them exercise, and the manner of their incampment, which was very neate and magnificent.

By a grosse mistake of the Secretary of his Ma^ty's^ forces, it had ben order'd that they should be quarter'd in private houses, contrary to an Act of Parliament, but on my informing his Ma^ty^ timely of it, it was prevented.

The two horsemen wch my son and myselfe sent into the county troopes, were now come home, after a moneth's being out to our greate charge.

20. The Trinity Company met this day, which should have ben on ye Monday after Trinity, but was put off by reason of the Royal Charter being so large that it could not be ready before. Some immunities were super-added. Mr. Pepys, Secretary to ye Admiralty, was a second time chosen Master. There were present the Duke of Grafton, Lord Dartmouth, Master of ye Ordnance, the Commissioners of ye Navy, and brethren of the Corporation. We went to Church according to costome, and then took barge to the Trinity House, in London, where we had a great dinner, above 80 at one table.

7 Aug. I went to see Mr. Wats, keeper of the Apothecaries Garden of Simples at Chelsea, where there is a collection of innumerable

rarities of that sort particularly, besides many rare annuals, the tree bearing jesuits bark, wch had don such wonders in quartan agues. What was very ingenious was the subterranean heate, conveyed by a stove under the conservatory, all vaulted with brick, so as he has the doores and windowes open in the hardest frosts, secluding only the snow.

15. Came to visite us Mr. Boscawen with my Lord Godolphin's little son, with whose education hither his father had intrusted me.

27. My daughter Elizabeth died of the small pox, soon after having married a young man, nephew of Sir John Tippett, surveyor of the Navy, and one of the Commissioners. The 30th she was buried in the Church at Deptford. Thus in lesse than six moneths were we deprived of two children for our unworthinesse and causes best knowne to God, whom I beseeche from the bottome of my heart that he will give us grace to make that right use of all these chastisements, that we may become better, and entirely submitt in all things to his infinite wise disposal. Amen.

3 Sept. Lord Clarendon (Lord Privy Seale) wrote to let me know that the King being pleas'd to send him Lord Lieutenant into Ireland, was also pleas'd to nominate me one of the Commiss^rs^ to execute ye office of Privy Seale during his Lieutenancy there, it behoving me to wait upon his Ma^ty^ to give him thanks for this greate honour.

5. I accompanied his Lordship to Windsor (dining by the way at Sir Henry Capel's at Kew), where his Ma^ty^ receiving me with extraordinary kindnesse, I kiss'd his hand. I told him how sensible I was of his Ma^tys^ gracious favour to me, that I would endeavour to serve him with all sincerity, diligence, and loyalty, not more out of my duty than inclination. He said he doubted not of it, and was glad he had the opportunity to shew me the kindnesse he had for me. After this came aboundance of greate men to give me joy.

6. Sunday. I went to prayer in the Chapell, and heard Dr. Standish. The second sermon was preach'd by Dr. Creighton, on 1 Thess. 4, 11, persuading to unity and peace, and to be mindfull of our owne businesse, according to the advise of the Apostle. Then I went to heare a Frenchman who preached before the King and Queene in that splendid

Chapell next St. George's Hall. Their Maties going to masse, I withdrew to consider the stupendous painting of ye Hall, which, both for the art and invention, deserve the inscription in honour of the painter, Signior Verrio. The history is Edward the 3d receiving the Black Prince, coming towards him in a Roman triumph. The whole roofe is the history of St. George. The throne, the carvings, &c. are incomparable, and I think equal to any, and in many circumstances exceeding any, I have seene abroad.

I din'd at Lord Sunderland's, with (amongst others) Sr Wm Soames, design'd Ambassr to Constantinople.

About 6 o'clock came Sr Dudley and his brother Roger North, and brought the greate seale from my Lord Keeper, who died ye day before at his house in Oxfordshire. The King went immediately to Council; every body guessing who was most likely to succeed this greate officer; most believing it could be no other than my Lord Chief Justice Jefferies, who had so vigorously prosecuted the late rebells, and was now gone the Western circuit, to punish the rest that were secur'd in the several counties, and was now neere upon his returne. I tooke my leave of his Maty, who spake very graciously to me, and supping that night at Sr Stephen Fox's, I promis'd to dine there the next day.

15 Sept. I accompanied Mr. Pepys to Portsmouth, whither his Maty was going the first time since his coming to the Crowne, to see in what state the fortifications were. We tooke coach and six horses, late after dinner, yet got to Bagshot* that night. Whilst supper was making ready I went and made a visit to Mrs. Graham†, some time maid of honour to ye Queene Dowager, now wife to James Graham, Esq. of the privy purse to the King; her house‡ being a walke in the forest, within a little quarter of a mile from Bagshot towne. Very importunate she was that I would sup, and abide there that night, but being obliged by my companion, I return'd to our inn, after she had shew'd me her house, wch was very commodious and well furnish'd, as she was an excellent housewife, a prudent and virtuous lady. There is a parke full of red deere about it. Her eldest son was now sick there

* 26 miles. † Miss Howard, see p. 479. ‡ Bagshot Park.

of the small-pox, but in a likely way of recovery, and other of her children run about, and among the infected, wch she said she let them do on purpose that they might whilst young pass that fatal disease she fancied they were to undergo one time or other, and that this would be the best: the severity of this cruell disease so lately in my poore family confirming much of what she affirmed.

16. The next morning setting out early, we ariv'd soon enough at Winchester to waite on the King, who was lodg'd at the Dean's (Dr. Meggot). I found very few with him besides my Lords Feversham, Arran, Newport, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells. His Ma^ty was discoursing with the Bishops concerning miracles, and what strange things the Saludadors* would do in Spaine, as by creeping into heated ovens without hurt, and that they had a black crosse in the roofe of their mouthes, but yet were commonly notorious and profane wretches; upon which his Majesty further said, that he was so extreamly difficult of miracles, for feare of being impos'd upon, that if he should chance to see one himselfe, without some other witness, he should apprehend it a delusion of his senses. Then they spake of ye boy who was pretended to have a wanting leg restor'd him, so confidently asserted by Fr. de Sta Clara and others. To all which the Bishop added a greate miracle happening in Winchester to his certaine knowledge, of a poor miserably sick and decrepit child (as I remember long kept unbaptiz'd), who immediately on his baptism recover'd; as also of ye salutary effect of K. Charles his Ma^tys father's blood, in healing one that was blind.

* As to that of the Saludador (of which likewise I remember Sir Arthur Hopton, formerly Ambassador at Madrid, had told me many like wonders) Mr. Pepys passing through Spaine, and being extreamly inquisitive of the truth of these pretended miracles of the Saludadors, found a very famous one at last, to whom he offered a considerable reward if he would make a trial of the oven, or any other thing of that kind, before him; the fellow ingenuously told him that finding he was a more than ordinary curious person; he would not deceive him, and so acknowledged that he could do none of the feates really, but that what they pretended was all a cheate, wch he would easily discover, though the poore superstitious people were easily imposed upon; yet have these imposters an allowance of the Bishops to practice their juglings. This Mr. Pepys affirmed to me, but, said he, I did not conceive it fit to interrupt his Ma^ty, who so solemnly told what they pretended to do. J. E.

There was something said of the second sight happening to some persons, especialy Scotch; upon which his Ma^ty^, and I think Lord Arran, told us that Mons. . . . . a French nobleman, lately here in England, seeing the late Duke of Monmouth come into ye play-house at London, suddenly cried out to somebody sitting in the same box, *Voilà Monsieur comme il entre sans tête.* Afterwards his Ma^ty^ spoke of some reliques that had effected strange cures, particularly a piece of our Bl. Saviour's Crosse, that heal'd a gentleman's rotten nose by onely touching; and speaking of the golden crosse and chaine taken out of the coffin of St. Edward the Confessor at Westm^r^*, by one of the singing men, who, as the scaffolds were taking down after his Ma^tys^ coronation, espying a hole in the tomb, and something glisten, put his hand in, and brought it to the Deane, and he to the King; his Ma^ty^ began to put the Bishop in mind how earnestly the late King (his brother) call'd upon him, during his agonie, to take out what he had in his pocket. I had thought, said the King, it had ben for some keys, which might lead to some cabinet that his Ma^ty^ would have me secure; but, says he, you well remember that I found nothing in any of his pockets but a crosse of gold, and a few insignificant papers; and thereupon he shew'd us the crosse, and was pleas'd to put it into my hand. It was of gold, about three inches long, having on one side a crucifix enamell'd and emboss'd, the rest was grav'd and garnish'd with goldsmiths' work, and two pretty broad table amethists (as I conceiv'd), and at the bottom a pendant pearle; within was inchas'd a little fragment, as was thought, of the true Crosse, and a Latine inscription in gold and Roman letters†. More company coming in, this discourse ended. I may not forget a resolution which his Ma^ty^ made, and had a little before enter'd upon it at ye Council Board at Windsor or White-hall, that the Negroes in the Plantations should all be baptiz'd, exceedingly declaiming against that impiety of their masters prohibiting it, out of a mistaken opinion that they would be *ipso facto* free; but his Ma^ty^ persists in his resolution to have them christen'd, wch piety ye Bishop blessed him for.

* See a "Narrative" on this subject among the Illustrations at the end of this Volume.

† There is a pamphlet giving an account of this finding, and presenting to the King, under the name of George Taylour; but his name was Henry Keepe. See Gough's Topography.

I went out to see the new Palace the late King had began, and brought almost to the covering. It is plac'd on the side of the hill where formerly stood the old Castle. It is a stately fabric, of three sides and a corridor, all built of brick, and cornish'd, windows and columns at the break and entrance of free-stone. It was intended for a hunting-house when his Ma^ty^ should come to these parts, and has an incomparable prospect. I believe there had already ben £.20,000 and more expended, but his now Majesty did not seeme to encourage the finishing it, at least for a while.

Hence I went to see the Cathedral, a reverend pile, and in good repaire. There are still the coffins of the six Saxon Kings, whose bones had ben scatter'd by the sacrilegious Rebells of 1641, in expectation, I suppose, of finding some valuable reliques, and afterwards gather'd up againe and put into new chests, wch stand above the stalls of the Choir.

17 Sept. Early next morning we went to Portsmouth, something before his Ma^ty^ ariv'd. We found all the way full of people, the women in their best dress, in expectation of seeing the King pass by, which he did riding on horseback a good part of the way. We found the Maior and Aldermen with their mace, and in their formalities, standing at the entrance of the fort, a mile on this side of the towne, where the Maior made a speech to the King, and then the guns of the fort were fired, as were those of the garrison so soone as the King was come into Portsmouth. All the souldiers (neere 3000) were drawn up, and lining the streetes and platforme to God's-house (the name of the Governor's house), where, after he had view'd the new fortifications and ship-yard, his Ma^ty^ was entertain'd at a magnificent dinner by Sir . . . . . Slingsby ye Lieut. Governor, all the gentlemen in his traine setting down at table with him, wch I also had don had I not ben before engag'd to Sr Robt Holmes, Govr of ye Isle of Wight, to dine with him at a private house, where likewise we had a very sumptuous and plentiful repast of excellent venison, fowle, fish, and fruit.

After dinner I went to wait on his Ma^ty^ againe, who was pulling on his bootes in ye Towne-hall, adjoyning the house where he din'd, and then having saluted some ladys, who came to kiss his hand, he tooke horse for Winchester, whither he returned that night. This hall is

artificialy hung round with armes of all sorts, like the Hall and Keep at Windsor.

I went hence to see the ship-yard and dock, the fortifications, and other things.

Portsmouth when finish'd will be very strong, and a noble key. There were now 32 men of war in ye harbour. I was invited by Sir R. Beach ye Commissioner, where, after a greate supper, Mr. Secretary and myselfe lay that night, and the next morning set out for Guildford, where we ariv'd in good hour, and so the day after to London.

I had twice before ben at Portsmouth, ye Isle of Wight, &c. many yeares since. I found this part of Hampshire bravely wooded, especialy about ye house and estate of Col. Norton, who, tho' now in being, having formerly made his peace by means of Col. Legg, was formerly a very fierce commander in the first Rebellion. His house is large, and standing low, on the road from Winchester to Portsmouth.

By what I observ'd in this journey, is that infinite industry, sedulity, gravity, and greate understanding and experience of affaires, in his Ma^ty^, that I cannot but predict much happiness to ye Nation, as to its political government; and if he so persist, there could be nothing more desir'd to accomplish our prosperity but that he was of the National Religion.

30. Lord Clarendon's Commission for Lieutenant of Ireland was seal'd this day.

2 Oct. Having a letter sent me by Mr. Pepys with this expression at the foote of it, "I have something to shew you that I may not have another time," and that I would not faile to dine with him, I accordingly went. After dinner he had me and Mr. Houblon (a rich and considerable merchant, whose father had fled out of Flanders on the persecution of the Duke of Alva) into a private roome, and told us that being lately alone with his Ma^ty^, and upon some occasion of speaking concerning my late Lord Arlington dying a Roman Catholic, who had all along seem'd to profess himselfe a Protestant, taken all the tests, &c. till the day (I think) of his death, his Ma^ty^ sayd that as to his inclinations he had known him long wavering, but from feare of looseing his places he did not think it convenient to declare himself. There are, says the

King, those who believe the Church of Rome gives dispensations for going to church, and many like things, but that is not so; for if that might have ben had, he himselfe had most reason to make use of it. *Indeede*, he said, as to *some matrimonial cases, there are now and then dispensations*, but hardly in any cases else. This familiar discourse encourag'd Mr. Pepys to beg of his Ma^ty^, if he might ask it without offence, and for that his Ma^ty^ could not but observe how it was whisper'd among many, whether his late Ma^ty^ had ben reconcil'd to ye Church of Rome; he againe humbly besought his Ma^ty^ to pardon his presumption if he had touch'd upon a thing which did not befit him to looke into: the King ingenuously told him that he both was and died a Roman Catholic, and that he had not long since declar'd it was upon some politic and state reasons, best known to himselfe (meaning the King his brother) but that he was of that persuasion: he bid him follow him into his closet, where opening a cabinet, he shew'd him two papers, containing about a quarter of a sheete, on both sides written, in the late King's owne hand, severall arguments opposite to the doctrine of the Church of England, charging her with heresy, novelty and ye fanaticism of other Protestants, the cheif whereof was, as I remember, our refusing to acknowledge the Primacy and Infallibility of the Church of Rome; how impossible it was that so many ages should never dispute it, till of late; how unlikely our Saviour would leave his Church without a visible head and guide to resort to, during his absence; with the like usual topics; so well penn'd as to the discourse as did by no means seeme to me to have ben put together by the late King, yet written all with his owne hand, blotted and interlin'd, so as, if indeede it was not given him by some priest, they might be such arguments and reasons as had ben inculcated from time to time, and here recollected; and in the conclusion shewing his looking on the Protestant Religion (and by name the Church of England) to be without foundation, and consequently false and unsafe. When his Ma^ty^ had shewn him these originals, he was pleas'd to lend him the copies of those two papers, attested at the bottome in 4 or 5 lines, under his owne hand.

These were the papers I saw and read. This nice and curious pas-

sage I thought fit to set downe. Tho' all the arguments and objections were altogether weake, and have a thousand times ben answer'd by our Divines; they are such as their Priests insinuate among their proselites, as if nothing were Catholiq but the Church of Rome, no salvation out of that, no reformation sufferable, bottoming all their errors on St. Peter's successors unerrable dictatorship, but proving nothing with any reason, or taking notice of any objection which could be made against it. Here all was taken for granted, and upon it a resolution and preference implied. I was heartily sorry to see all this, tho' it was no other than was to be suspected, by his late Ma^tys too greate indifference, neglect, and course of life, that he had ben perverted, and for secular respects onely profess'd to be of another beliefe, and thereby giving greate advantage to our adversaries, both the Court and generaly the youth and greate persons of the Nation becoming dissolute and highly profane. God was incens'd to make his reign very troublesome and unprosperous, by warrs, plagues, fires, losse of reputation by an universal neglect of the publique for the love of a voluptuous and sensual life, wch a vicions Court had brought into credit. I think of it with sorrow and pity when I consider of how good and debonaire a nature that unhappy Prince was, what opportunities he had to have made himselfe the most renown'd King that ever sway'd the British scepter, had he ben firm to that Church for wch his martyr'd and blessed father suffer'd; and had he ben gratefull to Almighty God, who so miraculously restor'd him, with so excellent a Religion; had he endeavour'd to owne and propagate it as he should have don, not onely for the good of his Kingdom, but of all the Reformed Churches in Christendom, now weaken'd and neere ruin'd thro' our remissnesse and suffering them to be suplanted, persecuted and destroy'd, as in France, which we tooke no notice of. The consequence of this time will shew, and I wish it may proceed no further. The emissaries and instruments of the Church of Rome will never rest till they have crush'd the Church of England, as knowing that alone to be able to cope with them, and that they can never answer her fairly, but lie aboundantly open to the irresistable force of her arguments, antiquity and purity of her doctrine, so that albeit it may move God, for the punishment of a Nation so

unworthy, to eclipse againe the profession of her here, and darknesse and superstition prevaile, I am most confident the doctrine of the Church of England will never be extinguish'd, but remaine visible, if not eminent, to ye consummation of the world. I have innumerable reasons that confirm me in this opinion, which I forbear to mention here.

In the mean time as to the discourse of his Ma^ty^ with Mr. Pepys, and those papers, as I do exceedingly prefer his Majesty's free and ingenuous profession of what his own Religion is, beyond concealment upon any politic accounts, so I thinke him of a most sincere and honest nature, one on whose word one may relie, and that he makes a conscience of what he promises, to performe it. In this confidence I hope that the Church of England may yet subsist, and when it shall please God to open his eyes and turne his heart (for that is peculiarly in the Lord's hands) to flourish also. In all events whatever do become of the Church of England, it is certainely, of all the Christian professions on the earth, the most primitive, apostolical and excellent.

8 Oct. I had my picture drawn this week by the famous Kneller *.

14. I went to London about finishing my lodgings at White-hall.

15. Being the King's birth day, there was a solemne ball at Court, and before it musiq of instruments and voices. At the musiq I happen'd by accident to stand the very next to the Queene and the King, who talk'd with me about the musick.

18. The King was now building all that range from East to West by ye Court and Garden to the streete, and making a new Chapel for ye Queene, whose lodgings were to be in this new building, as also a new Council chamber and offices next ye South end of ye Banquetting house. I returned home next morning to London.

22. I accompanied my Lady Clarendon to her house at Swallowfield in Berks, dining by the way at Mr. Graham's lodge at Bagshot †; the house, new repair'd and capacious enough for a good family, stands in a Park.

Hence we went to Swallowfield; this house is after the antient building of honourable gentlemen's houses, when they kept up antient hos-

* An Engraving from this Portrait now at Wotton forms the Frontispiece to the First Volume of these Memoirs.

† See p. 607.

pitality, but the gardens and waters as elegant as 'tis possible to make a flat, by art and industrie, and no meane expence, my lady being so extraordinarily skill'd in ye flowery part, and my lord in diligence of planting; so that I have hardly seene a seate which shews more tokens of it than what is to be found here, not only in the delicious and rarest fruits of a garden, but in those innumerable timber trees in the ground about the seate, to the greatest ornament and benefit of the place. There is one orchard of 1000 golden, and other cider pippins; walks and groves of elms, limes, oaks, and other trees. The garden is so beset with all manner of sweete shrubbs, that it perfumes the aire. The distribution also of the quarters, walks, and parterres, is excellent. The nurseries, kitchin garden full of ye most desireable plants; two very noble Orangeries well furnished; but above all, the canall and fishponds, the one fed with a white, the other with a black running water, fed by a quick and swift river, so well and plentifully stor'd with fish, that for pike, carp, breame and tench, I never saw any thing approching it. We had at every meale carp and pike of size fit for the table of a Prince, and what added to ye delight was to see the hundreds taken by the drag, out of which, the cooke standing by, we pointed out what we had most mind to, and had carp that would have ben worth at London twenty shillings a piece. The waters are flagg'd about with *Calamus aromaticus*, with wch my lady has hung a closet, that retains the smell very perfectly. There is also a certaine sweete willow and other exotics: also a very fine bowling-greene, meadow, pasture, and wood; in a word, all that can render a country seate delightful. There is besides a well furnish'd library in ye house.

26. We return'd to London, having ben treated with all sorts of cheere and noble freedom by that most religious and vertuous lady. She was now preparing to go for Ireland with her husband, made Lord Deputy, and went to this country-house and antient seate of her father and family *, to set things in order during her absence; but never were

* She was daughter and heiress of Wm. Backhouse, Esq.; and widow of Sir Wm. Backhouse, Bart. Collins's Peerage.

good people and neighbours more concern'd than all the country (the poor especialy) for the departure of this charitable woman; every one was in teares, and she as unwilling to part from them. There was amongst them a maiden of primitive life, the daughter of a poore labouring man, who had sustain'd her parents (sometime since dead) by her labour, and has for many years refus'd marriage, or to receive any assistance from the parish, besides ye little hermitage my lady gives her rent-free; she lives on foure pence a day, which she gets by spinning; says she abounds and can give almes to others, living in greate humility and content, without any apparent affectation or singularity; she is continualy working, praying or reading, gives a good account of her knowledge in religion, visites the sick; is not in the least given to talke; very modest, of a simple not unseemly behaviour; of a comely countenance, clad very plaine, but cleane and tight. In sum, she appeares a saint of an extraordinary sort, in so religious a life as is seldom met with in villages now a-daies.

27. I was invited to dine at Sir Ste. Fox's with my Lord Lieutenant, where was such a dinner for variety of all things as I had seldome seene, and it was so for the trial of a master cooke whom Sir Stephen had recommended to go with his Lordship into Ireland; there were all ye dainties not onely of the season, but of what art could add, venison, plaine solid meate, fowle, bak'd and boil'd meates, banquet [desert], &c. in exceeding plenty and exquisitely dress'd. There also din'd my Lord Ossory and Lady (the Duke of Beaufort's daughter), my Lady Treasurer, Lord Cornbery, &c.

28. At the Royal Society an urn full of bones was presented, dug up in an highway, whilst repairing it, in a field in Camberwell in Surrey; it was found intire with its cover, amongst many others, believ'd to be truly Roman and antient.

Sir Richd Bulkeley described to us a model of a charriot he had invented, wch it was not possible to overthrow in whatever uneven way it was drawn, giving us a wonderfull relation of what it had perform'd in that kind, for ease, expedition, and safety; there were some inconveniencies yet to be remedied — it would not contain more than one

person; was ready to take fire every 10 miles, and being plac'd, and playing on no fewer than 10 rollers, it made a most prodigious noise, almost intolerable. A remedy was to be sought for these inconveniencies.

31. I din'd at our greate Lord Chancellor Jefferies, who us'd me with much respect. This was the late Chief Justice who had newly ben the Western Circuit to try the Monmouth conspirators, and had formerly don such severe justice amongst the obnoxious in Westm^r Hall, for which his Ma^ty dignified him by creating him first a Baron, and now Lord Chancellor. He had some years past ben conversant at Deptford; is of an assur'd and undaunted spirit, and has serv'd the Court interest on all the hardiest occasions; is of nature cruel and a slave of the Court.

3 Nov. The French persecution of ye Protestants raging with the utmost barbarity, exceeded even what ye very heathens us'd: innumerable persons of the greatest birth and riches leaving all their earthly substance, and hardly escaping with their lives, dispers'd thro' all the countries of Europe. The French tyrant abrogated the Edict of Nantes which had ben made in favour of them, and without any cause; on a suddaine demolishing all their Churches, banishing, imprisoning, and sending to ye gallies all ye ministers; plundering the common people, and exposing them to all sorts of barbarous usage by souldiers sent to ruine and prey on them; taking away their children; forcing people to ye Masse, and then executing them as relapsers; they burnt their libraries, pillag'd their goods, eate up their fields and substance, banish'd or sent the people to ye gallies, and seiz'd on their estates. There had now ben number'd to passe thro' Geneva onely (and that by stealth, for all the usual passages were strictly guarded by sea and land) 40,000 towards Swisserland. In Holland, Denmark, and all about Germany, were dispers'd some hundred thousands; besides those in England, where though multitudes of all degrees sought for shelter and wellcome as distressed Christians and Confessors, they found least encouragement, by a fatality of the times we were fallen into, and ye uncharitable indifference of such as should have embrac'd them; and I pray it

be not laid to our charge. The famous Claude fled to Holland, Allix* and severall more came to London, and persons of greate estates came over, who had forsaken all. France was almost dispeopled, the bankers so broaken that ye Tyrant's revenue was exceedingly diminish'd, manufactures ceas'd, and every body there, save the Jesuites, abhorr'd what was don, nor did the Papists themselves approve it. What the further intention is time will shew, but doubtlesse portending some revolution. I was shew'd the harangue wch the Bishop of Valentia on Rhone made in ye name of ye Cleargie, celebrating the French King, as if he was a God, for persecuting the poore Protestants, with this expression in it, "That as his victory over heresy was greater than all the "conquests of Alexander and Cæsar, it was but what was wish'd in "England; and that God seem'd to raise the French King to this power "and magnanimous action, that he might be in capacity to assist in "doing the same here." This paragraph is very bold and remarkable; severall reflecting on Archbishop Usher's prophecy as now begun in France, and approching the orthodox in all other reform'd churches. One thing was much taken notice of, that the Gazettes which were still constatl y printed twice a weeke, informing us what was don all over Europe, never spake of this wonderfull proceeding in France, nor was any relation of it publish'd by any, save what private letters and the persecuted fugitives brought: whence this silence I list not to conjecture, but it appear'd very extraordinary in a Protestant countrie that we should know nothing of what Protestants suffer'd, whilst greate collections were made for them in forreine places, more hospitable and Christian to appearance.

5 Nov. It being an extraordinary wett morning, and myself indisposed by a very greate rheume, I did not go to church, to my very greate sorrow, it being the first Gunpowder Conspiracy anniversary that had ben kept now these 80 yeares under a prince of the Roman

* Mr. Peter Allix, a minister of the Reform'd Church at Charenton, came over with his whole family, and met with great encouragement here. He was the author of several learned discourses in defence of the Christian Religion in general, and of Protestantism in particular. His eldest son John Peter Allix became D. D. and after passing through different preferments, was in 1730 made Dean of Ely, and died in 1758, and was buried in his church of Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire.

religion. Bonfires were forbidden on this day; what does this portend!

9. Began the Parliament; the King in his speech required continuance of a standing force instead of a militia, and indemnity and dispensation to Popish officers from the Test; demands very unexpected and unpleasing to the Commons. He also requir'd a supply of revenue, which they granted, but return'd no thanks to the King for his speech, till farther consideration.

12. The Commons postpon'd finishing the bill for the supply, to consider of the Test, and Popish officers; this was carried but by one voice.

14. I dined at Lambeth, my Lord Archbishop carrying me with him in his barge: there were my Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Bp. of Ely, and St. Asaph, Dr. Sherlock, and other divines; Sir Wm Hayward, Sir Paule Rycaut, &c.

20. The Parliament was adjourn'd to February, severall bothof Lords and Commons excepting against some passage of his Majesty's speech relating to the Test, and continuance of Popish officers in command. This was a greate surprize in a Parliament which people believ'd would have complied in all things.

Popish pamphlets and pictures sold publickly; no books nor answers to them appearing till long after.

21. I resign'd my trust for composing a difference between Mr. Thynn and his wife.

22. Hitherto was a very wett warme season.

4 Dec. Lord Sunderland was declar'd President of ye Counsel, and yet to hold his Secretarie's place. The forces dispos'd into severall quarters thro' ye kingdome are very insolent, on wch are greate complaints.

Lord Brandon tried for the late conspiracy, was condemn'd and pardon'd; so was Lord Grey, his accuser and witnesse.

Persecution in France raging, the French insolently visite our vessells, and take away the fugitive Protestants; some escape in barrells.

10. To Greenwich, being put into the new Commission of Sewers.

13. Dr Patrick, Dean of Peterborough, preach'd at White-hall before ye Princesse of Denmark; who since his Ma^ty^ came to the

Crown, allways sate in the King's closet, and had the same bowings and ceremonies applied to the place where she was, as his Ma^ty had when there in person.

Dining at Mr. Pepys's, Dr. Slayer shewed us an experiment of a wonderful nature, pouring first a very cold liquor into a glass, and super-fusing on it another, to appearance cold and cleare liquor also; it first produced a white cloud, then boiling; divers corruscations and actual flames of fire mingled with the liquor, which being a little shaken together, fixed divers sunns and starrs of real fire, perfectly globular, on the sides of the glasse, and which there stuck like so many constellations, burning most vehemently, and resembling starrs and heavenly bodies, and that for a long space. It seemed to exhibite a theorie of the eduction of light out of the chaos, and the fixing or gathering of the universal light into luminous bodys. This matter or phosphorus was made out of human blood and urine, elucidating the vital flame or heate in animal bodys. A very noble experiment.

16. I accompanied my Lord Lieutenant as far as St. Alban's, there going out of towne with him neere 200 coaches of all the greate officers and nobilitie. The next morning taking leave, I return'd to London.

18. I din'd at the greate entertainment his Ma^ty gave ye Venetian Ambassadors, Sign^rs Zenno and Justiniani, accompanied with 10 more noble Venetians of their most illustrious families, Cornaro, Maccenigo, &c. who came to congratulate their Maties coming to ye Crowne. The dinner was most magnificent and plentifull, at four tables, with music, kettle drums, and trumpets, wch sounded upon a whistle at every health. The banquet [desert] was 12 vast chargers pil'd up so high that those who sat one against another could hardly see each other. Of these sweetemeates, wch doubtless were some days piling up in that exquisite manner, the Ambassadors touch'd not, but leaving them to ye spectators who came out of curiosity to see the dinner, were exceedingly pleas'd to see in what a moment of time all that curious work was demolish'd, the comfitures voided, and the tables clear'd. Thus his Ma^ty entertain'd them thrée days, which (for the table only) cost him £.600, as the Cleark of the Greene cloth (Sr Wm Boreman) assur'd me. Dinner ended, I saw their procession or cavalcade to White-hall,

innumerable coaches attending. The two Ambass^{rs} had 4 coaches of their owne and 50 footemen (as I remember), besides other equipage as splendid as ye occasion would permitt, the Court being still in mourning. Thence I went to the audience wch they had in the Queene's presence chamber, the Banquetting house being full of goods and furniture till the galleries on the garden side, Council chamber, and new Chapell now in building, were finish'd. They went to their audience in those plain black gownes and caps which they constantly weáre in the Citty of Venice. I was invited to have accompanied the 2 Ambassadors in their coach to supper that night, returning now to their own lodgings, as no longer at the King's expence; but being weary I excus'd myself.

19 Dec. My Lord Treasurer made me dine with him, where I became acquainted with Monsr Barillon, the French Ambassador, a learned and crafty advocate.

20. Dr Turner, brother to ye Bp. of Ely, and sometime Tutor to my son, preach'd at White-hall on 8 Mark 38, concerning ye submission of Christians to their persecutors, in wch were some passages indiscreete enough, considering ye time, and the rage of the inhumane French tyrant against the poore Protestants.

22. Our patent for executing the office of Privy Seal during the absence of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, being this day seal'd by the Lord Chancellor, we went afterwards to St James's, where the Court then was on occasion of building at White-hall; his Ma^{ty} deliver'd the seale to my Lord Tiviot and myselfe, the other Commissioners not being come, and then gave us his hand to kisse. There were the two Venetian Ambassadors, and a world of company; amongst the rest the first Popish Nuncio * that had ben in England since the Reformation, so wonderfully were things chang'd, to the universal jealousy.

24. We were all three Commissioners sworne on our knees by the Cleark of the Crowne, before my Lord Chancellor, three severall oathes; allegiance, supremacy, and the oath belonging to ye Lord Privy Seal, wch last we tooke standing. After this the Lord Chancellor invited us

* Ferdinand Count D'Ada, afterwards a Cardinal. There is a good mezzotinto print of him.

all to dinner, but it being Christmas-eve we desir'd to be excus'd, intending at three in ye afternoone to seale divers things which lay ready at ye office; so attended by three of the Clearks of ye Signet, we met and seal'd. Amongst other things was a pardon to West, who being privy to the late conspiracy, had reveal'd the accomplices to save his owne neck. There were also another pardon and two indenizations; and so agreeing to a fortnight's vacation, I return'd home.

31. Recollecting the passages of the yeare past, and made up accompts, humbly besought Almighty God to pardon those my sinns which had provoked him to discompose my sorrowfull family; that he would accept of our humiliation, and in his good time restore comfort to it. I also blest God for all his undeserved mercies and preservations, begging the continuance of his grace and preservation.—The winter had hitherto been extraordinary wett and mild.

1686. 1 Jan. Imploring ye continuance of God's providential care for the yeare now entered, I went to the publiq devotions. The Deane of the Chapell and Cleark of the Closset put out, viz. Bp. of London and . . . , and Rochester* and Durham† put in their places; the former had oppos'd the toleration intended, and shewn a worthy zeale for the Reform'd Religion as establish'd.

6. I din'd with ye Abp. of York, where was Peter Walsh, that Romish Priest so well known for his moderation, professing the Church of England to be a true member of the Catholic Church; he is us'd to go to our publiq prayers without scruple, and did not acknowledge the Pope's infallibility, onely primacy of order.

19. Passed the Privie Seale, amongst others, the creation of Mrs. Sedley‡ (concubine to ———) Countesse of Dorchester, which the Queene took very grievously, so as for two dinners, standing neere her

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* Sprat. † Crewe.

‡ Catharine, daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, Bart. one of the famous knot of wits and courtiers of King Charles's time—he was also a poet, and wrote some dramatic pieces. She had a daughter by King James II. and was afterwards married to David Earl of Portmore, by whom she had two sons, and diëd in 1717. Lord Dorset's well known verses, "Tell me, Dorinda, why so gay," &c. are addressed to this lady. Her father's sarcasm when he voted for filling up the vacant throne with the Prince and Princess of Orange is well known; "King James made my daughter a Countess, and I have been helping to make his daughter a Queen."

I observed she hardly eate one morsel, nor spake one word to the King, or to any about her, tho' at other times she us'd to be extreamly pleasant, full of discourse and good humour. The Roman Catholics were also very angry, because they had so long valu'd the sanctity of their religion and proselytes.

Dryden the famous playwriter, and his two sonns, and Mrs. Nelly (Misse to ye late ——) were said to go to masse; such proselytes were no greate losse to the church.

This night was burnt to the ground my Lord Mountague's palace in Bloomsbury, than wch for painting and furniture there was nothing more glorious in England. This happen'd by the negligence of a servant, airing, as they call it, some of the goods by the fire in a moist season; indeede so wet and mild a winter had scarce ben seene in man's memory.

At this Seale there also pass'd the creation of Sr H. Walgrave to be a Peere. He had married one of the King's natural daughters by Mrs. Churchill. These two Seales my brother Commissioners pass'd in the morning before I came to towne, at wch I was not displeas'd. We likewise pass'd Privy Seales for £.276,000 upon severall accounts, pensions, guards, wardrobes, privie purse, &c. besides divers pardons, and one more wch I must not forget (and wch by Providence I was not present at) one Mr. Lytcott to be Secretary to the Ambassador to Rome. We being three Commissioners, any two were a quorum.

21. I din'd at my Lady Arlington's, groome of the stole to the Queene Dowager, at Somerset House, where din'd the Countesses of Devonshire, Dover, &c. in all 11 ladys of quality, no man but myselfe being there.

24. Unheard of cruelties to ye persecuted Protestants of France, such as hardly any age has seene the like, even among the Pagans.

6 Feb. Being the day on wch his Ma^ty^ began his reign, by order of Council it was to be solemniz'd with a particular Office and Sermon, which the Bp. of Ely * preach'd at White-hall on 11 Numb. 12; a Court oration upon the Regal office. It was much wonder'd at that

* Dr. Francis Turner.

this day, wch was that of his late Ma^ty's^ death, should be kept as a festival, and not [instead of] the day of the present King's coronation. It is said to have ben formerly ye costom, tho' not till now since ye reigne of King James I.

The Dutchesse of Monmouth being in ye same seate with me at church, appear'd with a very sad and afflicted countenance.

8. I tooke the Test in Westminster Hall, before the Lord Cheif Justice. I now came to lodge at White-hall in the Lord Privy Seal's lodgings.

12. My greate cause was heard by my Lord Chancellor, who granted me a re-hearing. I had 6 eminent lawyers, my antagonists 3, whereof one was the smooth-tong Solicitor *, whom my Lord Chancellor reprov'd in greate passion for a very small occasion. Blessed be God for his greate goodnesse to me this day.

19. Many bloody and notorious duels were fought about this time. The Duke of Grafton kill'd Mr. Stanley, brother to the Earle of [Derby], indeede upon an almost insufferable provocation. It is to be hop'd his Ma^ty^ will at last severely remedy this unchristian custome.

Lord Sunderland was now Secretary of State, President of the Council, and Premier Minister.

1 March. Came Sir Gilbert Gerrard to treate with me about his sonn's marrying my daughter Susanna. The father being obnoxious, and in some suspicion and displeasure of the King, I would receive no proposal till his Ma^ty^ had given me leave, wch he was pleas'd to do; but after severall meetings we brake off on his not being willing to secure any thing competent for my daughter's children; besides that I found most of his estate was in ye coal pits as far off as Newcastle, and on leases from the Bishop of Durham, who had power to make concurrent leases, with other difficulties.

7. Dr Frampton, Bp. of Gloucester, preach'd on 44 Psalm, 17, 18, 19, shewing the severall afflictions of the Church of Christ from the primitives to this day, applying exceedingly to the present conjuncture, when many were wavering in their minds, and greate temptations

* Mr. Finch, called *Silver-Tongue*, from his manner of speaking.

appearing thro' the favour now found by the Papists, so as the people were full of jealousies and discouragement. The Bp. magnified the Church of England, exhorting to constancy and perseverance.

10. A Council of the Royal Society about disposing of Dr Ray's book of Fishes, which was printed at the expence of the Society.

12. A docquet was to be seal'd importing a lease of 21 yeares to one Hall, who styl'd himselfe his Maty's printer (he lately turn'd Papist) for the printing Missalls, Offices, Lives of Saints, Portals, Primers, &c. books expressly forbidden to be printed or sold, by divers Acts of Parliament; I refus'd to put the seale to it, making my exceptions, so it was laied by.

14. The Bp. of Bath and Wells* preach'd on 6 John 17, a most excellent and pathetic discourse: after he had recommended the duty of fasting and other penitential duties, he exhorted to constancy in the Protestant religion, detestation of the unheard-of cruelties of the French, and stirring up to a liberal contribution. This Sermon was the more acceptable, as it was unexpected from a Bishop who had undergon the censure of being inclin'd to Popery, the contrary whereof no man could shew more. This indeede did all our Bishops, to the disabusing and reproch of all their delators; for none were more zealous against Popery than they were.

16. I was at a review of the Army about London, in Hide Park, about 6000 horse and foote, in excellent order; his Maty and infinity of people being present.

17. I went to my house in the country, refusing to be present at what was to passe at the Privy Seale the next day. In the morning Dr. Tenison preached an incomparable discourse at White-hall, on 2 Timothy 3, 4.

24. Dr. Cradock (Provost of Eaton) preached at the same place on 49 Psalm 13. shewing the vanity of earthly enjoyments.

28. Dr White, Bp. of Peterboro', preach'd in a very eloquent style, on 26 Matthew 29, submission to the will of God on all accidents and at all times.

* Dr. Ken.

29. The Duke of Northumberland (a natural son of the late King by the Dutchess of Cleaveland) marrying very meanly, with the helpe of his brother Grafton, attempted to spirit away his wife.

A Briefe was read in all Churches for relieving the French Protestants who came here for protection from the unheard-of cruelties of their King.

Aprill 2. Sir Edward Hales, a papist, made Governor of Dover Castle *.

15. The Abp. of York † now died of ye small pox, aged 62, a corpulent man. He was my special loving friend, and whilst Bp. of Rochester (from whence he was translated) my excellent neighbour. He was an unexpressible losse to ye whole church, and that province especialy, he being a learned, wise, stoute, and most worthy prelate. I looke on this as a greate stroke to ye poore Church of England, now in this defecting period.

18. In the afternoone I went to Camberwell to visit Dr. Parr. After sermon I accompanied him to his house, where he shew'd me the Life and Letters of the late learned Primate of Armagh (Usher), and among them that letter of Bp. Bramhal's to the Primate, giving notice of the Popish practices to pervert this Nation, by sending an hundred priests into England, who were to conforme themselves to all sectaries and conditions for the more easily dispersing their doctrine amongst us. This letter was the cause of ye whole impression being seiz'd, upon pretence that it was a political or historical account of things not relating to theology, tho' it had ben licens'd by ye Bishop; which plainely shew'd what an interest the Papists now had, that a Protestant booke, containing the life and letters of so eminent a man, was not to be publish'd. There were also many letters to and from most of ye learned persons his correspondents in Europe. The book will, I doubt not, struggle through this unjust impediment.

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* Not taking the Test, his coachman was set up to inform against him, and claim the 500*l.* penalty. When this was to be brought to trial, the Judges were secretly asked their opinions, and such as were not clear with the Court, were turned out. Half of them were dismissed. Burnet, III. 1110, 1111.

† Dr. John Dolben.

Several Judges were put out, and new complying ones put in.

25. This day was read in our church the Briefe for a collection for reliefe of ye Protestant French, so cruely, barbarously and inhumanly oppress'd without any thing laied to their charge. It had ben long expected, and at last was with difficulty procur'd to be publish'd, the interest of the French Ambassador obstructing it.

15 May. There being a Seale it was fear'd we should be requir'd to passe a doquett dispensing with Dr Obadiah Walker and four more, whereof one was an apostate curate of Putney *, ye others officers of University College, Oxford, to hold their masterships, fellowships, and cures, and keepe publiq schooles, and enjoy all former emoluments, notwithstanding they no more frequented or us'd the public formes of prayers or communion with ye Church of England, or took ye test and oathes of allegiance and supremacy, contrary to 20 Acts of Parliament; which dispensation being also contrary to his Ma^ty's^ owne gracious declaration at ye beginning of his reigne, gave umbrage (as well it might) to every good Protestant, nor could we safely have pass'd it under the Privy Seale, wherefore it was done by immediate warrant, sign'd by Mr. Solicitor.

This Walker was a learned person, of a monkish life, to whose tuition I had more than 30 yeares since recommended the sonns of my worthy friend Mr. Hyldyard of Horsly in Surry †, believing him to be far from what he prov'd, an hypocritical conceal'd Papist, by wch he perverted the eldest sonn of Mr. Hyldyard, Sr Edwd Hale's eldest sonn, and severall more, to the greate disturbance of the whole Nation, as well as of the University, as by his now publiq defection appear'd. All engines being now at work to bring in Popery, wch God in mercy prevent!

This day was burnt in the old Exchange, by the common hangman, a translation of a booke written by ye famous Monsr Claude, relating onely matters of fact concerning the horrid massacres and barbarous

* Edw. Sclater. From a Protestant he became a Roman Catholic; and in 1689 he read his recantation from that church, and again became a Protestant. Manning and Bray's Surrey, III. 300.

† See before, p. 259.

proceedings of ye French King against his Protestant subjects; without any refutation of any facts therein; so mighty a power and ascendant here had the French Ambass^r^, who was doubtlesse in greate indignation at the pious and truly generous charity of all the Nation, for ye reliefe of those miserable sufferers who came over for shelter.

About this time also the Duke of Savoy, instigated by ye French King to extirpate the Protestants of Piedmont, slew many thousands of those innocent people, so that there seem'd to be an universal designe to destroy all that would not go to masse, throughout Europe. *Quod avertat D. O. M!* No faith in Princes!

12. I refus'd to put the Privy Seale to Dr Walker's licence for printing and publishing divers Popish books, of which I complain'd both to my Lord of Canterbury (with whom I went to advise in the Council Chamber), and to my Lord Treasurer that evening at his lodgings. My Lord of Canterbury's advice was, that I should follow my owne conscience therein *; Mr. Treasurer's, that if in conscience I could dispense with it, for any other hazard he believ'd there was none. Notwithstanding this I persisted in my refusal.

29. There was no sermon on this anniversary, as there usually had ben ever since ye reigne of the present King.

2 June. Such storms, raine and foul weather, seldom known at this time of the yeare. The camp at Hounslow Heath, from sicknesse and other inconveniences of weather, forc'd to retire to quarters; ye storms being succeeded by excessive hot weather, many grew sick. Greate feasting there, especialy in Lord Dunbarton's quarters. There were many jealousies and discourses of what was the meaning of this incampment.

A Seale this day, mostly pardons and discharges of Kn^t^ Baronets fees, wch having ben pass'd over for so many yeares, did greatly disoblige several families who had serv'd his Ma^ty^. Lord Tirconnell gon to Ireland, with greate powers and commissions, giving as much cause of talke as the camp, especialy 19 new privy councillors and judges being now made, amongst wch but three Protestants, and Tirconnell made Generall.

* Sancroft. Burnet describes him as a timid man.

New Judges also here, amongst wch was Milton, a Papist (brother to that Milton who wrote for ye Regicides), who presum'd to take his place without passing ye Test*. Scotland refuses to grant liberty of masse to the Papists there.

The French persecution more inhuman than ever. The Protestants in Savoy successfully resist the French dragoons sent to murder them.

The King's chiefe physician in Scotland apostatizing from the Protestant religion, does of his own accord publish his recantation at Edinburgh†.

11. I went to see Middleton's receptacle of water at the New River, and the new Spa Wells neere.

20. An extraordinary season of violent and sudden raine. The camp still in tents.

24. My Lord Treasurer settled my greate buisinesse with Mr. Pretyman, to which I hope God will at last give a prosperous issue.

25. Now his Maty, beginning with Dr Sharp and Tully, proceeded to silence and suspend divers excellent divines for preaching against Popery.

27. I had this day ben married 39 yeares — blessed be God for all his mercies.

The new very young Lord Cheif Justice Herbert declar'd on ye bench that the government of England was entirely in the King; that the Crown was absolute; that penal laws were powers lodged in the Crown to enable the King to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to bind the King's power; that he could pardon all offences against the law, and forgive the penalties, and why could he not dispense with them? by which the Test was abolish'd. Every one was

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* Christopher Milton, made a Baron of the Exchequer. He did not hold his situation long, and Dr. Johnson admits that from weakness of constitution he retired before he had done any disreputable act.

† Sir Robert Sibbald, who was the most learned antiquary in Scotland, had lived in a course of philosophical virtue, but in great doubt as to revealed religion, was prevailed on by the Earl of Perth to turn Papist; but he soon became ashamed of having done so on so little enquiry. He went to London for some months, retiring from all company, and went into a deep course of study, by which he came to see into the errors of Popery. He then returned to Scotland, and published his recantation openly in a church. Burnet's Own Times, III. 1128.

astonish'd. Greate jealousies as to what would be the end of these proceedings.

6 July. I supp'd with the Countesse of Rochester, where was also the Dutchesse of Buckingham and Madame de Governè, whose daughter was married to ye Marquess of Halifax's sonn. She made me a character of ye French King and Dauphin, and of ye persecution. That they kept much of the cruelties from the King's knowledge; that the Dauphin was so afraid of his father, that he durst not let any thing appeare of his sentiments; that he hated letters and priests, spent all his time in hunting, and seem'd to take no notice of what was passing.

This lady was of a greate family and fortune, and had fled hither for refuge.

8. I waited on ye Abp. at Lambeth, where I din'd and met the famous preacher and writer, Dr Allix *, doubtlesse a most excellent and learned person. The Abp. and he spoke Latin together, and that very readily.

11. Dr. Meggot, Deane of Winchester, preach'd before the Household in St George's chapell at Windsor, ye late King's glorious chapell now seiz'd on by the masse priests. Dr Cartwright, Deane of Ripon, preach'd before the greate men of the Court in the same place.

We had now the sad news of the Bp. of Oxford's † death, an extraordinary losse to the poore Church at this time. Many candidates for his Bishoprick and Deanry, Dr. Parker, South, Aldrich, &c. Dr. Walker (now apostatizing) came to Court, and was doubtlesse very buisy.

13. Note, that standing by ye Queene at Bassett (Cards) I observ'd that she was exceedingly concern'd for ye losse of 80*l.*; her outward affability much chang'd to statelinesse, since she has ben exalted.

The season very rainy and inconvenient for the Camps. His Maty very cherefull.

14. Was seal'd at our office the Constitution of certaine Commis-

* Allix, of whom before under 1685.

† Dr. John Fell, also Deane of Christ Church.

sioners to take upon them the full power of all Ecclesiastical affairs, in as unlimited a manner, or rather greater, than ye late High Commission Court, abrogated by Parliament; for it had not onely faculty to inspect and visite all Bishops dioceses, but to change what laws and statutes they should think fit to alter among the Colledges, tho' founded by private men; to punish, suspend, fine, &c. give oathes and call witnesses. The maine drift was to suppresse zealous preachers. In sum, it was ye whole power of a Vicar General — note ye consequence! Of the Cleargy the Commissioners were the Abp. of Canterbury [Sancroft], Bishops of Durham [Crew] and Rochester [Sprat]; of ye Temporals, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chancellor [Jefferies] (who alone was ever to be of the quorum), the Cheife Justice [Herbert], and Lord President [Earl of Sunderland].

18. I went to see Sir John Chardin at Greenewich.

4 Augt. I din'd at Sign^r^ Verrio's, ye famous Italian Painter, now settled in his Ma^ty's^ garden at St. James's, which he had made a very delicious Paradise.

8. Our Vicar gone to dispose of his country living in Rutlandshire, having St. Dunstan in ye East given him by the Abp. of Canterbury.

I went to visite ye Marquess Ravigné, now my neighbour at Greenewich, retir'd from the persecution in France. He was the Deputy of all ye Protestants of that kingdom in the Parliament of Paris, and severall times Ambassador in this and other Courts; a person of greate learning and experience *.

8 Sept. Dr. Compton Bp. of London was on Monday suspended, on pretence of not silencing Dr. Sharp of St. Giles's for something of a sermon in which he zealously reprov'd the doctrine of the Roman Catholics. The Bishop having consulted the Civilians, they told him he could not by any Law proceed against Dr. Sharp without producing witnesses, and impleading according to forme; but it was over-rul'd by my Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop sentenc'd without so much as being heard to any purpose. This was thought a very extraordinary

* His son was with King William in Ireland, and was made Earl of Galway, but was dismissed by violence of party, as being a Frenchman, though his conduct had been in every respect most excellent, as will be mentioned hereafter.

way of proceeding, and was universaly resented, and so much the rather for that 2 Bishops, Durham * and Rochester †, sitting in the Commission and giving their suffrages, the Abp. of Canterbury refus'd to sit amongst them. He was only suspended *ab officio*, and that was soone after taken off. He was brother to the Earl of Northampton, had once ben a Souldier, had travelled in Italy, but became a sober, grave, and excellent Prelate.

12. Buda now taken from ye Turks, a Form of Thanksgiving was order'd to be us'd in the (as yet remaining) Protestant Chapells and Church of White-hall and Windsor.

The King of Denmark was besieging Hambrow, no doubt by the French contrivance, to embroile the Protestant Princes in a new warr, that Holland, &c. being ingag'd, matter for new quarrell might arise: the unheard-of persecution of the poore Protestants still raging more than ever.

22. The Danes retire from Hambrow, the Protestant Princes appearing for their succour, and the Emperor sending his Minatories to the King of Denmark, and also requiring the restoration of the D. of Saxe Gothorp. Thus it pleas'd God to defeate the French designes, wch were evidently to kindle a new warr.

14 Oct. His Ma^tys^ birth-day; I was at his rising in his bed-chamber, afterwards in the Parke, where 4 companies of Guards were drawn up. The officers, &c. wonderful rich and gallant; they did not head their troops, but their next officers, ye Colonels being on horseback by the King whilst they march'd. The Ladys not lesse splendid at Court, where there was a Ball at night, but small appearance of qualitie. All the shops both in the Citty and Suburbs were shut up, and kept as solemnly as any holyday. Bonefires at night in Westminster, but forbidden in ye Citty.

17. Dr. Patric, Deane of Peterborow, preached at Covent Garden Church on 5 Ephes. 18: 19. shewing the costome of the primitive Saints in serving God with Hymns, and their frequent use of them upon all occasions: perstringing the profane way of mirth and intem-

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* Crewe. † Sprat: he afterwards would not sit

perance of this ungodly age. Afterwards I visited my Lord Cheife Justice of Ireland, with whom I had long and private discourse concerning the miserable condition that kingdom was like to be in if Tyrconnell's Councils should prevaile at Court.

23. Went with the Countesse of Sunderland to Cranbourn, a lodge and walke of my Lord Godolphin's in Windsor Parke. There was one room in the house spared in the pulling downe the old one, because the late Dutchesse of York was borne in it; the rest was built and added to it by Sir Geo. Carteret, Treasurer of the Navy; and since the whole was purchas'd by my Lord Godolphin, who spake to me to go see it, and advise what trees were fit to be cut downe to improve the dwelling, it being inviron'd with old rotten pollards, which corrupt the aire. It stands on a knowle, which tho' insensibly rising, gives it a prospect over the Keepe of Windsor, about three miles N. E. of it. The ground is clayey and moist; the water stark naught; the park is pretty; the house tolerable, and gardens convenient. After dinner we came back to London, having 2 coaches both going and coming, of 6 horses apiece, wch we chang'd at Hounslow.

24 Oct. Dr. Warren preached before the Princesse at White-hall on 5 Matthew, of the blessedness of the pure in heart, most elegantly describing the blisse of the beatifical vision. In the afternoone Sr Geo. Wheeler kn^t^ and bart. preach'd on the 4th Matt. upon the necessity of repentance, at St. Margaret's, an honest and devout discourse, and pretty tolerably perform'd. This gentleman coming from his travels out of Greece fell in love with the daughter of Sr Thos Higgins, his Ma^tys^ Resident at Venice, niece to the Earle of Bath, and married her. When they return'd into England, being honour'd with knighthood, he would needes turne Preacher, and tooke orders. He publish'd a learned and ingenious book of his travels, and is a very worthy person, a little formal and particular, but exceedingly devoute *.

* Sir George Wheeler was born whilst his parents were in exile at Breda for their attachment to King Charles I. He was of Lincoln College, Oxford. On his return from his travels in Asia and Greece he was knighted. Having presented several antiquities which he had collected to the University of Oxford in 1683, they gave him his degree of A. M. He took orders against the advice of powerful friends, but from an earnest desire to be useful as a Parish Priest; and he well fulfilled

27. There was a triumphant shew of the Lord Maior both by land and water, with much solemnity, when yet his power has ben so much diminish'd, by the losse of the Citty's former charter.

5 Nov. I went to St. Martin's in the morning, where Dr. Birch preach'd very boldly against the Papists, from 16 John 2. In the afternoone I heard Dr. Tillotson in Lincoln's Inn Chapell, on the same text, but more cautiously.

16. I went with part of my family to passe the melancholy winter in London at my sonn's house in Arundel Buildings.

5 Dec. I dined at my Lady Arlington's, Groome of the Stole to the Queene Dowager at Somerset House, where dined divers French Noblemen, driven out of their Country by the persecution.

16. I carried the Countesse of Sunderland to see the rarities of one Mr. Charleton in the Middle Temple, who shew'd us such a collection as I had never seene in all my travels abroad, either of private gentlemen or princes. It consisted of miniatures, drawings, shells, insects, medailes, natural things, animals (of wch divers, I think 100, were kept in glasses of spirits of wine), minerals, precious stones, vessells, curiosities in amber, christal, achat, &c.; all being very perfect and rare in their kind, especialy his bookes of birds, fish, flowers, and shells, drawn and miniatur'd to the life. He told us that one book stood him in £.300; it was painted by that excellent workman whom the late Gaston Duke of Orleans emploied. This gentleman's whole collection, gather'd by himselfe travelling over most parts of Europe, is estimated at £.8000. He appear'd to be a modest and obliging person*.

29. I went to heare the musiq of the Italians in the New Chapel, now first open'd publickly at White-hall for the Popish service. Nothing can be finer than the magnificent marble work and architecture

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his intentions. He became Rector of Houghton-le-Spring in Durham, the living which had been so exemplarily filled by the "Northern Apostle" Bernard Gilpin, and whose example he worthily followed. Bishop Crew also gave him a stall in Durham Cathedral. He died 18 January 1723. His descendants are seated at Otterden in Kent. Mr. Surtees, "History of Durham" (1816), where a large account is given of him.

* This collection was afterwards purchased by Sir Hans Sloane, and now forms part of the British Museum. Gent. Mag. Nov. 1816, p. 395, from Mr. Bagford's papers in the Brit. Mus.

at the end, where are four statues, representing St. John, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Church, in white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbons, with all the carving and pillars of exquisite art and greate cost. The altar-piece is the Salutation; the volto in fresca, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin according to their tradition, with our Bl. Saviour, and a world of figures, painted by Verrio. The throne where the King and Queene sit is very glorious, in a closet above, just opposite to the altar. Here we saw the Bishop in his mitre and rich copes, with 6 or 7 Jesuits and others in rich copes, sumptuously habited, often taking off and putting on the Bishop's mitre, who sate in a chaire with armes pontificaly, was ador'd and cens'd by 3 Jesuits in their copes; then he went to the altar and made divers cringes, then censing the images and glorious tabernacle plac'd on the altar, and now and then changing place: the crosier, wch was of silver, was put into his hand with a world of mysterious ceremony, the musiq playing, with singing. I could not have believ'd I should ever have seene such things in the King of England's Palace, after it had pleas'd God to enlighten this Nation; but our greate sin has, for the present, eclips'd the blessing, wch I hope He will in mercy and his good time restore to its purity.

Little appearance of any Winter as yet.

1687. 1 Jan. Mr. Wake preach'd at St. Martin's on 1 Tim. 3. 16. concerning the mysterie of Godlinesse. He wrote excellently in answer to the Bishop of Meaux.

3. A seal to confirm a gift of £4000 *per annum* for 99 yeares to the Lord Treasurer out of the Post Office, and £.1700 *per annum* for ever out of Lord Gray's estate.

There was now another change of the greate Officers. The Treasury was put into Commission, two profess'd Papists amongst them, *viz.* Lords Bellasis and Dover, joyn'd with the old ones, Lord Godolphin, Sir Stephen Fox, and Sir J. Earnley.

17. Much expectation of severall greate men declaring themselves Papists. Lord Tyrconnell gone to succeed the Lord Lieutenant [Clarendon] in Ireland, to the astonishment of all sober men, and to the evident ruine of the Protestants in that Kingdom, as well as of its greate improvement going on. Much discourse that all the White Staff

Officers and others should be dismiss'd for adhering to their Religion. Popish Justices of the Peace establish'd in all Counties, of the meanest of the people; Judges ignorant of the Law, and perverting it—so furiously do the Jesuits drive, and even compel Princes to violent courses, and destruction of an excellent Government both in Church and State. God of his infinite mercy open our eyes and turn our hearts, and establish his truth with peace! The Lord Jesus defend his little Flock, and preserve this threaten'd Church and Nation.

24. I saw the Queenes new apartment at White-hall, with her new bed, the embrodery of wch cost £.3000. The carving about the chimney-piece, by Gibbons, is incomparable.

30. I heard the famous eunuch Cifaccio sing in the new Popish Chapell this afternoone; it was indeede very rare, and with greate skill. He came over from Rome, esteemed one of the best voices in Italy. Much crowding—little devotion.

27 Feb. Mr. Chetwin preached at White-hall on 1 Rom. 18, a very quaint neate discourse of moral righteousnesse.

2 March. Came out a Proclamation for universal liberty of conscience in Scotland, and dispensation from all tests and lawes to the contrary, as also capacitating Papists to be chosen into all offices of trust. The mysterie operates.

3. Dr. Megot Deane of Winchester preached before the Princesse of Denmark on 14 Matt. 23. In the afternoone I went out of towne to meete my Lord Clarendon, returning from Ireland.

10. His Ma^ty^ sent for the Commissioners of the Privy Seale this morning into his bed-chamber, and told us that tho' he had thought fit to dispose of the seale into a single hand, yet he would so provide for us as it should appeare how well he accepted our faithfull and loyal service, with many gracious expressions to this effect; upon wch we deliver'd the seale into his hands. It was by all the world both hoped and expected that he would have restor'd it to my Lord Clarendon; but they were astonish'd to see it given to Lord Arundel of Wardour, a zealous Roman Catholic. Indeede it was very hard, and look'd very unkindly, his Ma^ty^ (as my Lord Clarendon protested to me, on my going to visite him and long discoursing with him about the affaires of

Ireland) finding not the least failure of duty in him during his government of that kingdom, so that his recall plainely appeared to be from the stronger influence of the Papists, who now got all the preferments.

Most of the greate Officers, both in the Court and Country, Lords and others, were dismiss'd, as they would not promise his Majesty their consent to the repeal of the Test and penal Statutes against Popish Recusants. To this end most of the Parliament men were spoken to in his Ma^tys closset, and such as refus'd, if in any place or office of trust, civil or military, were put out of their employments. This was a time of greate trial, but hardly one of them assented, which put the Popish interest much backward. The English Cleargy every where preach'd boldly against their superstition and errors, and were wonderfully follow'd by the People. Not one considerable proselyte was made in all this time. The party were exceedingly put to the worst by the preaching and writing of the Protestants in many excellent treatises, evincing the doctrine and discipline of the Reform'd Religion, to the manifest disadvantage of their adversaries. To this did not a little contribute the sermon preach'd at White-hall before the Princesse of Denmark and a great croud of People, and at least 30 of the greatest Nobility, by Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, on 8 John 46 (the Gospel of the day) describing thro' his whole discourse the blasphemies, perfidy, wresting of Scripture, preference of tradition before it, spirit of persecution, superstition, legends and fables of the Scribes and Pharisees, so that all the auditory understood his meaning of a parallel between them and the Romish Priests, and their new Trent Religion. He exhorted his audience to adhere to the written Word, and to persevere in the Faith taught in the Church of England, whose doctrine for Catholic and soundness he preferr'd to all the Communities and Churches of Christians in the world; concluding with a kind of prophesy, that whatever it suffer'd, it should after a short trial emerge to the confusion of her adversaries, and the glory of God.

I went this evening to see the order of the boys and children at Christ's Hospital. There were neere 800 boys and girls so decently clad, cleanly lodg'd, so wholesomly fed, so admirably taught, some the

Mathematics, especialy the 40 of the late King's foundation, that I was delighted to see the progresse some little youths of 13 and 14 yeares of age had made. I saw them at supper, visited their dormitories, and much admir'd the order, œconomy, and excellent government of this most charitable seminary. Some are taught for the Universities, others design'd for Seamen, all for Trades and Callings. The girles are instructed in all such worke as becomes their sex and may fit them for good wives, mistresses, and to be a blessing to their generation. They sung a psalme before they sat downe to supper in the greate hall, to an organ, which play'd all the time, with such cheerfull harmony that it seem'd to me a vision of angels. I came from the place with infinite satisfaction, having never seene a more noble, pious and admirable Charity. All these consisted of orphans onely *. The Foundation was of that pious Prince K. Edw. 6. whose picture (held to be an original of Holbein) is in the Court where the Governors meete to consult on the affaires of the Hospital, and his statue in white marble stands in a nich of the wall below, as you go to the Church, which is a modern, noble and ample fabric. This Foundation has had, and still has, many Benefactors.

16 March. I saw a trial of those devilish murdering mischief-doing engines called Bombs, shot out of the morter-piece on Black-heath. The distance that they are cast, the destruction they make where they fall, is prodigious.

20. The Bishop of Bath and Wells (Dr. Ken) preach'd at St. Martines to a crowd of people not to be express'd, nor the wonderful eloquence of this admirable preacher; the text was 26 Matt. 36 to verse 40. describing the bitterness of our Bl. Saviour's agony, the ardour of his love, the infinite obligations we have to imitate his patience and resignation: the means by watching against temptations, and over ourselves, with fervent prayer to attaine it, and the exceeding reward in the end. Upon all which he made most patheticall discourses. The Communion followed, at which I was participant. I afterwards din'd at Dr. Tenison's with the Bishop and that young, most learned, pious and

* This is by no means the case now (1816).

excellent preacher, Mr. Wake *. In the afternoone I went to heare Mr. Wake at the new-built church of St. Anne, on 8 Mark 34. upon the subject of taking-up the Crosse, and strenuously behaving ourselves in time of persecution, as this now threaten'd to be.

His Ma^ty^ againe prorogu'd the Parliament, foreseeing it would not remitt the Laws against Papists, by the extraordinary zeale and bravery of its Members, and the free renunciation of the greate Officers both in Court and State, who would not be prevail'd with for any temporal concerne.

25. Good Friday. Dr. Tenison preached at St. Martines, on 1 Peter 2. 24. During the service a man came into neere the middle of the church, with his sword drawne, with severall others in that posture; in this jealous time it put the congregation into greate confusion; but it appear'd to be one who fled for sanctuary, being pursued by Bayliffs.

8 April. I had a re-hearing of my great Cause at the Chancery in Westm^r^ Hall, having 7 of the most learned Council, my adversary 5, among wch were the Attorney General and late Solicitor Finch, son to the Lord Chancellor Nottingham. The accompt was at last brought to one article of the surcharge, and referr'd to a Master. The Cause lasted two hours and more.

10. In the last weeke there was issu'd a Dispensation from all obligations and tests, by which Dissenters and Papists especialy had publiq liberty of exercising their severall ways of worship without incurring the penalty of the many Laws and Acts of Parliament to the contrary. This was purely obtain'd by the Papists, thinking thereby to ruine the Church of England, being now the onely Church which so admirably and strenuously oppos'd their superstition. There was a wonderful concourse of people at the Dissenters' Meeting-house in this parish, and the Parish Church [Deptford] left exceeding thin. What this will end in, God Almighty onely knows, but it looks like confusion, which I pray God avert.

11. To London about my suit, some terms of accommodation being propos'd.

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* Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

19. I heard the famous singer Cifaccio, esteem'd the best in Europe. Indeed his holding out and delicateness in extending and looseing a note with incomparable softnesse and sweetnesse was admirable; for the rest I found him a mere wanton, effeminate child, very coy, and proudly conceited to my apprehension. He touch'd the harpsichord to his voice rarely well. This was before a select number of particular persons whom Mr. Pepys invited to his house; and this was obtain'd by particular favour and much difficulty, the Signor much disdaining to shew his talent to any but princes.

24. At Greenewich, at the conclusion of the Church service, there was a French sermon preach'd after the use of the English Liturgy translated into French, to a congregation of about 100 French Refugees, of whom Monsr Ruvigny was the cheife, and had obtain'd the use of the Church after the Parish service was ended. The Preacher patheticaly exhorted to patience, constancy, and reliance on God amidst all their sufferings, and the infinite rewards to come.

2 May. I din'd with Mynheer Diskvelts, the Holland Ambass^r^, a prudent and worthy person. There din'd Lord Middleton principal Secretary of State, Lord Pembroke, Lord Lumley, Lord Preston, Col. Fitz Patrick, and Sir John Chardin. After dinner the Ambass^r^ discours'd of and deplor'd the stupid folly of our politics, in suffering the French to take Luxemburg, it being a place of the most concern to have ben defended, for the interest not onely of the Netherlands, but of England.

12. To London. Lord Sunderland being Lord President and Secretary of State, was made Kn^t^ of the Garter and prime favorite.— This day there was such a storme of wind as had seldome happen'd, being a sort of hurricane. It kept the flood out of the Thames, so that people went on foote over several places above bridge. Also an earthquake in severall places in England about the time of the storme.

26. To London about my agreement with Mr. Pretyman after my tedious suit.

2 June. I went to London, it having pleas'd his Ma^ty^ to grant me a Privy Seal for £.6000, for discharge of the debt I had ben so many yeares persecuted for, it being indeede for mony drawne over by my

father in law Sr R. Browne, during his residence in the Court of France, and so with a much greater sum due to Sir Rich^d^ from his Ma^ty^; and now this part of the arreare being paid, there remains yet due to me, as executor of Sr Rich^d^, above £.6500 more; but this determining an expensive chancery suit has ben so greate a mercy and providence to me (thro' the kindness and friendship to me of Lord Godolphin, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury) that I do acknowledge it with all imaginable thanks to my gracious God.

6 June. I visited my Lady Pierpoint, daughter to Sir John Evelyn of Deane [in Wilts], now widow of Mr Pierpoint, and mother of the Earl of Kingston. She was now engag'd in the marriage of my cousin Evelyn Pierpoint, her second son.

There was about this time brought into the Downs a vast treasure, wch was sunk in a Spanish galloon about 45 years ago somewhere neere Hispaniola or the Bahama islands, and was now weigh'd up by some gentlemen, who were at the charge of divers, &c. to the enriching them beyond all expectation. The Duke of Albemarle's* share [Governor of Jamaica] came to, I believe, £.50,000. Some private gentlemen who adventur'd £.100 gain'd from 8 to £.10,000. His Majesty's tenth was £.10,000.

The Camp was now againe pitch'd at Hounslow, the Commanders profusely vying in the expence and magnificence of tents.

12. Our Vicar preached on 2 Peter 2, 21, upon the danger of relapsing into sin. After this I went and heard M. Lamot, an eloquent French preacher at Greenewich, on 30 Prov. 8, 9, a consolatory discourse to the poore and religious refugees who escaped out of France in the cruel persecution.

16. I went to Hampton Court to give his Ma^ty^ thanks for his late gracious favor, tho' it was but granting what was due. Whilst I was in the Council Chamber, came in some persons at the head of whom was a formal man with a large roll of parchment in his hand, being an

* The Duke's share amounted to considerably more—it was said about £.90,000. A medal was struck on this occasion, which is engrav'd in Mr. Evelyn's book on that subject, No. LXXXVII. p. 151.

Addresse (as he said, for he introduc'd it with a speech) of the people of Coventry giving his Ma^ty their greate acknowledgments for his granting a liberty of conscience; he added that this was not the application of one party onely, but the unanimous addresse of Church of England men, Presbyterians, Independents and Anabaptists, to shew how extensive his Ma^ty's grace was, as taking in all parties to his indulgence and protection, which had taken away all dissentions and animosities, wch would not onely unite them in bonds of Christian charity, but exceedingly encourage their future industry, to the improvement of trade, and spreading his Ma^ty's glory throughout the world; and that now he had given to God his empire, God would establish his; with expressions of greate loyaltie and submission; and so he gave the roll to the King, wch being return'd to him againe his Ma^ty caus'd him to read. The Addresse was short, but much to the substance of ye Speech of their foreman, to whom the King, pulling off his hat, sayd, that what he had don in giving liberty of conscience, was, what was ever his judgment ought to be don; and that as he would preserve them in their enjoyment of it during his reigne, so he would indeavour to settle it by Law, that it should never be alter'd by his successors. After this he gave them his hand to kisse. It was reported the subscribers were above 1000.

But this is not so remarkable as an Addresse of the weeke before (as I was assur'd by one present) of some of the *Family of Love*. His Ma^ty ask'd them what this worship consisted in, and how many their party might consist of; they told him their custom was to reade the Scripture and then to preach, but did not give any farther account, onely sayd that for the rest they were a sort of refin'd Quakers, but their number very small, not consisting, as they sayd, of above threescore in all, and those cheifly belonging to the Isle of Ely.

18. I din'd at Mr. Blathwaite's (2 miles from Hampton). This gentleman is Secretary of War, Clerk of the Counsel, &c. having rais'd himselfe by his industry from very moderate circumstances. He is a very proper, handsome person, and very dextrous in buisinesse, and besides all this, has married a greate fortune. His income by the Army, Counsel, and Secretary to ye Committee of forraine plantations, brings him in above £.2000 per ann.

23. The privy seale for £.6000 was pass'd to me, so that this tedious affaire was dispatch'd.—Hitherto a very windy and tempestuous summer.—The French sermons to the refugees were continu'd at Greenewich Church.

19 July. I went to Wotton. In the way I din'd at Ashted with my Lady Mordaunt.

5 Aug. I went to see Albury, now purchas'd by Mr. Finch (the King's Solicitor, and son to the late Lord Chancellor); I found the garden wch I first design'd for the Duke of Norfolk, nothing improv'd.

15. I went to visite Lord Clarendon at Swallow-field, where was my Lord Cornbery just ariv'd from Denmark, whither he had accompanied the Prince of Denmark two months before, and now come back. The miserable tyranny under which that nation lives he related to us; the King keeps them under by an army of 40,000 men, all Germans, he not daring to trust his owne subjects. Notwithstanding this, the Danes are exceeding proud, the country very poore and miserable.

22. Returned home to Says Court from Wotton, having ben five weekes absent with my brother and friends, who entertained us very nobly. God be praised for his goodnesse, and this refreshment after my many troubles, and let his mercy and providence ever preserve me. Amen.

3 Sept. The Lord Mayor sent me an Officer with a Staff, to be one of the Governors of St Thomas's Hospital.

Persecution raging in France; divers churches there fir'd by lightning, Priests struck, consecrated hosts, &c. burnt and destroy'd, both at St Malo's and Paris, at ye grand procession on Corpus Christi day.

13. I went to Lambeth, and din'd with the Abp. After dinner I retired into the library, which I found exceedingly improv'd; there are also divers rare manuscripts in a roome apart.

6 Oct. I was godfather to Sr John Chardin's sonn, christen'd at Greenewich Church, nam'd John. The Earle of Bath and Countesse of Carlisle, the other Sponsors.

29. An Anabaptist, a very odd ignorant person, a mechanic I think, was Lord Mayor *. The King and Queene, and Dadi † the Pope's

* Sir John Peake.

† Count D'Ada, made afterwards a Cardinal for his services in this embassy.

Nuncio, invited to feast at Guildhall. A strange turne of affaires, that those who scandaliz'd the Church of England as favourers of Popery, should publiqly invite an emissary from Rome, one who represented the very person of their Antichrist!

10 Dec. My son was return'd out of Devon, where he had ben on a Commission from the Lords of the Treasury about a concealment of land.

20. I went with my Lord Cheife Justice Herbert to see his house at Walton on Thames*: it is a barren place. To a very ordinary house he had built a very handsome library, designing more building to it than the place deserves in my opinion. He desir'd my advice about laying out his gardens, &c. The next day we went to Weybridge to see some pictures of the Dutchesse of Norfolk's, particularly the statue, or child in gremio, said to be of Mich. Angelo, but there are reasons to think it rather a copy, from some proportion in the figures ill taken. It was now expos'd to sale.

1688. 12 Jan. Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, being under very deplorable circumstances on account of his creditors, and especialy the King, I did my endeavor with ye Lords of the Treasury to be favourable to him.

My Lord Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Hamilton, being now married to Lady Ann Spencer, eldest daughter of the Earle of Sunderland, Lord President of the Council, I and my family had most glorious favours sent us, the wedding being celebrated with extraordinary splendour.

15. There was a solemne and particular Office us'd at our, and all the Churches of London and 10 miles round, for a thanksgiving to God, for her Majesty being with child.

22. This afternoone I went not to Church, being employed on a religious treatise I had undertaken †.

* This is a mistake; the house was Oatlands in Weybridge. He followed the fortunes of King James, who gave him his great seal. He was attainted, and Oatlands given to his brother Adm. Herbert. He published an apology for the judgment he had given in favour of the King's dispensing powers, which was answered by Mr. Atwood and Sir Robert Atkins. Manning and Bray's Hist. of Surrey, II. 786.

† What this was does not appear; but there are several of his composition, remaining in MS.

Post annum 1588—1660—1688, Annus Mirabilis Tertius*.

Jan. 30. Being the Martyrdome day of K. Charles ye First, our Curate made a florid oration against the murder of that excellent Prince, with an exhortation to obedience from the example of David, 1 Samuel 24, 6.

12 Feb. My daughter Evelyn going in the coach to visite in the Citty, a jolt (the doore being not fast shut) flung her quite out in such manner as the hind wheeles passed over her a little above her knees. Yet it pleased God, besides the bruises of the wheeles, she had no other harme. In two days she was able to walke, and soone after perfectly well; thro' God Almighty's greate mercy to an excellent wife and a most dutiful and discreete daughter-in-law.

17. I receiv'd the sad news of my niece Mountague's death at Woodcot on the 15th.

15 Mar: I gave in my account about the Sick and Wounded, in order to have my quietus.

23. Dr. Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who so lately publish'd his extravagant treatise about transubstantiation, and for abrogating the Test and Penal Laws, died. He was esteem'd a violent, passionate, haughty man, but yet being press'd to declare for the Church of Rome, he utterly refus'd it. A remarkable end.

The French *Tyrant* now finding he could make no proselytes amongst those Protestants of quality, and others, whom he had caus'd to be shut up in dungeons, and confin'd to nunneries and monasteries, gave them, after so long trial, a general releasement, and leave to go out of the kingdom, but utterly taking away their estates, and their children; so that greate numbers came daily into England and other places, where they were receiv'd and reliev'd with very considerate Christian charity. This Providence and goodnesse of God to those who thus constantly held out, did so work upon those miserable poore souls, who, to avoyd the persecution sign'd their renunciation, and to save their estates went to masse, that reflecting on what they had don, they grew so affected in their conscience, that not being able to support it, they in greate numbers thro' all the French provinces, acquainted the Magistrates and

* This seems added after the page was written.

Lieutenants that, being sorry for their apostacy, they were resolv'd to return to their old religion; that they would go no more to masse, but peaceably assemble when they could, to beg pardon and worship God, but so without weapons as not to give the least umbrage of rebellion or sedition, imploring their pity and commiseration; and accordingly meeting so from time to time, the dragoon missioners, Popish officers and priests, fell upon them, murder'd and put them to death; whoever they could lay hold on; they without the least resistance embraced death, torture or hanging, with singing psalmes and praying for their persecutors to the last breath, yet still continuing the former assembling of themselves in desolate places, suffering with incredible constancy, that thro' God's mercy they might obtain pardon for this lapse. Such examples of Christian behaviour have not ben seen since the primitive persecutions; and doubtlesse God will do some signal worke in the end, if we can with patience and resignation hold out, and depend on his Providence.

24 Mar. I went with Sr Charles Littleton to Sheene, an house and estate given him by Lord Brouncker; one who was ever noted for a hard, covetous, vicious man, but for his worldly craft and skill in gaming few exceeded him. Coming to die, he bequeath'd all his land, house, furniture, &c. to Sir Charles, to whom he had no manner of relation, but an ancient friendship contracted at the famous siege of Colchester, 40 yeares before. It is a pretty place, with fine gardens, and well planted, and given to one worthy of them, Sir Charles being an honest gentleman and souldier. He is brother to Sir Henry Littleton of Worcestershire, whose greate estate he is likely to inherit; his brother being without children. They are descendants of the great lawyer of that name, and give the same arms and motto. He is married to one Mrs. Temple, formerly maide of honour to the late Queene, a beautiful lady, and he has many fine children, so that none envy his good fortune.

After dinner we went to see Sr Wm Temple's nèere to it; the most remarkable things are his orangerie and gardens, where the wall fruit trees are most exquisitely nail'd and train'd, far better than I ever noted.

There are many good pictures, especialy of Vandyke's, in both these houses, and some few statues and small busts in the latter.

From thence we went to Kew, to visite Sir Henry Capell's, whose orangerie and myrtelum are most beautifull and perfectly well kept. He was contriving very high palisados of reeds to shade his oranges during the summer, and painting those reeds in oil.

1 April. In the morning the first sermon was by Dr. Stillingfleet Dean of St. Paul's (at Whitehall) on 10 Luke 41, 42. The holy Communion follow'd, but was so interrupted by the rude breaking in of multitudes zealous to hear the second sermon, to be preach'd by the Bp. of Bath and Wells, that the latter part of that holy office could hardly be heard, or the sacred elements be distributed without greate trouble. The Princesse being come, he preach'd on 7 Mich. 8. 9. 10. describing the calamity of the Reform'd church of Judah under the Babylonian persecution, for her sins, and God's delivery of her on her repentance; that as Judah emerg'd so should the now Reform'd Church, wherever insulted and persecuted. He preach'd with his accustom'd action, zeal, and energy, so that people flock'd from all quarters to heare him.

15 April. A dry, cold, backward spring, easterly winds.

The persecution still raging in France, multitudes of Protestants, and many very considerable and greate persons flying hither, produc'd a second general contribution, the Papists, by God's Providence, as yet making small progress amongst us.

29. The weather was, till now, so cold and sharp, by an almost perpetual East wind, which had continued many monthes, that there was little appearance of any Spring, and yet the Winter was very favourable as to frost and snow.

2 May. To London about my petition for allowances upon the account of Commissioner for sick and wounded in the former war with Holland.

8. His Ma^ty^, alarm'd by the greate fleete of the Dutch (whilst we had a very inconsiderable one), went down to Chatham; their fleete was well prepar'd, and out, before we were in any readinesse, or had any considerable number to have encounter'd them had there ben occa-

sion, to the great reproch of the Nation; whilst being in profound peace, there was a mighty land army, wch there was no neede of, and no force at sea, where only was the apprehension; but the army was doubtless kept and increas'd in order to bring in and countenance Popery, the King beginning to discover his intentions, by many instances persued by the Jesuits, against his first resolution to alter nothing in the Church establishment, so that it appear'd there can be no reliance on Popish promises.

18. The King injoyning the ministers to read his Declaration for giving liberty of conscience (as it was styl'd) in all the Churches of England, this evening 6 Bishops, Bath and Wells *, Peterborough †, Ely ‡, Chichester §, St Asaph ||, and Bristol ¶, in the name of all the rest of the Bishops, came to his Ma^ty^ to petition him that he would not impose the reading of it to the several congregations within their dioceses; not that they were averse to the publishing of it for want of due tenderness towards Dissenters, in relation to whom they should be willing to come to such a temper as should be thought fit, when that matter might be consider'd and settl'd in Parliament and Convocation; but that, the Declaration being founded on such a dispensing power as might at pleasure set aside all Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, it appear'd to them illegal, as it had done to the Parliament in 1661 and 1672, and that it was a point of such consequence, that they could not so far make themselves parties to it, as the reading of it in Church in time of divine service amounted to.

The King was so far incens'd at this addresse, that he with threatening expressions commanded them to obey him in reading it at their perils, and so dismiss'd them.

20. I went to White-hall Chapell, where, after the morning lessons, the Declaration was read by one of ye Choir who us'd to read the chapters. I heare it was read in the Abby Church, Westminster, but almost universaly forborne throughout all London: the consequences of which a little time will shew.

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* Thomas Ken. † Thomas White. ‡ Francis Turner.
§ John Lake. || William Lloyd. ¶ Sir John Trelawny, Bart.

25. All the discourse now was about the Bishops refusing to read ye injunction for ye abolition of the Test, &c. It seemes the injunction came so crudely from the Secretary's office, that it was neither seal'd nor sign'd in forme, nor had any Lawyer ben consulted, so as the Bishops, who took all imaginable advice, put the Court to greate difficulties how to proceede against them. Greate were the consults, and a proclamation expected all this day, but nothing was don. The action of the Bishops was universaly applauded, and reconcil'd many adverse parties, Papists only excepted, who were now exceedingly perplex'd, and violent courses were every moment expected. Report was that the Protestant secular Lords and Nobility would abett the Clergy.

The Queene Dowager, hitherto bent on her returne into Portugal, now on the sudden, on allegation of a greate debt oweing her by his Ma^ty^ disabling her, declares her resolution to stay.

News ariv'd of the most prodigious earthquake that was almost ever heard of, subverting the citty of Lima and country in Peru, with a dreadfull inundation following it.

8 June. This day the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, St Asaph, Bristol, Peterborough, and Bath and Wells, were sent from the Privy Council prisoners to the Tower, for refusing to give baile for their appearance, on their not reading the Declaration for liberty of conscience; they refus'd to give baile, as it would have prejudic'd their Peerage. The concern of the people for them was wonderfull, infinite crouds on their knees begging their blessing, and praying for them as they pass'd out of the barge along the Tower-wharfe.

10. A *young Prince* borne, which will cause disputes.

About 2 o'clock we heard the Tower ordnance discharg'd, and the bells ringing for the birth of a Prince of Wales. This was very surprizing, it having ben universally given out that her Ma^ty^ did not look till the next moneth.

13. I went to the Tower to see the Bishops, visited the Abp. and Bps. of Ely, St Asaph, and Bath and Wells.

14. Din'd with my Lord Chancellor.

15 June. Being the first day of Term, the Bishops were brought to Westminster on Habeas Corpus, when the Indictment was read, and they were called on to plead; their Counsel objected that the Warrant was illegal, but after long debate it was over-ruled, and they pleaded. The Court then offered to take bail for their appearance, but this they refused, and at last were dismissed on their own recognizances to appeare that day fortnight; the Abp. in 200*l.* the Bishops 100*l.* each.

29. They appeared; the trial lasted from 9 in the morning to past 6 in the evening, when the Jury retired to consider of their verdict, and the Court adjourned to 9 the next morning. The Jury were locked up till that time, 11 of them being for an acquittal, but one (Arnold a brewer) would not consent. At length he agreed with the others. The Cheif Justice Wright behaved with great moderation and civility to the Bishops. Alibone, a Papist, was strongly against them; but Holloway and Powell being of opinion in their favour, they were acquitted. When this was heard, there was great rejoicing; and there was a lane of people from the King's Bench to the water side, on their knees, as the Bishops pass'd and repass'd, to beg their blessing. Bonfires were made that night, and bells rung, which was taken very ill at Court, and an appearance of neere 60 Earls and Lords, &c. on the bench, did not a little comfort them, but indeede they were all along full of comfort and cheerfull.

Note, they denied to pay the Lieut[t] of the Tower (Hales, who us'd them very surlily) any fees, alledging that none were due.

17. Was a day of Thanksgiving in London and 10 miles about for the young Prince's birth; a form of prayer made for the purpose by the Bp. of Rochester.

The night was solemniz'd with bonfires and other fire-works, &c.

2 July. The two Judges Holloway and Powell were displaced.

3. I went with Dr. Godolphin and his brother Sir W[m] to St. Alban's to see a library he would have bought of the widow of Dr. Cartwrite, late Archdeacon of St. Alban's, a very good collection of books, especialy in divinity; he was to give £.300 for them. Having seen the *greate Church*, now newly repair'd by a public contribution, we return'd home.

8. One of the King's Chaplains preach'd before the Princess on 14 Exodus 13, "Stand still and behold the salvation of the Lord," wch he applied so boldly to the present conjuncture of the Church of England, that more could scarce be said to encourage desponders. The Popish Priests were not able to carry their cause against their learned adversaries, who confounded them both by their disputes and writings.

12. The Camp now began at Hounslow, but the Nation was in high discontent.

Col. Titus, Sir Hen. Vane (son of him who was executed for his treason), and some other of the Presbyterians and Independent party, were sworne of ye Privy Council, from hopes of thereby diverting that party from going over to ye Bishops and Church of England, which now they began to do, foreseeing the designe of the Papists to descend and take in their most hateful of heretics (as they at other times expressed them to be) to effect their own ends, now evident; the utter extirpation of the Church of England first, and then the rest would follow.

17 July. This night the *Fireworks* were plaied off, that had ben prepar'd for the Queene's up-sitting. We saw them to great advantage; they were very fine, and cost some thousands of pounds, in the pyramids, statues, &c. but were spent too soone for so long a preparation.

26. I went to Lambeth to visit the Archbp. whom I found very cheerfull.

10 Aug. Dr. Tenison now told me there would suddenly be some greate thing discover'd. This was the Prince of Orange intending to come over.

15. I went to Althorp in Northamptonshire, 70 miles. A coach and 4 horses took up me and my sonn at White-hall, and carried us to Dunstable, where we ariv'd and din'd at noone, and from thence another coach and 6 horses carried us to Althorp, 4 miles beyond Northampton, where we ariv'd by 7 o'clock that evening. Both these coaches were hir'd for me by that noble Countesse of Sunderland, who invited me to her house at Althorp *, where she entertain'd me and my sonn with very extraordinary kindness; I stay'd till the Thursday.

* See a former visit to this place, p. 478.

18. Dr. Jeffryes, the minister of Althorp, who was my Lord's chaplain when Ambass^r in France, preach'd the shortest discourse I ever heard; but what was defective in the amplitude of his sermon, he had supplied in the largeness and convenience of the Parsonage house, wch the D^r (who had at least £.600 a year in spiritual advancement) had new built, and made fit for a person of quality to live in, with gardens and all accommodation according therewith.

My lady carried us to see Lord Northampton's seat, a very strong large house, built with stone, not altogether modern. They were enlarging the garden, in which was nothing extraordinary, except the iron gate opening into the Park, wch indeede was very good work, wrought in flowers, painted with blue and gilded. There is a noble walke of elmes towards the front of the house, by the bowling greene. I was not in any roome of the house besides a lobby looking into the garden, where my Lord and his new Countesse (Sr Ste. Fox's daughter, whom I had knowne from a child) entertain'd the Countesse and her daughter the Countesse of Arran (newly married to the son of the Duke of Hamilton) with so little good grace, and so dully, that our visite was very short, and so we return'd to Althorp, 12 miles distant.

The house, or rather palace, at Althorp, is a noble uniform pile in form of a half H, built of brick and freestone, ballustred and *à la-moderne;* the hall is well, the staircase excellent; the roomes of state, gallerys, offices and furniture, such as may become a greate Prince. It is situate in the midst of a garden, exquisitely planted and kept, and all this in a parke wall'd in with hewn stone, planted with rows and walkes of trees, canals and fish ponds, and stor'd with game. And what is above all this, govern'd by a lady, who without any shew of sollicitude, keepes every thing in such admirable order, both within and without, from the garret to the cellar, that I do not believe there is any in this nation, or in any other, that exceedes her in such exact order, without ostentation, but substantially greate and noble. The meanest servant is lodg'd so neat and cleanly; the service at the several tables, the good order and decency—in a word, the intire œconomy, is perfectly becoming a wise and noble person. She is one who for her distinguish'd esteeme of me from a long and worthy friendship, I must ever honour and cele-

brate. I wish from my soul the Lord her husband (whose parts and abilities are otherwise conspicuous) was as worthy of her, as by a fatal apostacy and court ambition he has made himself unworthy. This is what she deplores, and it renders her as much affliction as a lady of greate soul and much prudence is capable of. The Countesse of Bristol, her mother, a grave and honorable lady, has the comfort of seeing her daughter and grandchildren under the same œconomy, especialy Mr. Charles Spencer*, a youth of extraordinary hopes, very learned for his age, and ingenious, and under a governor of greate worth. Happy were it could as much be said of the elder brother, the Lord Spencer, who, rambling about ye world, dishonours both his name and his family, adding sorrow to sorrow to a mother who has taken all imaginable care of his education. There is a daughter very young married to the Earl of Clancartie, who has a greate and faire estate in Ireland, but who yet gives no greate presage of worth,—so universally contaminated is the youth of this corrupt and abandon'd age! But this is againe recompenc'd by my Lord Arran, a sober and worthy gentleman, who has espous'd the Lady Ann Spencer, a young lady of admirable accomplishments and virtue.

23. I left this noble place and conversation, my lady having provided carriages to convey us back in the same manner as we went, and a dinner being prepared at Dunstable against our arival. Northampton, having ben lately burnt and re-edified, is now become a town that for the beauty of the buildings, espeeialy the church and town-house, may compare with the neatest in Italy itselfe.

Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, wrote a very honest and handsome letter to the Commissioners Ecclesiastical, excusing himselfe from sitting any longer among them, he by no meanes approving of their prosecuting the Cleargy who refus'd to reade the Declaration for liberty of conscience, in prejudice of the Church of England.

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* The eldest son dying without issue, this Charles succeeded to the title and estate, and marrying to his second wife one of the daughters and at length coheirs to John Duke of Marlborough, his son by her succeeded to that title.

The Dutch make extraordinary preparations both at sea and land, wch with the very small progresse Popery makes among us, puts us to many difficulties. The Popish Irish soldiers commit many murders and insults; the whole Nation disaffected, and in apprehensions.

After long trials of the doctors to bring up the little Prince of Wales by hand (so many of her Ma^ty's^ children having died infants) not succeeding, a country nurse, the wife of a tile-maker, is taken to give it suck.

18 Sept. I went to London, where I found the Court in the utmost consternation on report of the Prince of Orange's landing, wch put White-hall into so panic a feare, that I could hardly believe it possible to find such a change.

Writs were issued in order to a Parliament, and a declaration to back the good order of elections, with greate professions of maintaining the Church of England, but without giving any sort of satisfaction to the people, who shew'd their high discontent at several things in the Government.

Earthquakes had utterly demolish'd the ancient Smyrna, and several other places in Greece, Italy, and even in the Spanish Indies, forerunners of greater calamities. God Almighty preserve his Church and all who put themselves under the shadow of his wings, till these things be over-past!

30. The Court in so extraordinary a consternation on assurance of the Prince of Orange's intention to land, that the writs sent forth for a Parliament were recall'd.

7 Oct. Dr. Tenison preach'd at St. Martines, on 2 Tim. 3. 16. shewing the Scriptures to be our only rule of faith, and its perfection above all traditions. After wch neere 1000 devout persons partook of the Communion. This sermon was cheifly occasion'd by a Jesuite, who in the Masse-house on the Sunday before had disparag'd the Scripture and rail'd at our translation, wch some present contradicting, they pull'd him out of the Pulpit, and treated him very coarsely, insomuch that it was like to create a greate disturbance in the Citty.

Hourly expectation of the Prince of Orange's invasion heighten'd to that degree that his Ma^ty^ thought fit to abrogate the Commission for

the dispensing power (but retaining his own right still to dispense with all laws) and restore the ejected Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford. In the mean time he call'd over 5000 Irish, and 4000 Scots, and continued to remove Protestants and put in Papists at Portsmouth and other places of trust, and retained the Jesuites about him, increasing the universal discontent. It brought people to so desperate a passe, that they seem'd passionately to long for and desire the landing of that Prince whom they look'd on to be their deliverer from Popish tyranny, praying incessantly for an East wind, wch was said to be the only hindrance of his expedition with a numerous army ready to make a descent. To such a strange temper, and unheard-of in former times, was this poore Nation reduc'd, and of which I was an eye-witness. The apprehension was (and with reason) that his Majesty's forces would neither at land or sea oppose them with that vigour requisite to repel invaders.

The late imprison'd Bishops were now call'd to reconcile matters, and the Jesuites hard at worke to foment confusion among the Protestants by their usual tricks. A letter was sent to the Abp. of Canterbury *, informing him, from good hands, of what was contriving by

* By Mr. Evelyn. The letter was as follows:

"My Lord, The honor and reputation which y^r^ Grace's piety, prudence, and signal courage, have justly merited and obtain'd not onely from the Sons of the Church of England, but even universaly from those Protestants amongst us who are Dissenters from her discipline; God Almighty's providence and blessing upon y^r^ Grace's vigilancy and extraordinary endeavors will not suffer to be diminish'd in this conjuncture. The conversation I now and then have with some in place, who have the opportunity of knowing what is doing in the most seacret recesses and cabals of our Churches adversaries, obliges me to acquaint you, that the calling of y^r^ Grace and the rest of the L^ds^ Bishops to Court, and what has there of late ben requir'd of you, is onely to create a jealousie and suspicion amongst well-meaning people of such compliances as it is certaine they have no cause to apprehend. The Plan of this and of all that wch is to follow of seeming favour thence, is wholy drawn by the Jesuites, who are at this time more than ever buisy to make divisions amongst us, all other arts and mechanisms having hitherto failed them. They have, with other things, contriv'd that y^r^ L^d^ships the Bishops should give his Ma^ty^ advice separately, without calling any of the rest of the Peeres, which, tho' maliciously suggested, spreads generaly about the Towne. I do not at all question but y^r^ Grace will speedily prevent the operation of this venome, and that you will thinke it highly necessary so to do, that y^r^ Grace is also injoyn'd to compose a form of prayer, wherein the Pr. of O. is expressly to be named the Invader: of this I presume not to say any thing; but for as much as in all the Declarations, &c. which have hitherto been published in pretended favour of the Church of England, there is

them. A paper of what the Bishops advis'd his Ma^ty was publish'd. The Bishops were injoin'd to prepare a form of prayer against the fear'd invasion. A pardon publish'd. Souldiers and mariners daily press'd.

14 Oct. The King's birth-day. No gunns from the Tower as usual. The sun eclips'd at its rising. This day signal for the victory of William the Conqueror against Harold, near Battel in Sussex. The wind, wch had been hitherto West, was East all this day. Wonderfull expectation of the Dutch fleet. Public prayers order'd to be read in the Churches against invasion.

28. A tumult in London on the rabble demolishing a Popish Chapel that had ben set up in the Citty.

29. Lady Sunderland acquainted me with his Ma^tys taking away the seales from Lord Sunderland, and of her being with the Queene to intercede for him. It is conceiv'd that he had of late grown remisse in pursuing the interest of the Jesuitical Counsells; some reported one thing, some another; but there was doubtless some secret betray'd which time may discover.

There was a Counsel call'd, to wch were summon'd the Archbp. of Canterbury, the Judges, the Lord Maior, &c. The Queene Dowager, and all the Ladies and Lords who were present at the Queene Consort's labour, were to give their testimony upon oath of the Prince of Wales's birth, recorded both at the Counsel Board and at the Chancery a day or two after. This procedure was censur'd by some as below

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not once the least mention of the *Reformed* or *Protestant Religion*, but onely of the *Church of England as by Law established*, which Church the Papists tell us is the *Church of Rome*, which is (say they) the Catholic Church of England that onely is establish'd by Law; the C. of England in the Reformed sense so established is but by an usurp'd authority. The antiquity of *that* would by these words be explained, and utterly defeate this false and subdolous construction, and take off all exceptions whatsoever; if in all extraordinary offices, upon these occasions, the words *Reformed* and *Protestant* were added to that of the *Church of England by Law established*. And whosbever threatens to invade or come against us, to ye prejudice of that Church, in God's name, be they Dutch or Irish, let us heartily pray and fight against them. My Lord, this is, I confesse, a bold, but honest period; and tho' I am well assur'd that y^r Grace is perfectly acquainted with all this before, and therefore may blame my impertinence, as that dos αλλοδιοεπισκοπεῖν, yet I am confident you will not reprove the zeale of one who most humbly beggs your Grace's pardon, with y^r blessing. Lond. 10 Oct. 1688." (From a copy in Mr. Evelyn's hand-writing.) See vol. II. p. 2.

his Ma^ty^ to condescend to, on the talke of the people. It was remarkable that on this occasion the Abp, Marquess of Halifax, the Earles of Clarendon and Nottingham, refus'd to sit at the Counsel table amongst Papists, and their bold telling his Ma^ty^ that whatever was don whilst such sate amongst them was unlawfull and incurr'd *premunire*; — at least if what I heard be true.

30. I din'd with Lord Preston, made Secretary of State in the place of the Earle of Sunderland.

Visited Mr. Boyle, when came in the Duke of Hamilton and Earle of Burlington. The Duke told us many particulars of Mary Queene of Scots, and her amours with the Italian favorite, &c.

31. My birth-day, being the 68th year of my age. O blessed Lord, grant that as I grow in yeares, so may I improve in grace! Be Thou my protector this following year, and preserve me and mine from those dangers and greate confusions that threaten a sad revolution to this sinfull Nation! Defend thy Church, our holy Religion, and just Laws, disposing his Ma^ty^ to listen to sober and healing Counsels, that if it be Thy blessed will we may still enjoy that happy tranquillity which hitherto Thou hast continued to us! Amen, Amen!

1 Nov. Din'd with Lord Preston with other company at Sir Stephen Fox's. Continual alarmes of the Prince of Orange, but no certainty. Reports of his greate losses of horse in the storme, but without any assurance. A man was taken with divers papers and printed manifestos, and carried to Newgate after examination at the Cabinet Council. There was likewise a Declaration of the States for satisfaction of all Public Ministers at the Hague, except to the English and the French. There was in that of the Prince's an expression as if the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal had invited him over, with a deduction of the causes of his enterprize. This made his Ma^ty^ convene my Lord of Canterbury and the other Bishops now in towne, to give an account of what was in the Manifesto, and to enjoyne them to clear themselves by some publiq writing of this disloyal charge.

2. It was now certainly reported by some who saw the fleete, and ye Prince imbarke, that they sail'd from the Brill on Wednesday

morning, and that the Princesse of Orange was there to take leave of her husband.

4. Fresh reports of the Prince being landed somewhere about Portsmouth or the Isle of Wight, whereas it was thought it would have ben Northward. The Court in greate hurry.

5. I went to London; heard the newes of the Prince having landed at Torbay, coming with a fleete of neere 700 saile, passing through the Channell with so favourable a wind that our navy could not intercept or molest them. This put the King and Court into greate consternation; they were now employ'd in forming an army to stop their further progresse, for they were got into Exeter, and the season and ways very improper for his Ma^tys forces to march so greate a distance.

The Abp. of Canterbury and some few of the other Bishops and Lords in London were sent for to White-hall, and requir'd to set forth their abhorrence of this invasion. They assur'd his Ma^ty they had never invited any of the Prince's party, or were in the least privy to it, and would be ready to shew all testimonie of their loyalty; but as to a public Declaration, being so few, they desir'd that his Ma^ty would call the rest of their brethren and Peeres that they might consult what was fit to be don on this occasion, not thinking it right to publish any thing without them, and till they had themselves seen the Prince's Manifesto, in which it was pretended he was invited in by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. This did not please the King; so they departed.

A Declaration was publish'd prohibiting all persons to see or reade the Prince's Manifesto, in which was set forth at large the cause of his expedition, as there had ben one before from the States.

These are the beginnings of sorrow, unlesse God in His mercy prevent it by some happy reconciliation of all dissentions amongst us. This, in all likelihood, nothing can effect except a free Parliament; but this we cannot hope to see whilst there are any forces on either side. I pray God to protect and direct the King for the best and truest interest of his People! — I saw his Ma^ty touch for the evil, Piten the Jesuit, and Warner officiating.

14. The Prince increases every day in force. Several Lords go in

to him. Lord Cornberry carries some regiments, marches to Honiton, the Prince's head quarters. The Citty of London in disorder; the rabble pull'd down the Nunnery newly bought by the Papists of Lord Berkeley at St. John's. The Queene prepares to go to Portsmouth for safety, to attend the issue of this commotion, wch has a dreadfull aspect.

18. It was now very hard frost. The King goes to Salisbury to rendezvous the army, and returnes to London. Lord Delamere appeares for ye Prince in Cheshire. The Nobility meete in Yorkshire. The Archbishop of Canterbury and some Bishops, and such Peeres as were in London, address his Ma^ty^ to call a Parliament. The King invites all Forraine Nations to come over. The French take all the Palatinate, and alarm the Germans more than ever.

29. I went to the Royal Society. We adjourn'd the election of a President to 23 April by reason of the public commotions, yet din'd together as of custome this day.

2 Dec. Dr. Tenison preached at St. Martines on 36 Psalm 5, 6, 7. concerning Providence. I received the blessed Sacrament. Afterwards visited my Lord Godolphin, then going with the Marquess of Halifax and Earle of Nottingham as Commissioners to the Prince of Orange; he told me they had little power. Plymouth declar'd for the Prince. Bath, York, Hull, Bristol, and all the eminent Nobility and Persons of Quality through England, declare for the Protestant Religion and Laws, and go to meete the Prince, who every day sets forth new Declarations against the Papists. The great favourites at Court, Priests and Jesuits, fly or abscond. Every thing, till now conceal'd, flies abroad in public print, and is cried about the streetes. Expectation of the Prince coming to Oxford. The Prince of Wales and greate treasure sent privily to Portsmouth, the Earle of Dover being Governor. Addresse from the Fleete not gratefull to his Ma^ty^. The Papists in offices lay down their commissions, and fly. Universal consternation amongst them; it looks like a Revolution.

7. My son went towards Oxford. I return'd home.

9. Lord Sunderland meditates flight. The rabble demolish'd all Popish Chapels, and severall Papist Lords and Gentlemen's houses, especialy that of the Spanish Ambassador; wch they pillag'd, and burnt his Library.

13. The King flies to sea, puts in at Faversham for ballast; is rudely treated by the people; comes back to White-hall.

The Pr. of Orange is advanc'd to Windsor, is invited by the King to St. James's, the messenger sent was the Earle of Faversham, the General of the Forces, who going without trumpet or passeport is detain'd prisoner by the Prince, who accepts the invitation, but requires his Ma^{ty} to retire to some distant place, that his owne guards may be quarter'd about the Palace and Citty. This is taken heinously, and the King goes privately to Rochester; is persuaded to come back; comes on the Sunday; goes to masse, and dines in publiq, a Jesuit saying grace (I was present).

17. That night was a Council; his Ma^{ty} refuses to assent to all the proposals; goes away again to Rochester.

18. I saw the King take barge to Gravesend at 12 o'clock — a sad sight! The Prince comes to St. James's, and fills White-hall with Dutch guards. A Council of Peeres meete about an expedient to call a Parliament; adjourn to the House of Lords. The Chancellor, Earl of Peterboro', and divers others taken. The Earle of Sunderland flies; Sr Edwd. Hales, Walker, and others, taken and secur'd.

All the world go to see the Prince at St. James's, where there is a greate Court. There I saw him, and severall of my acquaintance who came over with him. He is very stately, serious and reserv'd. The English soldiers sent out of towne to disband them; not well pleas'd.

24. The King passes into France, whither the Queene and Child were gon a few days before.

26. The Peeres and such Commoners as were Members of the Parliament at Oxford, being the last of Charles II. meeting, desire the Pr. of Orange to take on him the disposal of the publiq revenue till a Convention of Lords and Commons should meete in full body, appointed by his circular letters to the Shires and Burroughs, 22 Jan. —I had now quarter'd upon me a Lieut^{t}. Col. and 8 horses.

30. This day Prayers for the Prince of Wales were first left off in our Church.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

I.

The following Letter from George Evelyn, Esq. elder brother of Mr. J. E. when at College, to his father Richard at Wotton; 26 Sept. 1636, giving an account of the Visit made by the King and Queen to the University of Oxford, with some particulars respecting himself, contains some curious matter.

I know you have longe desired to heere of my welfaire, and the totall series of his Majesty's entertainement whilst hee was fixed in the center of our Academie.

The Archbishop o^r^ Ld Chauncelour [Laud] and many Bishops, Doctor Bayley o^r^ Vice Chauncelour, wth the rest of the Doctors of the University, together wth the Maior of the City, and his brethren, rode out in state to meet his Majesty, the Bishops in their Pontificall robes, the Doctors in their scarlet Gowns and their black capps (being the habite of the university), the Maior and Aldermen in their scarlett Gowns, and 60 other townsmen all in blacke satin doubletts and in old fashion Jacketts. At the appropinquatio' of ye King, after the Beedles Stafes were delivered up to His Majesty in token y^t^ they yealded up all their autority to him, the Vice Chauncelor spooke a speech to the King, and presented him wth a Bible in the Universitys behalfe, the Queene wth Camden's Britannia in English, and the Prince elect (as I toke it) wth Croke's Politicks; all of them wth gloves (because Oxford is famous for gloves*). A litile nigher the City where ye Citye bounds are terminated, the Maior presented his Majesty wth a large guilt cupp,

* Gloves always made part of a present from Corporate Bodies at that time, more or less ornamented with rich fringes according to the quality of the persons to whom they were offered.

et tenet vicinitatem opinio, the Recorder of the City made a speech to his Majestie. In the entrance of the Universitie, at St. John's College, he was detained wth another speech made by a Fellow of the house. The speech being ended, he went to Christe-church, schollers standing on both sides of the street according to their degrees and in their formalitys, *clamantes, Vivat Rex noster Carolus:* Being entred Christ-church he had another speech made by the Universitie Oratour, and studient of the same house: the subject of all wch speeches being this, expressing their joy and his welcome to ye Universitie. Then retiring himselfe a litile he went to Prayers; they being ended, soone after to supper, and then to the Play, whose subject was the Calming of the Passions; but it was generallie misliked of the Court, because it was so grave, but especially because they understood it not. This was the first days entertainment.

The next morning he had a Sermon in Christ-church, preached by Browne the Proctor of the University, and a Studient of the house. The Sermon being ended, the Prince Elect and Prince Rupert went to St. Mary's, where there was a congregation, and Prince Rupert created M^r^ of Arts, also many nobles wth him. The reason why the Prince Elect was not created M^r^ of Arts, was because Cambridge o^r^ Sister had created him before. The congregation done, the King, Queene and all the nobles went to the Schooles (the glory of Christendome) where in ye publick Library, his Majesty heard another speech, spoaken by my Ld Chamberlans 3^d^ sonne, and of Exeter Colledge, wch speech the K. liked well. From the Schooles the K. went to St. Johns to dinner, where the Archbishop entertained his Majesty wth a magnificent dinner and costly Banquet [Dessert.]. Then wth a Play made by the same house. The Play being ended, he went to Christ-church, and after supper to another Play, called the Royall Slave *, all the Actors performing in a Persian habite, wch Play much delighted his Majesty and all the Nobles, com'ending it for the best y^t^ ever was acted.

The next morning he departed from the University, all the Doctors kissing his hand, his Majesty expressing his K^ly^ love to ye University, and his countenance demonstrating unto us that he was well pleased wth this his entertainment made by us Schollars:

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* By William Cartwright, a Student of that College. In this Play one of his fellow Students (afterwards the famous Dr. Busby) performed a part (that of Cratander) so excellently well, and with so much applause, that it is said he had almost determined to commence actor on the publick stage.

After the K.s departure there was a Congregation called, where many Doctors, some Maisters of Arts, and a few Batchelours were created, they procuring it by making friends to ye Paulsgrave. There were very few that went out that are now resident, most of them were Lds and gentlemen. A Doctor of Divinity and Batchelour of Arts were created of or house [Trinity], but they made special friends to gett it.

Wth the £30. you sent me I have furnished me wth those necessarys I wanted, and have made me two suits, one of them being a blacke satin doublett and black cloth breeches, the other a white satin doublett and scarlett hoase: the scarlett hoase I shall weare but litile heare, but it will be comely for me to weare in the country.

Yor desire was that I should be as frugall in my expences as I could, and I assure you, honoured Sir, I have been; I have spent none of it in riot or toyes. You hoped it would be sufficient to furnish me and discharge my battailes for this Quarter, but I feare it will not, therefore I humbly entreat you to send me £6. I know what I have already, and wth this I send for, wil be more than enough to discharge these months, but I know not what occasion may fall out.

Trin. Coll. Oxon, 26. 7br 1636.

II.

In the Edition of Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle published with additions by Edward Phillips (Milton's nephew) there is an account of the transactions between Mr. Evelyn and Col. Morley, relative to the latter's being urged by Mr. Evelyn, after Cromwell's death, to declare for the King. In a subsequent Edition in 1730, this account is considerably altered. Amongst Mr. Evelyn's papers at Wotton, there is the original account drawn up by Sir Tho. Clarges and sent to Mr. Phillips; it is in Sir Thomas's own hand-writing, was evidently sent to Mr. Evelyn for his perusal, and is thus indorsed by him:

"Sr Thomas Clarges (brother-in-law to the Duke of Albemarle) insertion of what concern'd Mr Evelyn & Coll: Morley in the continuation of the History written by Mr Phillips & added to Sr Rich. Baker's Chronicle. Note that my lettr to Col: Morley was not rightly copied, there was likewise too much sayd concerning me, which is better & as it ought to be in the second impression 1664."

Mr. Phillips's account is as follows:

"In the seven hundred and nineteenth page of this History wee omitted to insert a very materiall negotiation for the Kings service, attempted upon the

interruption given to the Parliament by Col. Lambert and those that joyned with him therein, which was managed by Mr. Evelin of Says Court by Deptford in Kent, an active, vigilant, and very industrious agent on all occasions for his Maties Restauration; whoo supposing the members of this supposititious Parliament could not but ill resent that affront, thought to make advantage of fixing the impression of it to the ruine of the Army, for the effecting whereof he applied himself to Colonel Herbert Morley, then newly constituted one of the five Commissioners for the command of the Army, as a person by his birth, education & interest unlikely to be cordially inclined to prostitute himself to the ruine of his Country and the infamie of his posteritie.

" Mr. Evelin gave him some visits to tempt his affection by degrees to a confidence in him, & then by consequence to ingage him in his designes; and to induce him the more powerfully thereunto, he put into his hands an excellent and unanswerable hardie treatise by him written call'd " An Apology for the Royal Party," wch he backd with so good arguments and a very dextrous addresse in the prosecution of them, that the Colonel was wholly convinc'd, and recommended to him the procurement of the Kings pardon for him, his brother in law Mr Fagg, and one or two more of his relations. This Mr Evelin faithfully promis'd to endeavour, and taking the opportunitie of Sr Samuel Tuke's goeing at that time into France, he by him acquainted the King (being then at Pontoise) with the relation of this affaire, wherewith he was so well pleasd as to declare if Coll. Morley & those for whom he interceded were not of those execrable Judges of his blessed Royall father, they shuld have his pardon, and he receive such other reward as his services shuld deserve. Upon the sending this advice to the King the Coll: left London, because of the jealousy wch Fleetwood and Lambert had of him; but before he went he desired Mr. Evelin to correspond with him in Sussex by the meanes of Mr Fagg his brother in law, who then lay in the Mewes.

" Mr. Evelin had good reason to believe Colonel Morley very capable of serving the King at this time, for he had much a better interest in Sussex then any of his party; whereby he might have facilitated his Maties reception in that County in case his affaires had required his landing there; but besides his power in Sussex, he had (as he said) an influence on two of the best Regiments of the Army, and good creddit with many of the Officers of the Fleet.

" But before the returne from France of the King's resolution in this matter there intervened many little changes in the posture of affairs.

" Upon the advance of General Monck in favour of the Parliament, and the generall inclination of the Army to him, Colonel Morley expected the restitu-

tion of that power, and with it of his own authority, and was leagued with Walton and Hazlerig in a private treaty wth Colonel Whetham the Governor of Portsmouth for the delivery of that garrison to them; and Fagg went privately from London to raise a Regiment in Sussex to promote these designs, but was suppress'd before he gott any considerable number of men together.

"Mr Evelin not knowing of these intrigues, in vaine endeavour'd by all imaginable wayes to communicate the King's pleasure to Morley, whooe was by this time in the garrison of Portsmouth.

"But when the Parliament resumd their power, and he [Morley] was placed in the government of the Tower, he [Evelin] thought it expedient to renew the former negotiation betwixt them for his Maties service, and in order thereunto he often by visitts made application to him, but could never but once procure accesse; and then he dismissed him with a faint answer, "That he would shortly wait upon him at his Lodging."

"This put Evelin into so much passion that he resolv'd to surmount the difficulty of accesse by writing freely to him, which he did in this manner:

To Coll: Morley, Lieutenant of the Towre *.

Sr,

For many obligations, but especially for the last testimonies of y^r^ confidence in my friendship, begun so long since, and conserved so inviolably through so many changes, and in so universall a decadence of honour, & all that is sacred amongst men, I come with this profound acknowledgement of the favours you have don me; and had a great desire to have made this a personall recognition and to congratulate y^r^ returne, and the dignities which y^r^ merites have acquired, and for which none dos more sincerely rejoice; could I promise my selfe the hapynesse of finding you in y^r^ station at any season wherein the publique, and more weighty concernments did afford you the leasure of receiving a Visite, from a person so inconsiderable as my selfe. But, since I may not hope for that good fortune, and such an opportunity of conveying my respects, & the greate affections which I owe you; I did presume to transmitt this Expresse; and by it, to present you with the worthiest indications of my Zeale to continue in the possession of your good graces, by assuring you of my great desires to serve you in whatsoever may best conduce to y^r^ honour, and to a stability of it, beyond all that any future contingencies of things can promise: because I

When I transacted with him for delivery of the Tower of Lond: & to declare for the King, a little before Gen: Monks, & w'ch had he don, he had received the honour that greate man deserved & obtained soone after.

* The following letter is taken from Mr. Evelyn's own copy.

am confident, that you have a nobler prospect upon the successe of y^r^ designes, then to prostitute y^r^ vertues & y^r^ conduct to serve the passions or avarice of any particular persons whatsoever; being (as you are) free and incontaminate, well borne, and abhorring to dishonour or enrich y^r^ selfe with the spoyles which by others have ben ravish't from our miserable, yet dearest Country; and which renders them so zealous to pursue the ruine of it, by labouring to involve men of the best natures, and reputation, into their owne inextricable Labarynths, & to gratifie that which will pay them w^h^ so much infamy in the event of things, & with so inevitable a perdition of their precious soules, when all these vncertainties (how specious so euer at present) shall vanish and come to nothing.

There is now, S^r^, an opportunity put into y^r^ hands, by improving whereof you may securely act for the good of y^r^ Country, and the redemption of it from the insupportable Tyrannies, Injustice and Impieties vnder which it has now groan'd for so many yeares, through the trechery of many wicked, and the mistakes of some few good men. For by this, S^r^, you shall best do honour to God, and merite of y^r^ Country; by this y^u^ shall secure y^r^ selfe, & make y^r^ name greate to succeeding Ages: by this you shall crowne y^r^ selfe with reall & lasting dignities. In sum, by this, you shall oblige even those whom you may mistake to be y^r^ greatest Enemies, to embrace & cherish you as a person becoming the honour of a brave and worthy Patriot, and to be rewarded with the noblest expressions of it; when, by the best interpretations of y^r^ Charity and Obedience to the dictates of a Christian, you shall thus heape Coales of fire vpon their head; and, which at once will give both light and warmth to this afflicted Nation, Church, and People, not to be extinguished by any more of those Impostors whom God has so signally blowne off the stage, to place such in their stead, as have opportunities given them of restoring us to our antient knowne Lawes, native and most happy Liberties: It is this, S^r^, which I am oblig'd to wish to encourage y^u^ in, and to pronounce as the worthyest testimonie of my congratulations for y^r^ Returne; and which, you may assure your selfe, has the suffrages of the sollidest and best ingredient of this whole Nation. And having sayd thus much, I am sure you will not looke vpon this letter as a servile Addresse; but, if you still retaine that favour and goodnesse for the person who presents it, that I haue reason to promise my selfe, from the integritie which I haue hitherto observed in all y^r^ professions; I conjure you to believe, that you haue made a perfect acquisition of my service; and, that (however events succeede) I am still the same person, greedy of an opportunity to recom'end the sincerity of my affection, by doing you whatsoeuer

service lyes in my power; and I hope you shall not find me without some capacities of expressing it in effects, as well as in the words of

honorable Sr. &c.

Covent Garden
12th Jan: $\frac{59}{60}$.

"In a note he adds; Morley was at this time Lieut[t] of the Towre of London, was absolute Master of the Citty, there being very few of the Rebell army any where neere it, save at Somerset house a trifling garrison w[ch] was marching out to reinforce Lambert, who was marching upon the newes of Monk's coming out of Scotland. He was Lieut[t] of all the Confederate Counties of Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, &c.; his brother-in-law Gov[r] of Portsmouth and Hampshire; his own bro. W[m] Morley Gov[r] of Arundel Castle; in sum he had all the advantages he could have desired to have raised the well affected of the Citty & Country universally breathing after a deliverer (uncertain as to what Monk intended), & so had absolutely prevented any [other] person or power whatever (in all appearance) from having the honour of bringing in the King, before those who were in motion could have snatch'd it out of his hand. Of all this I made him so sensible, when I was with him at the Towre, that nothing but his fatal diffidence of Monk's having no designe to bring in his Ma[tie] because he had [not] discover'd it while matters were yet in the dark (but y[e] designe certainly resolv'd on) kept him wavering & so irresolute (tho he saw the game sufficiently in his hands) as to sit still & put it off till Lambert & his forces being scatter'd & taken, Monk marched into the Citty triumphant with his wearied Army, possessed the Gates, & with no great cun'ing & little difficulty, finding how the people & Magistrates were dispos'd (w[hever] his general intentions were, or at first seem'd to be), boldly & fortunately brought to pass that noble Revolution, following it to his eternal honour by restoring a banished Prince & the People's freedom. This poor Morley saw, & implor'd my interest by w[t] meanes he might secure himself & obtaine his pardon. This is in short a true account of that remarkable affaire."

Mr. Phillips goes on thus from Sir Thomas Clarges's paper:

"Wee shall not here determine what it was that induc'd Colonel Morley (at the time of his being Lieutenant of the Tower) to decline commerce with M[r] Evelin for the Kings service, whether it was that he doubted of the concurrence of his Officers & Soldiers, whoe had bin long trained up in an aversion to Monarchy, or whether by the intire subjection of the Army to Monck, and their unity thereupon, he thought that work now too difficult, which was more fesible in the time of their division: But it is most certaine that he took such

impressions from Mr Evelin's discourses and this letter, that ever after he appeared very moderate in his counsells, and was one of the forwardest to embrace all opportunities for the good of his country; as was evident by his vigorous & hazardous opposition, in Parliament to that impious oath of abjuration of the Kings family and line (hereafter mentioned) before it was safe for Generall Monck to discover how he was inclined; and by his willing conjunction and confederacy after with the Generall for the admission of the secluded members in proclamation for a free Parliament for the King's restauration *."

III.

Feb. 6, 1687-8, there was printed what was called "A true and perfect Narrative of the strange and unexpected finding the Crucifix and Gold-chain of that pious Prince, St. Edward the King and Confessor, which was found after 620 years interment, and presented to his most sacred Majesty King James the

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* In 1815 Baron Maseres re-published some Tracts relating to the Civil War in England in the time of King Charles I. amongst which is "The Mystery and Method of his Majesty's happy Restauration, by the Rev. Dr. John Price, one of the late Duke of Albemarle's chaplains, who was privy to all the secret passages and particularities of that Glorious Revolution." Printed in 1680. In this tract it is stated that Monk's officers being dissatisfied with the conduct of the Rump Parliament, pressed him to come to some decision, whereupon, on 11 Feb. 1660, they sent the letter to the Parliament, desiring them first to fill up vacancies, and then to determine their own sitting, and call a new Parliament. Dr. Price then says, "The General yielded at length to their fears and counsells, and the rather for that he was assured of the Tower of London, the Lieutenant of it (Col. Morley) having before offered it to him. This the noble Colonel had done in the City, pitying the consternation of the Citizens when he saw what work was doing [Monk's pulling down the City Gates a few days before by order of the Rump Parliament] and what influence it would have on the country." He adds, "that though the Rump did not dare to take away the General's Commission as one of their Commissioners for governing the army, they struck out his name from the quorum of them, which virtually did take away his authority, and he and Morley were left to stem the tide against Hazlerigg, Alured, and Walton."

These are the only mentions which he makes of Morley, by which it seems that the first communication between him and Monk was when the latter had broken down the City Gates, on the 9th February.

Had there been any previous concert between Monk and Morley, the latter would not have wanted Mr. Evelyn's assistance to obtain his pardon, which however he did want, and obtained through Mr. Evelyn.

See vol. I. of this work, p. 319.

Second. By Charles Taylour, Gent. London, printed by J. B. and are to be sold by Randal Taylor, near Stationers' Hall, 1688."

He says, that "on St. Barnaby's Day, 1685, between 11 and 12 at noon, he went with two friends to see the coffin of Edward the Confessor, having heard that it was broke; fetched a ladder, looked on the coffin and found a hole as reported, put his hand into the hole, and turning the bones which he felt there, drew from under the shoulder bones a crucifix richly adorned and enamelled, and a golden chain of 24 inches long to which it was fixed; shewed them to his two friends; was afraid to take them away till he had acquainted the Dean; put them into the coffin again; but the Dean not being to be spoke with then, and fearing this treasure might be taken by some other, he went two or three hours after to one of the Quire, acquainted him with what he had found, who accompanied him to the monument, from whence he again drew the crucifix and chain; his friend advised him to keep them until he could shew them to the Dean (the Bp. of Rochester); kept them three weeks before he could speak to the Bishop; went to the Abp. of York, and shewed them; next morning the Abp. of York carried him to the Abp. of Canterbury at Lambeth, and shewed them. After this he procured an exact drawing to be made of them; shewed them to Sir William Dugdale. 16 July, the Abp. of Canterbury told the Bp. of Rochester, who, about four that afternoon, sent for him, and took him to Whitehall, that he might present them to the King, which he did accordingly. The King ordered a new strong wooden coffin to be made to inclose the broken one. The links of the chain oblong, and curiously wrought; the upper part joined by a locket, composed of a large round nob of gold, massy, in circumference as big as a milled shilling, half an inch thick; round this went a wire and half a dozen little beads, hanging loose, running to and again on the same, all of pure gold, and finely wrought; on each side of the locket were set two large square stones (supposed to be rubies). From each side of this locket, fixed to two rings of gold, the chain descends, and, meeting below, passes through a square piece of gold of a convenient bigness, made hollow for the same purpose. This gold, wrought into several angles, was painted with divers colours, resembling gems or precious stones, to which the crucifix was joined, yet to be taken off by help of a screw. The form of the cross nearest that of an humettee flory (among the Heralds), or rather the botany [botonée], yet the pieces not of equal length, the perpendicular beam being near one-fourth part longer than the traverse, as being four inches to the extremity, whilst the other scarce exceeds three; yet all neatly turned at the ends, and the botons enamelled with figures thereon. The cross, of the same gold as the chain, but

exceeds it by its rich enamel, having on one side the picture of our Saviour Christ in his passion wrought thereon, and an eye from above casting a kind of beam on him; on the reverse, picture of a Benedictine Monk in his habit, and on each side of him these capital Roman letters:—

On the right,	And on the left,
(A)	P
Z A X	A C
A	H

This cross is hollow, to be opened by two little screws towards the top, wherein, it is presumed, some relique might have been conserved. William I. commanded the coffin to be inshrined, and the shrine covered with plates of gold and silver, adorned with pearls and precious stones. About 136 years after, the Abbot resolved to inspect the body, said to be incorruptible, and on opening found it to be so, being perfect, the limbs flexible; the face covered: Gundolph, Bishop of Rochester, withdrew the cover, but, with great reverence, covered it again, changing the former vestments, and putting on others of equal price. In 1163, Thomas à Becket procured a canonization of the King, and in the ceremony, the Abbot opened the coffin, found the body lying in rich vestments of cloth of gold, having on his feet buskins of purple, and shoes of great price; the body uncorrupted; removed the whole body from the stone repository to another of wood, some assisting at the head, others at the arms and legs; they lifted it gently, and laid the corpse first on tapestry spread on the floor, and then wrapping the same in silken cloaths of great value, they put it into the wooden chest, *with all those things that were found in the former*, except the gold ring which was on the King's finger, which the Abbot, *out of devotion, retained*, and ordered it to be kept in the Treasury of the Abbey.

In 1226 K. Henry III. again removed the coffin to a Chapel built for the purpose."

Commissioner PETT. (See vol. I. 359; vol. II. 18.)

There is a monument for him in Deptford Church with a most pompous inscription: "qui fuit patriæ decus, patriæ suæ magnum munimentum;"—he not only restored our naval affairs, but he invented that excellent and new ornament of the Navy which we call Frigate, formidable to our enemies, to us most useful and safe: he was the Noah of his age, by this invention, like the Ark, having almost snatched our dominion of the Seas and our rights from Shipwreck.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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